THE HEART OF NORTHERN WALES

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W. BEZANT LOWE, M.A.

Drawing lent by Mr. T. E. Parry. HIGH STREET, CONWAY. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

The Heart of . . . . . Northern Wales,

AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS,

Being an Account of the Pre-historical and Historical Remains of Aberconway and the Neighbourhood,

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PREFACE

THE present work owes its origin to a wish expressed by many Antiquaries for a New and Up-to-date Edition of the HISTORY OF ABERCONWY by the late Canon Robert Williams of Rhydycroesau. On consideration, the proposed re-editing was found impossible, owing to the quantity of new information, and so an entirely New Work was undertaken, much of the subject-matter in Canon Williams' volume being utilised, and at the same time the area of the country dealt with was considerably enlarged. This area now comprises the coast district from Aber to Abergele, including the Llandudno Peninsula, and is roughly bounded on the south by Llangernyw, Pentrevoelas, Penmachno, Bettws-y-Coed, Llanrwst, Trefriw, Llanbedr-y-Cenin, and Llyn Dulyn.

Although the size of the book has been increased from 300 to 500 pages, and the number of illustrations from 100 to 230, it has still been found impossible to include all the matter that the writer had contemplated using when he first planned the scheme of his work, and, while making the present volume complete in itself, there is still enough material left to form a supplementary volume; therefore, provided the anticipations of the present volume's reception are realised, the preparation of the supplementary volume, with a view to its speedy publication, will be taken in hand at once.

In the present book, a leading feature is the account of some entirely-new researches on the Pre-Roman remains of the Uplands surrounding the heights of Tal-y-Fan, in which a large number of burial-places and dwelling-places of that period are located, figured, and described. Some hitherto undescribed Arrow-stones have been investigated, and the two most important are figured. At the request of the Editor of the ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS, the writer has contributed an illustrated article, entitled "The Pre-historic Remains of the Uplands of North Carnarvonshire," to that periodical.

The Roman Occupation of Wales is illustrated by a Milestone

found near Llanfairfechan, the Camp and Baths at Caerhun, the Coins found at Rhiwleden, and a Roman Shield on Moel Siabod.

Special attention has been given to the Ancient and Historic Town of Aberconwy, and an attempt has been made to describe the Town Life of Conway, the Ancient Castle and Town Walls, the Church and several Ancient Buildings, and, closely connected with the above, the Ancient Abbey of Aberconwy, the history of which is continued after its removal to Maenan The Cistercian mode of life is described, the list of the Abbots of this Cistercian Monastery has been amplified, and many forgotten facts in the history of these dignitaries have been brought to light.

Most of the important Charters relating to the Town and Abbey are included, with translations where such were thought needful.

Short accounts of the lives of important personages connected with Conway have been written, including those of Archbishop John Williams of York, Sir John Owen of Clenennau, and John Gibson, sculptor.

An eye-witness's description of the former Pearling Industry of Conway is given.

Plas Mawr has been described in relation to its History, its Architecture, and its Decorative Plaster-work.

The Older Churches of the Creuddyn Peninsula are illustrated and described, a feature being made of the Ancient Fonts of the whole area hereinbefore defined.

A detailed account has been compiled of the vicissitudes in the history of the fortifications at Deganwy, including a graphic description of the tragic death of the Lord Marcher in command of Deganwy Castle. Hitherto, it has been generally stated that the first Borough Charters in North Wales were those of Flint, Rhuddlan, Conway, and Carnarvon, all granted on the same day in 1284; but, in reality, the Charter of Deganwy (a translation of which is given) is earlier than that of Conway by over 30 years, and in it reference is made to the privileges of "our burgesses of Montgomery," thus showing Montgomery to be a still older Borough.

Explanations are given of the connection of Llywelyn with

Deganwy, Conway, and Rhos Fynach ; of Ednyfed Fychan with Llandrillo and Bryn Ffanigl ; and of the noted Holland Family with Conway, Llanelian, Abergele, and Pennant (Eglwysfach).

A unique feature is the Series of Illustrations, most of which are made from specially-taken photographs, with a view to preserving a record of many fast-disappearing objects of interest.

After having undertaken a work dealing with so many and so varied subjects, and covering an area so full of archæological and historical associations, the writer felt that his task was far greater than he had anticipated, and, indeed, it would have been well nigh impossible had he not on all sides been favoured with offers of voluntary assistance from experts in the various subjects. Among these experts, he feels specially indebted to Prof. Sir Edward Anwyl, M.A., who has condensed in the opening chapter the results of the latest research on "The Origin of the Welsh People," in a form which is at once brief, lucid, and comprehensive.

Where everyone has been so kind, it is difficult to single out special names, but still the writer feels that he cannot let this opportunity pass without placing on record his appreciative gratitude for help so willingly rendered by Mr. G. A. Humphreys and Mr. J. Roger Dawson, both of Llandudno, who were ever ready with kindly suggestions from the time that the work was begun.

Mr. Humphreys gave the writer the full benefit of his special knowledge in those many cases where difficult subjects required illustration, and it was solely through his instrumentality that it became possible to reach the more distant parts of the district, far removed from a railway. His advice, which was of much value, contributed greatly to the overcoming of many difficulties, and to the elucidation of many points that otherwise would have been left uncertain.

Mr. Dawson, on the other hand, placed at the disposal of the writer his great knowledge of the literature of the district, and has been energetic not only in diving into the depths of the past, but also in bringing information down to the present time ; and it is through his unceasing kindness and researches that many interesting facts have been brought to light. A keen but kindly critic, and an untiring worker, his assistance has been steady and continuous since the time that the idea occurred to the writer of

attempting a work of this nature. Mr. Dawson has also devoted much time and thought to the compilation of what is hoped will prove to be a really useful index.

The writer wishes to acknowledge a series of special articles by Mr. G. A. Humphreys, F.R.I.B.A., among which may be mentioned the Decorative Plaster-work of Plas Mawr, the Old Architecture of Aberconwy, the Classification of Fortresses on Hill-tops, etc., a description (with a plan) of the old British Camp of Pen-y-Dinas (Great Orme's Head), and concise descriptive accounts of Bronze Spears and Swords, of the Celtic Bell at Llangwstenin, and of the Older Fonts of the district; he has also contributed a short article on the Screens in Conway and Llanrwst Churches. Prof. T. E. Holland, K.C., D.C.L., one of the last descendants of the Conway branch of the Hollands, while allowing the author to make full use of the two articles in the ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS for 1866 and 1867, in which he gave a detailed account, with elaborate pedigrees annexed, of the Hollands of Conway and of North Wales generally, supplemented these with further information relating to this notable family. Prof. Holland's researches in the British Museum, Herald's College, etc., and on the spot, have provided an invaluable addition to the knowledge of Welsh genealogy.

Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.L.S., has written a special account of the discoveries of Roman Coins in the Creuddyn Peninsula, and kindly allowed the writer to have the coins specially photographed (by Messrs. Edge, Ltd.) to illustrate this article; the description of Pen-y-Corddyn is a resumé of a paper by Mr. Willoughby Gardner on that ancient fortress, and was finally revised by him. The writer at the same time wishes to testify to the courtesy of the Editor of the ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS, in giving permission for the reproduction of illustrations and for making use of articles which have appeared in that journal.

Mr. Harold Picton, B.Sc., contributed a short description of the Old Crosses to be found in Conway Church, and the illustrations are from rubbings made by him.

Mr. J. R. Furness, Curator of the Royal Cambrian Academy, has written a most interesting and instructive account of the Family and Crests of the Wynnes of Plas Mawr, and of the various emblems displayed in that mansion. Two special para-

graphs in the Life of Archbishop Williams are from the pen of Mr. J. Roger Dawson, and the interesting particulars relating to the action in which the late Mr. Parry-Evans vindicated his claim to the Rhos Fynach Weir, have been supplied by his son, Mr. Parry-Evans, Jun., of Great Yarmouth.

Among books which have been specially consulted, THE HISTORY OF ABERCONWY, by the late Canon Robert Williams of Rhydycroesau, has been of great service. Mr. Felix Hadley kindly gave the writer permission to make use of anything of service in Miss Hadley's Works on the Conway Registers and on the Constables of Conway Castle.

The voluminous notes of the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes, F.R. Hist. S., on Ednyfed Fychan, Llandrillo Parish and Church, and the grant of lands by Llywelyn the Great to Ednyfed Fychan, were placed unreservedly at the disposal of the writer, and these, with other interesting matter, have been fully utilised. A large store of information with regard to the Cochwillan family has been obtained from William Williams' OBSERVATIONS ON THE SNOWDON MOUNTAINS. Selected Guide-books relating to Conway have been placed at the disposal of the writer by Messrs. R. E. Jones and Bros., of that town, and much interesting information was obtained from the COURT BOOK OF CONWAY, and OLD KARNARVON (both by the late Mr. W. H. Jones, of Carnarvon).

The gentlemen who have acted as proof-readers deserve special mention. They comprise Prof. Sir Edward Anwyl, MA., Mr. J. Roger Dawson, Mr. G. A. Humphreys, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. L. D. Jones ("Llew. Tegid"), and the Rev. T. Shankland. This work has been no easy task, but it is hoped that the writer may have escaped falling into the quicksands that beset his path on every side. Criticism has been freely given, and has been duly considered, but, in a country so full of traditions, it is often difficult to steer a middle course, and, whilst retaining what is of interest, to eliminate what is mythical. It is hoped that this result has been attained.

The Rectors, or Vicars, of the under-named parishes have greatly helped by giving facilities for the inspection and photographing of Churches, Documents, etc., and it is gratifying to be able to add that no incumbent has refused any facility asked. The

writer wishes to take this opportunity of conveying his thanks to them, as, without their kind assistance, much of the ecclesiastical information given could not have been obtained. The parishes referred to are those of Bettws-y-Coed, Bettws-yn-Rhos, Caerhun, Conway, Eglwysfach, Eglwys Rhos, Gyffin, Llanbedr, Llanddoget, Llanddulas, Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, Llandudno, Llanelian, Llanfairfechan, Llanfairtalhaiarn, Llangelynin, Llangernyw, Llangwstenin (the late Rev. W. Davies), Llanrwst, Llansannan, Llysfaen, Penmaenmawr (the late Canon D. Jones and the Rev. G. Matthews), Pentrevoelas, St. George, Trefriw, and Yspytty Ifan.

The number of illustrations has been rendered possible by the unfailing kindness of those ladies and gentlemen who have voluntarily supplied photographs and drawings, and who have given permission for the photographing of objects of great interest, and in many cases of great rarity. Among those who have supplied photographs, Mr. A. H. Hughes (of Llandudno) and Mr. H. Foyn (of Penmaenmawr) have been indefatigable in rendering assistance, tramping over mountains and sparing no effort to get good results, even under difficult circumstances; a perusal of this work will give only a small idea of the number of photographs taken by them. Among others who have supplied photographs may be mentioned Mr. Aldred, Rhos-on-Sea; Mr. W. J. Arrowsmith, Deganwy; Mr. B. M. Cushing, B.A., late of Llanfairfechan; Rev. D. W. Davies, Llangernyw; Messrs. Edge, Ltd., Llandudno; Mr. Hammond, Conway; Mr. G. A. Humphreys, Llandudno; Mr. Chas. A. Jones, J.P., and his daughter, Miss Jones, Carnarvon; Mr. R. J. Gresley Jones, Llandudno; Mr. R. S. Johnson, Conway; Miss Lenthall, of Maenan Hall, Llanrwst, and of Besselsleigh, Abingdon; Col. the Hon. H. Lloyd Mostyn, J.P., Bodysgallen; Mr. J. Morris, J.P., Llansannan; Mr. Alfred Parry, Llanrwst; Mr. R. Parry, Bettws-y-Coed; Mr. Harold Picton, B.Sc., Clacton-on-Sea; Miss M. Price, Woking; Mr. Edward Roberts, M.A., J.P., Carnarvon; Mr. J. Williams, Bwlch Mawr, Conway.

For drawings, the writer is especially indebted to Mr. G. A. Humphreys, who was ever ready to make plans, etc. The following have also supplied drawings, or have allowed the use of drawings or blocks:—The Royal Cambrian Academy, Conway; the Cambrian Archæol. Association; the Editor of ARCHÆOLOGIA; Mr. Adamson, Trefriw Wells; Mr. G. W. Cox; Mr. J. Roger Dawson, Llandudno; Mr. A. E. Elias, late of Penmaenmawr; Mrs. Jas. E. Evans,

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For permission to photograph many rare antiquities, buildings, etc., thanks are due to the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lincolnshire ; the Rt. Hon. Lord Mostyn ; the Rt. Hon. Lord Boston, Lligwy ; the Director, British Museum ; the Chester Archæological Society ; the Conway Corporation ; Mr. T. Dutton, Llandudno ; Mrs. Alan Gough, Gelliwig, Pwllheli ; Mr. W. B. Halhed, J.P., Llanrwst ; Mr. C. B. Jones-Mortimer, J.P., Bryn Eisteddfod ; Col. C. S. Mainwaring, J.P., Cerrigydrudion ; Mr. Neil Baines, F.S.A., London ; Mr. Alfred Newstead, The Grosvenor Museum, Chester ; Mr. D. S. Roberts, Carmarthen ; the Rev. Thos. Roberts, M.A., R.N., Llanrwst ; Mr. W. Owen Roberts, Llanbedr ; and Mrs. Ephraim Wood, Pabo Hall.

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Grateful acknowledgments are due to the memory of those who, when among us, so courteously and readily supplied information and gave permission to photograph, particularly the late Lady Augusta Mostyn; the late Dr. T. E. Jones, of Henar, Llanrwst; the late Rev. W. Matthews, M.A., Llanfairfechan; and the late Mr. Edward Roberts, M.A., J.P., of Carnarvon.

Every attempt has been made to acknowledge assistance, so omissions (if any) are unintentional.

It may be as well to remark that the earlier pages were printed in the spring of 1911.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 23, add after line 7 :—Another demolished cromlech is Llech-yr-Ast, which Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., saw in 1860, near Buarth, one mile from Ro-Wen. It was on the north side of the road, and a few yards distant, in the line of a loose wall.

Page 92, add after line 6:—As quoted in 1860 by Mr. J. O. Halliwell, Mr. Longueville Jones, speaking of the cyttiau on Penmaenmawr, says—"Some of them were singularly perfect, and one, near the present north-western entrance to the fortress, is still covered with its roof, but we could not penetrate within, and we did not feel ourselves justified in attempting to remove the stones."

Pages 142-3.—Recent discoveries necessitate the correction of the "Fire-Dogs" hypothesis on this page, what is figured being now considered an amphora-stand. An amphora is defined as "a two-handled vessel, generally made of clay, and used for holding wine, oil, honey, or even the ashes of the dead."

Page 263, line 4.—For "21 semi-circular towers," read "22 towers (20 semi-circular)."

Page 307, line 28.—For "Tudor," read "Beaufort." The Tudors derived this badge from Henry VII.'s mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, foundress of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Page 343, line 20.—Another Marquis of Hertford having died (March, 1912), substitute "then" for "late," and line 24,—Add "Edward returned to Conway, married, and conducted county business."

Page 345, lines 5 and 6.—Substitute "H. Smart" and "in," for "W. Stewart" and "on."

Page 372, lines 5 and 6.—Substitute "Henry III." for "Edward I.," and "1241" for "1291."

Page 384, add after the word "designed," in line 5, "(by the architect, the late Mr. Edwin Turner)."

Page 391, lines 11-16.—The date given should be "St. Cecilia's Day, 1891," and the dedicatory inscription should read :—"To the Glory of God in affectionate memory of Edward Mostyn, Baron Mostyn, born 13 Jan. 1795, died 17 March 1884, and of Harriot Margaret his wife, born 2 Dec. 1805, died 27 May 1891, this window is dedicated by their children, A.D. 1891."

ERRATA.

Page 64, line 37, for "forgotton" *read* "forgotten."
,, 91, last line, for "Fig. 77" *read* "Fig. 78"; p. 101, for "Fig. 81" (twice) *read* "Fig. 83"; p. 103, for "Fig. 83" (twice) *read* "Fig. 81."
,, 116, line 9, for "diameter," *read* "diameters."
,, 133, line 40, for "through Mr. Ed. Roberts, M.A.," *read* "by Miss Jones, Plas Bowman, Carnarvon."
,, 145, last line, for "discribed" *read* "described."
,, 180, line 9, for "destitude," *read* "destitute"
,, 214, footnote, for "Appendix IVA" *read* "Appendix VI."; p. 216, line 17, for "Appendix IVB" *read* "Appendix IV."
,, 215, line 22, for "Jamss" *read* "James."
,, 261, line 1, for "Eleaner's" *read* "Eleanor's."
,, 275, line 12, for "Bassingwerk" *read* "Basingwerk," and line 13, for "Benidictine" *read* "Benedictine,"
,, 292, line 17, for "157" *read* "159;" last line, for "Conway" *read* "Llanrwst"; p. 294, l. 9, for "Llanrwst" *read* "Conway."
,, 293, line 14, for "158-9" *read* "157-8."
,, 299, line 7, for "not" *read* "no."
,, 307, footnote, for "fosse" *read* "fesse."
,, 344, line 37, for "Ribstone" *read* "Robestone."
,, 353, line 13, for "Teniess" *read* "Teniers."
,, 354, line 19, for "Henry VIII." *read* "Henry VII."
,, 361, last line, for "meditate" *read* "mediate."
,, 369, line 21, for "ap Maesegwig" *read* "of Maesygwig."
,, 374, lines 13 and 25, for "John ap Morgan" *read* "Morgan ap John."
,, 389, line 11, for "rampart" *read* "rampant."

The Heart of Northern Wales

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WELSH PEOPLE

It is not very long since the problem of the origin of the Welsh people would have been regarded as being adequately considered by a careful study of the Welsh tongue. Let the Welsh language be thoroughly dissected and analysed, it was then said, and ample light will be afforded on the origin of the people of Wales. The Welsh language has been studied now for many years in accordance with the most scientific methods of modern Comparative Philology, and yet the problem of the origin of the Welsh people is still far from being completely solved. Indeed, in the course of this philological inquiry, new problems have arisen, and the original problem itself is now seen to be one of a far wider character than that of the origin of the Welsh people only. The study of this problem is an excellent introduction to that of early man in Europe generally, and not in Europe only, but also in the nearer parts of Asia and of Africa.

To deal with the problem of early man in Wales, we are obliged at the present day to take account not of the methods of Comparative Philology only, but also of the methods of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology. It is very largely through the labours of patient workers in these fields that conclusions arrived at through Comparative Philology alone have had to be considerably modified. These conclusions still retain their importance, because the existence of the Welsh language itself is a cardinal fact that cannot be overlooked, and, possibly, through a reaction against purely philological methods of research, it has, of late, had its significance unduly minimised, but it is incontestably true that men lived in Wales ages before any form of Celtic speech ever entered this country.

It would be well, perhaps, first of all to explain the linguistic connections of the Welsh language, and to see what evidence it can truly be said to afford as to the ethnology of the Welsh people. It is interesting first to note that Welsh is not, like Basque for example, an instance of a tongue whose kinship is entirely unknown. In its vocabulary and grammatical forms, the Welsh language is as Indo-European in character as any language can well be. With Breton and Cornish (now extinct) it forms the triad of Celtic languages known as those of the Brythonic branch, in contradistinction from Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx, which constitute the Goidelic sub-division of the Celtic group. In the ancient world there are, strangely enough, only few and uncertain traces of dialects of Celtic corresponding to Irish, while abundant traces of Celtic speech corresponding to Welsh are found over Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, nay more, there are enough traces of the Celtic tongue even of Galatia to show that the language carried over, in the third century B.C., into that part of Asia Minor belonged to the Brythonic variety. The proper names of Britain, too, in Roman times, show that there was practically no difference between the Celtic tongue of Britain and that of Gaul; thus it is clear that Welsh, the descendant of Old British, belonged to that type of Celtic which once extended over a very considerable area in Europe, and which had overflowed even into Asia. The spread of this variety of Celtic speech into Britain would appear to have been one phase of that widespread movement which practically submerged, in Continental Europe, all dialects of Celtic other than those of the Brythonic type. This could never have been the case without the co-operation of certain powerful social and economic forces (such as the use of bronze and afterwards of iron), the operation of which at this distance of time we can only vaguely surmise.

If we leave for a moment the branch of Celtic speech to which Welsh belongs, and look at the characteristics of the other branch, that of which Irish is the chief representative, we shall see that in the ancient world this was found only in the extreme West of Europe, so that, in its progress westwards, it would appear to have had the start of the Brythonic type, until it reached Britain and Ireland, and possibly the West of Gaul. The presence of a type of Celtic speech such as this, so far west as Ireland, seems to suggest that the men who spoke it and who extended the area of its use, formed at one time a populous and flourishing community, until they were supplanted in power by the men speaking the other type of

Celtic, who, in historic times, dominated the scene in the Celtic world.

The question naturally arises whether the dialectal cleavage, which is so marked a feature of the Celtic family of languages, is paralleled in any other of the Indo-European groups. In order to make this part of the inquiry clear, it may be stated that, in the Irish (Goidelic) type of Celtic, the Indo-European sounds 'qu' and 'kw' were kept unchanged, until they were changed into 'c' (with the sound of 'k') about the fifth or sixth century A.D., while, in the Welsh type (Brythonic), the sounds in question had been changed into 'p', some centuries at any rate, before the Christian Era. Side by side with these differences there were others, such as the preservation of the sound of Indo-European 'u' as 'oo' in Celtic speech of the Irish type, while it was changed to 'u' (the modified 'u' of German, or, approximately, the 'u' of French) in that of the Welsh type. The sound of 'u' in French to-day is a legacy from the pronunciation of the Gauls, who, while adopting Latin, gave the Latin 'u' the pronunciation of 'u' in Gaulish. Bearing these points of difference between the two types of Celtic speech in view, we may search for their analogues in the other Indo-European tongues. In the Eastern groups of Indo-European, which comprise Sanskrit, Zend, Armenian, and the Balto-Slavic languages, we shall find, it is true, certain linguistic cleavages, but not the one now in question. On the other hand, when we observe Greek, and even more the Italic languages, traces of this type of cleavage come clearly to view, though in Greek they are complicated by a change of 'qu' before narrow vowels to 't' and not to 'p'. When we come to the Italic group, we find undoubtedly there a very similar line of cleavage to that of Celtic, but that the privilege of widest dissemination fell in historic times to the lot of a language in which the original 'qu' was unchanged. The language in question was Latin, which is linguistically almost an isolated member of the Italic group, while the chief Italic languages that changed 'qu' to 'p' were Oscan and Umbrian. At the dawn of history, the area covered by the Latin type of Italic speech was an extremely small one, but the very presence of this type in Latium shows that at some time or other the men who spoke it, like those who carried the corresponding type of Celtic speech (namely, Goidelic) into the West, must have been, for those times, a powerful people. Of the two main types of Italic P-speech (corresponding to Brythonic), Oscan appears to have been the more wide-spread, and its extension at one time over

a large part of the Italian peninsula, points to the flourishing life of the tribes that spoke it. Later on, however, Latin, partly by military, partly by commercial power, was carried by Rome over the greater part of Western Europe.

A close investigation of the Celtic and Italic languages side by side, has led philologists to see in them a remarkably close resemblance to one another, so close that one of the most distinguished of modern philologists, M. Meillet, regards them as jointly forming one of the ancient sub-dialects of Indo-European. Thus we see that the spread of Celtic into Britain can no longer be regarded as the spread merely of one type of Indo-European speech, but must be viewed as the extension of the use of that great sub-dialect of Indo-European which was carried by the Italic tribes into Italy, just as it was carried by the Celtic tribes into Gaul and Britain. Hence, whatever the Celts who invaded Britain may have been racially, men who spoke their language had at some time formed one community with men who spoke the parent speech of the Italic tongues. How close the structural resemblances between Celtic and Italic are, can only be thoroughly appreciated by those who have carefully compared the formation of the Latin passive, for example, with the so-called deponent forms of Irish, but there are one or two points of linguistic resemblance between the two groups, which even the least philological of readers can appreciate. It is a well-ascertained fact that the original Indo-European word for "five" was "penque," but the Latin form is "quinque," the initial 'p' having been assimilated to the following 'qu.' Similarly, the Old Irish form is "coic," the 'c' in each case having once been 'qu,' and philological research has shown that the sound-change in question has taken place only in the Italic and Celtic groups in this and in one other word, namely, the Indo-European "pequo" (I cook), Latin "coquo." It is impossible to regard such a phenomenon as this, confined as it is to these two words, as a mere coincidence, so that the existence of an Italo-Celtic community within the Indo-European family is now regarded as one of the best-ascertained facts of Comparative Philology.

Of recent years the attention of philologists has been largely concentrated on the points of resemblance between Celtic and Italic, but there are certain points of difference between them which may be survivals from a time when Celtic, Italic, and Greek formed together a still older sub-dialect of the Indo-European group. It is quite clear that the Italic- and Celtic-speaking tribes must have

formed one community long after the Greeks separated from them (as may be seen from the many points of linguistic development which they have in common, but wherein they differ from Greek), yet there are in Celtic several interesting points of contact with Italic on the one hand and with Greek on the other, which point to early linguistic bonds between them. In certain matters of declension, for example, it is noticeable that Celtic stood nearer to Greek than to Latin, and these may well have been survivals from a time when the larger sub-dialect of Indo-European, to which reference has been made, existed. The region where it was spoken was, in all probability, somewhere in the Danube valley to the North of the Balkans.

Nor should the Teutonic languages be left out of account in this investigation. Hitherto, the consonantal changes comprised under Grimm's Law and Verner's Law have to some extent turned philologists away from a careful comparison of Teutonic with proto-Celtic and proto-Italic. The more some forms of Celtic are studied, the more clearly it is seen that certain of the sound-changes which we find in a developed form in Teutonic, are to be found in a more rudimentary form in Celtic, nor has sufficient attention been paid to the fact that Teutonic has some special links of affinity with the Brythonic branch of the Celtic languages, for it is clear that Indo-European 'qu' must have changed into 'p' before it could become 'f.' A careful comparison of proto-Teutonic with proto-Celtic, especially with that of the Brythonic type, might yield results of great philological value and interest, which might show that there were many points in common between the men who spread the later varieties of Celtic speech into Gaul and into Britain, and the men who, later on, poured into the Western Empire.

The results of the investigation, so far, made from the point of view of Comparative Philology, into the origin of the Welsh people, has been to establish the fact that one important element in this race, namely, that which brought the Welsh language into Wales, had important links of speech with men of certain definite zones in Europe. It may be gathered, too, that the overflow of men from the Continent who spoke the parent speech of Brythonic, must have been very considerable to have carried this tongue into such remote parts of Britain as Wales, Strathclyde, and Cornwall, and to have supplanted that still earlier form of Celtic speech which we know as Goidelic, causing only very few and obscure traces of it to be left.

It is difficult not to incline to the view that the Celtic-speaking ancestors of one element among the Welsh people were both numerous and powerful, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the earlier wave of Celtic invaders, whose tongue was of the Goidelic type, were a weak people, seeing how firmly they established themselves and their tongue in Ireland. Yet, in Wales, we have only a few Oghams (two in North Wales), a few personal names, a few place-names, and a few borrowed words as material wherewith to discuss their presence in Britain at all, and some students of the subject have held that Goidelic speech was carried into Ireland from Western Gaul, without even entering into Britain. The methods of early navigation are, however, hardly favourable to this extreme view.

The question may now be asked, If Celtic speech was undoubtedly brought into Wales from certain well-defined areas on the Continent, why should we enquire further as to the origin of the Welsh people? The reason is a simple one. Prehistoric archæology has shown the existence of man in Britain ages before any form of Celtic speech could have reached these islands. Not to speak of Palæolithic times, the continuity of which with Neolithic times in Britain is problematical, the beginnings of Neolithic civilisation alone take us back several thousands of years. If, for the sake of hypothesis, the Indo-European languages had separated from one another and been scattered over Europe at that remote period, the differences between them in prehistoric times would have been infinitely greater than they are, so that we are bound to regard them as tongues the area of whose use was extended comparatively late in the history of man's civilisation. Nor is it in Britain alone that we have abundant evidence of the presence of early man in Europe during long epochs before the use even of bronze can have been known in that Continent. In France, and in the whole Mediterranean area, there are traces of early human life, which, in some places, link the Neolithic even to the Palæolithic period, so that it is futile to suppose that the men of Indo-European speech are autochthonous in those countries where forms of Indo-European are now spoken.

In Wales, the undoubted remains of the Neolithic period are almost entirely confined to the structures known as "cromlechau" (the Welsh plural of "cromlech"), a term used in Wales in a sense synonymous with "dolmen," as used by English antiquaries. These structures are evidently survivals from the same type of early

culture as that which led to the erection of the remarkable stone structures of Brittany, and those of Stonehenge and Avebury in this country. Whatever may have been the purpose for which they were erected, they clearly belong to a period when the human mind wished to give itself enduring expression in stone, even when the primary object was, it may be, to safeguard or to commemorate the dead. In Carnarvonshire, there are several good instances of the "cromlech," as may be seen from Mr. J. E. Griffith's "Cromlechs of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire." It is not impossible that in Wales the erection of cromlechs continued even into the Early Bronze period, which, for Wales, probably begins about 1,500 B.C., that is, about the time when Celtic speech is thought to have first entered Britain.

The Hut-circles that are found on several of the Welsh hills, and sometimes on lower ground, in spite of their simple and primitive structure, must not be regarded as belonging of necessity to the Neolithic period. As a *type* of dwelling they have undoubtedly links with the structures of that period, but the structures themselves, as we now find them, probably in most cases do not go further back than the Romano-British period, or to the Early Iron Age, about a century or so before the Roman invasion of Britain. The same is also true of some of the ancient hill-forts of Wales. The practice of erecting them may have commenced even in Neolithic times, but the most elaborate of them, such as Tre'r Ceiri on the "Eifl," are probably as late as the Early Iron Age. In the same manner, the presence of stone arrows cannot be regarded in Wales as evidence of a period when metal was unknown in these islands. It is clear to archæologists that the use of stone for certain purposes, and in certain districts, continued, owing to the expense of the latter, long after the use of metal was known.

That Wales was not shut off from the developments of human culture in Britain and in Western Europe, when metals came to be known and used, is abundantly shown by the ample evidence of the "finds" of bronze implements, not only of the later, but also of the earlier and simpler types. It is not, indeed, safe to argue from the spread of implements to the existence of invasions in force, but valuable evidence is thereby afforded of commercial lines of communication between countries, or trade routes, along which emigration or invasion, in case of pressure of population, would probably spread.

Another marked feature of the Bronze Age in Wales, as well as elsewhere, was the prevalence of Urn-burial, the dead being burnt and their ashes placed in an urn, which was then surrounded by a stone chest and covered with earth or stones, the whole structure forming a "barrow" or "cairn." Cairns of this kind are not infrequent in Wales, and have, in several cases, been opened. Sometimes they contain unburnt bodies, but in perhaps the majority of instances, in Wales, the bodies have been burnt.

From the point of view of prehistoric archæology it is impossible not to believe in a continuity of the population of Wales, through the Early Iron Age into the Bronze Age, and through the Bronze Age into the Stone Age, and we know that that Age, even in its Neolithic features, must go back to an extremely remote period, as has been shown, for example, by a study of the so-called "kitchen-middens" of Denmark. The suspicion then naturally arises that there may be elements in the population of Wales that are older even than the Celts who introduced Celtic speech into these islands. This suspicion is confirmed by a close observation of the physical types of the inhabitants. There is considerable evidence to show that the typical warlike Celt, with whom the Greeks and Romans were familiar, was for the most part fair in complexion, and, in general build, not unlike the Germans of antiquity. Tacitus, however, in his "Agricola," when speaking of the tribes of Britain, mentions that, while the Caledonians were fair and not unlike the Germans, the Silures, the men of Glamorgan and Monmouth, were of dark complexion and remarkably like the Spaniards. From an anthropometrical survey, which has been carried out in Cardiganshire and the adjoining parts of Wales, it is clear that in the population of those parts there are traces of a black-haired, pale, long-headed type, often strikingly like types that are found in Southern Europe. The main elements in the population of that district are for the most part hardy and robust, with a form of skull which rather suggests a mixture of types. It would be of interest if precise observations could be made of the racial characteristics of other parts of Wales, and such a survey for Carnarvonshire, owing to the comparatively undisturbed character of the population in most of its districts, would be especially valuable. Those who are familiar with the physical appearances of the inhabitants of the county, will have doubtless observed from time to time specimens of the dark type to which reference has been made. This type, when once carefully observed, is almost as unmistakable to the observer as the Jewish type, and

doubtless represents the oldest substratum of the population of Wales, if not also of Western and Southern Europe. For a further account of this type and its ramifications, the reader should consult Sergi, "The Mediterranean Race"; Ripley, "The Races of Europe"; and Deniker, "The Races of Man."

There has been much speculation as to the physical characteristics of the men who brought Celtic speech into these islands. Even the Teutons of the present day are far from being uniformly fair, though the proportion of fairness of complexion is very high in certain areas, as, for example, in certain parts of Scandinavia. In Central Europe, however, and in a large part of France, there are certain types which are very rarely met with in Britain, one of whose chief characteristics is the comparative breadth or roundness of the skull, and, owing to its prevalence in the Alpine regions of Europe, this type has been called by some anthropologists "the Alpine type." The skull in the case of the fair Teutonic type is long, though not quite so long in proportion as in the dark Mediterranean type, and with a long skull is generally associated a long or oval type of face. On the other hand, the face associated with the round or broad-skulled type is generally round, and it is often this type of head and face that strikes even a superficial observer as being of a foreign cast. It is hardly possible that the Celtic races should have lived for centuries in Central Europe, within the zone of this type, without some measure of fusion with it, and the same would be also true of those who introduced the Italic speech into Italy. The Romans, it is said, contained a large proportion of this broad-headed type, and this may be true of the men who first brought Celtic speech into Britain. Certainly, one of the most marked features of the skulls found in burials of the Early Bronze Age is, that as a rule they are much broader in proportion than those of the vast majority of the present inhabitants of these islands. Hence, it is not improbable that the first wave of Celtic speakers who invaded these islands did not consist of men of the fair and blue-eyed—almost Teutonic—type, but of broad-headed men, possibly with brownish hair and hazel eyes, such as penetrated also into a large part of France and into the Italian peninsula. In Central Europe, during the Bronze Age, it is not unlikely that the Brythonic type of Celtic speech had spread among certain tribes (possibly of Teutonic origin) who were of fair hair and blue eyes, who, later on, by taking advantage of the civilisation of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, spread the Brythonic form of Celtic over a wide area, and even into

the British Isles. Certainly, in classical times, the Greek and Roman writers saw very little difference in appearance between the Celts and the Teutons, and the later tribes that made the Brythonic form of Celtic speech dominant throughout the Celtic world, may originally have been in part Celticized Teutons, who, by entering into the Celtic zone of Central Europe, had gone ahead of their fellow Teutons of that date in the arts of war and peace.

It is not improbable that the characteristic culture of the Early Iron Age in Britain was very largely associated with the Brythonic-speaking tribes, which then invaded the country and firmly established themselves therein. This culture is characterized not only by the use of iron, but by the use of more elaborate objects in bronze, and particularly by the singularly artistic designs known as Late Celtic ornamentation, as well as by the use of enamel. The curious reader will find much valuable information on this head in Mr. J. Romilly Allen's work on Celtic Art (Methuen and Co.). It is hardly likely that commerce alone would account for the remarkable extension of the type of artistic ornamentation, even to remote districts in Wales.

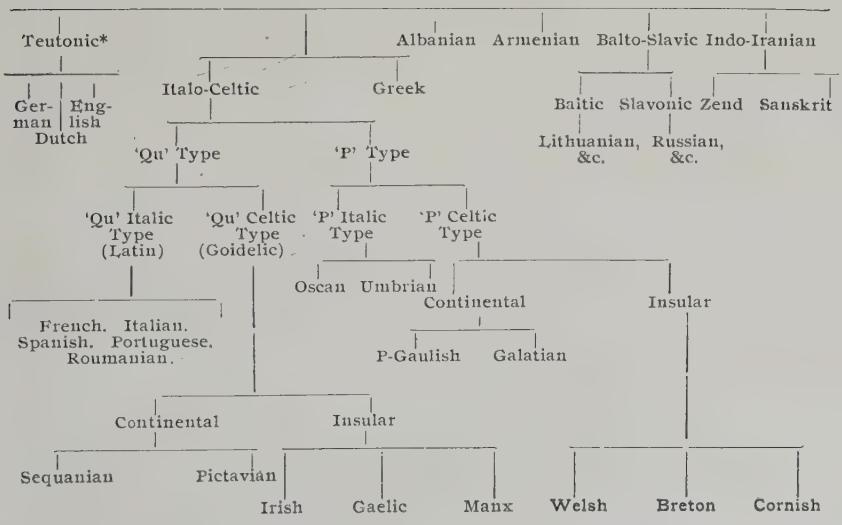
It is unnecessary here to refer to the immigration into Wales, in post-Roman times, of certain powerful families who styled themselves "The Men of the North," and who came from the South of Scotland. These, the ancestors of certain of the ruling families of Wales, were themselves no less of Brythonic speech than the inhabitants of Wales. In Roman times, too, especially in the neighbourhood of Roman stations, there may have been some intermarriage between the native population and non-British soldiers of the Roman stations, but probably this element in the population was not considerable. Similarly, on the West Coast, there may have been occasional settlements of Irish, of Norsemen, and of Scandinavians from Ireland (Dublin), but these may not have been an appreciable element in the population. In certain districts, however, notably in the border counties, as the surnames testify, not a few English families have acquired Welsh, and, in course of time, have become merged in the Welsh-speaking population. A considerable list might be made of thoroughly Welsh families in certain districts that have unmistakably English surnames.

It is impossible now to estimate the comparative proportions of these various elements in the composition of the Welsh people, but it would not be surprising if the proportion of the oldest element of

all, that of man of the Stone Age, were very considerable. A race which has become acclimatised to a country through millennia is not easily dislodged, and is generally better able than an immigrant race to adapt itself to the varying conditions of pastoral and agricultural life. Though the older Welsh gentry and the larger farmers of Wales may have a considerable admixture of the blood of the Celtic invaders, yet the vast majority of the tillers of the soil are probably in the main descended from the ancient people of the land, a race of immemorial antiquity, whose prehistoric speech probably still survives in the oldest river-names of Britain. The county of Carnarvon would be an excellent field for the observation of the various strata of population which form the Welsh people, and it is to be hoped that accurate measurements will be taken throughout the county, like those taken by numerous observers on the Continent of Europe. To the ethnologist there are few races of greater interest than the Welsh, from the variety of types which it contains, and the immense antiquity upon the soil of those of them which are aboriginal.

The subjoined table shows at a glance the origin of the Welsh and kindred languages :—

ARYAN, OR INDO-EUROPEAN.



* A section of Teutons probably adopted the 'P' type of Celtic, and helped to spread it, in the Early Iron Age, over a large area of Western Europe.

E. ANWYL.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRE-ROMAN PERIOD

Up to the present time no unmistakable traces of Palæolithic man* have been found in those parts of Carnarvonshire and Denbighshire that come within the scope of this work, but of Neolithic man there is abundant evidence all over the district, and more especially in the upland portions of Carnarvonshire. The frequency of occurrence of these remains in the uplands can be fairly easily explained. The lowlands were swampy and, probably, covered with forest growths, and those portions which were occupied have had the traces of a former occupation obliterated by continual tillage and by the employment of the materials for the building of walls,† gate-posts, &c. On the other hand, the uplands have been, in all probability, more frequently woods or pasture-lands, and there has not been the same necessity for clearing them. Moreover, the primitive inhabitants would cling to the more mountainous regions, because of the ease with which they could be defended against the marauding excursions of other tribes, and there would be a plentiful supply of stones close at hand. Any attempt at classification will always be difficult for several reasons.

As far as this district is concerned, there was a period in the late eighteenth, or early nineteenth, century when very many of the tumuli, &c., were opened and their contents removed; but it has been almost impossible to trace any of the objects which have been thus taken away. As an illustration of this, a stone cist was opened at Llanfairfechan in 1886, and, in the description of it, the fact is mentioned that there were numerous fragments of bones and broken pieces of pottery. These have entirely disappeared, and only by a mere chance were a few fragments found in another part of the district.

* Rice Holmes ("Ancient Britain," p. 35) states that "the Palæolithic nomads pushed their way so far north as Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Denbighshire."

† Archdeacon Evans states that, in 1803, most of the stones from the Carneddau were carried off for mountain walls under an "Enclosure Act."

The prehistoric remains naturally divide themselves into two groups:—(1) Burial places; (2) Dwelling-places, including hill fortresses.

It is proposed to take them in this order, and describe the most important of each of these groups.

It is scarcely necessary to say that cairns, barrows, cromlechs (or dolmens), and tumuli are the names applied to ancient burial-mounds. When Neolithic man first appeared in these islands, he had an elaborate system of burial. The megalithic chambers compel the utmost wonder; to raise the heavy stones into the positions in which we now find them must have required considerable engineering skill; but it is well known that the earliest civilisations always showed a very great respect for their dead. It is easy to understand why burial in mounds preceded burial in the ground. In primitive times, before man possessed metal tools, it was easier to collect stones and to scrape soil together to make a heap than to dig a hole. The local megalithic chambers may be roughly assigned to the Neolithic Age, and the tumuli, &c., mostly to the Bronze Age; but it must be remembered that these merge into one another. In the Neolithic Age, the shape of the covering mound was oval, but this, about the commencement of the Bronze Age, began to assume a circular form, and the cromlech was in time replaced by the cist, or stone chest. The cromlechs, or dolmens, probably, were the graves of chieftains, and may indicate the old Neolithic centres of population.* They may have borne some resemblance to the primitive dwelling, and it is interesting to note that these megalithic structures occur in those districts where there was a supply of suitable stones.

In still earlier times, the dead were buried in caves, but there is only one notable instance of this in this district, and that is the cave on the Great Orme's Head, known as "Kendrick's Cave."

This cave was really the workshop of the late Thomas Kendrick, the Lapidary, and, having to enlarge his accommodation, he commenced excavating; he then found that the cave extended much further inwards, and that it contained a stratum of cave-earth or clay, overlaid by from four to six feet of lime-stone breccia.† In the cave-earth were found the bones of a bison, probably belonging to the Pleistocene Age, split either by man or carnivora. The cave was visited

* "The Early Settlers of Caernarvonshire," by E. Anwyl, M.A., in Arch. Camb. VI., 4, 197 (1904).

† A mass of angular fragments, united by a cement of lime.

by Mr. R. A. Eskrigge, F.G.S., in 1880, and the remains were examined by Prof. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., and Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, M.A. In the breccia, about a foot above the clay, were found portions of the skeletons of four human beings—three adults and a child. The two most perfect femora measured 17·9 and 17·6 inches, which would imply a stature of 5 feet 4·3 inches. This stature is characteristic of other skeletons found in Wales, and shows that the men belonged to the small Iberic aborigines who lived, in Neolithic times, in Europe west of the Rhine. Associated with these were the remains of the badger, brown bear, *bos longifrons*, goat, bear, boar, and horse. There were two pendants (or ear-drops), made of the right and left upper canines of the brown bear, and the lower jaw of the horse was marked with a chevron pattern. The *bos longifrons*, or small-horned ox (frequently found in the refuse heaps of Neolithic people) is the common ancestor of the Kerry cattle of Ireland, and of the small black cattle of Wales. From two to three feet above the human skeletons, still in the limestone breccia, were the skull of a badger, a horse's tooth, and the remains of a sheep or a goat, of a boar, and of a small-horned ox, but none of these bones showed any trace of gnawing or of having been split. The stones found with the remains were derived from the boulder clay, and were probably used as "hammer-stones" or "pot boilers." Prof. Boyd Dawkins says, in conclusion, that the cave was used as the sepulchral vault of the small Iberic dwellers in the neighbourhood.*

The megalithic structures, known as cromlechs† (or dolmens) will now be described, and a fitting start may be made with the

GREAT ORME CROMLECH.

FIG. 1. *Sketch, 1864.*

* "Kendrick's Cave, Llandudno." An Article in the Proceedings of the Llandudno and District Field Club, Vol. II., pp. 49—57, 1907, by G. A. Humphreys, F.R.I.B.A.

† The word Cromlech in France is restricted to a stone circle, whilst in Wales it is the usual expression for a Dolmen. According to Rice Holmes ("Ancient Britain," p. 65), "a Dolmen, in the strict sense of the word, is composed of large stones set on end, which wholly

This is situated not far from the half-way stage of the Great Orme Tramway, and near some of the disused shafts of the Copper Mines, in the little district called Maes-y-Fachrell.

FIG. 2. GREAT ORME CROMLECH. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

It consists of four upright slabs, about 3½ feet high, forms an irregular pentagon, about four feet by five feet inside, and is surmounted by a large flat stone (Fig. 1); it has an opening on the south-east side. No human, or other remains, have been found in it; at least, if they were found, they have now disappeared. The top stone has unfortunately been broken, and a part of it is now lying inside the chamber (Fig. 2). At the back of the cromlech is a mound, which might perhaps repay excavation.

According to Mr. A. L. Lewis, this cromlech was never covered

or partially enclose a space, and are covered by other stones or by a single stone, which rests upon their upper ends." This definition, however, must not be taken to include a completely inclosed quadrangular space covered with a capstone.

by a mound of earth or stones.* It is usually called "Llety-y-Filiast." By the public-spirited action of Lord Mostyn, it has been enclosed with an unclimbable fence.

Beside the road through Wyddfid Homestead, are the remains of what may possibly have been a small cromlech.

They are situated on the left of the road and at the base of a steep slope. They seem to have escaped notice, as they are, to a great extent, concealed by a rather thick growth of thorn bushes. At present, there are two upright stones, forming two sides of a chamber, and at the back of one of these is another stone which may possibly have been part of another upright. Lying flat on the ground, at the back of these, is a fourth stone, which may have been the capstone. The site would repay excavation.

On the sides of Bodafon Mountain are also to be seen remains of what may be another cromlech, one of the stones, possibly the capstone, being on its edge.

ALLOR MOLOCH (MOLOCH'S ALTAR).

In Glan Conway parish, not far from Hendrewaelod, is a cromlech called "Allor Moloch" (Fig. 3).

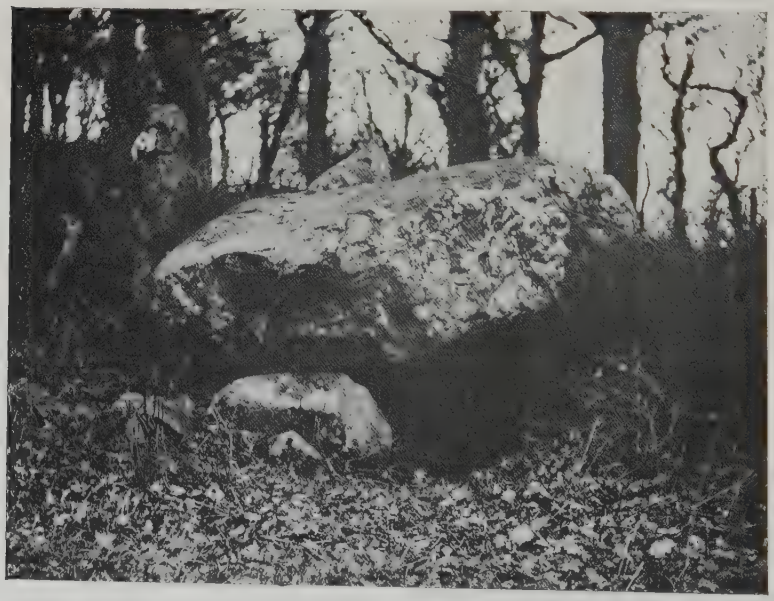


FIG. 3. CROMLECH ALLOR MOLOCH. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

*Mr. Lewis thinks that it is of a similar type to those at St. Lytham's, near Cardiff; at Kits Coty House, near Maidstone; and at Avebury. Mr. Walhouse has seen many similar shrines like these in India. "Man," 1907. No. 26, p. 38.

It consists of five upright stones, about 3½ feet high, on which rests an immense top-stone; the greatest length of this is 12 feet, breadth 8 feet, and the greatest thickness 4 feet,—its estimated weight is about 22 tons. One of the supports has slipped out of place, so that the capstone is now in a slanting position. Behind are two upright stones, each about 9 feet high from the floor of the cromlech, and about 6 feet distant from each other.

THE PORTH LLWYD CROMLECH.

About 1 mile south of Tal-y-Bont, and on the eastern side of the road, nearly opposite the Porth Llwyd Falls, is a fairly good example of a cromlech (Figs. 4 and 4a).

The capstone has been displaced, and is now lying on its longer side near the hedge, in which the upright stones are still standing. Of these latter there are three of somewhat irregular shape, and they vary from 5 feet 9 inches to about 7 feet in height. The capstone is 9 feet 7 inches long, 4 feet wide at one end and 4 feet 11 inches at the other, and the thickness varies from 1 foot to 1 foot 3 inches. The upright stones are almost concealed by the hedge, which seems to have grown up around them.

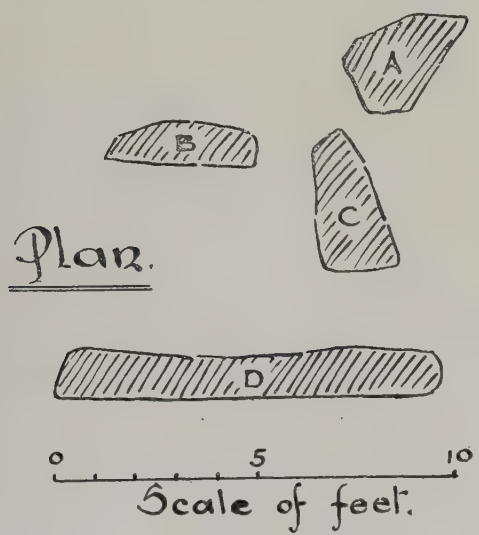


FIG. 4. PORTH LLWYD CROMLECH. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

CAPEL GARMON CROMLECH.

This cromlech (Fig. 5) is situated in a field ¾-mile south of the village, and the route, after leaving the highway by a gate on the right, is indicated by sign-posts. It stands on a farm known as Ty'n-y-coed, near Voelas, and is called by the inhabitants "Yr Ogof"

("The Cave"), and the field "Cae'r Ogof" (the "Cave-field"). Two miles from this cromlech is a place called "Carreg yr Ogof," but there is no cave there.

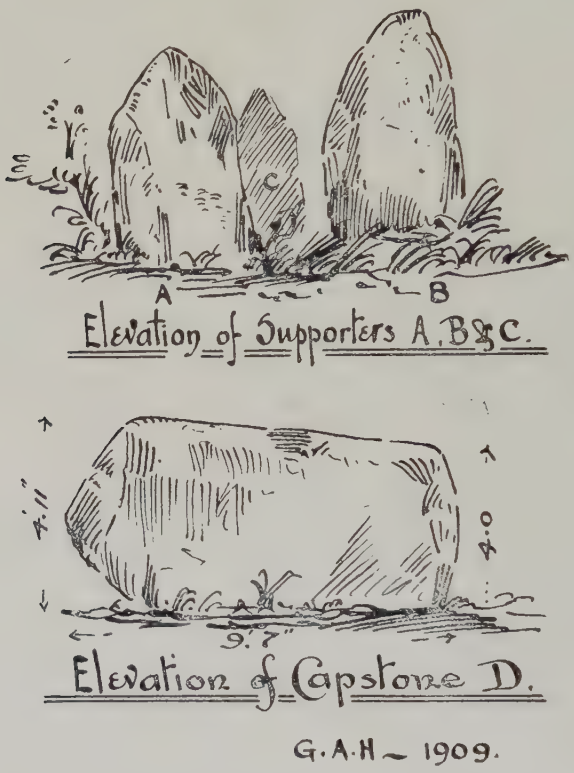


FIG. 4a. PORTH LLWYD CROMLECH.

The cromlech, which was originally covered with a mound of earth and stones, was carefully opened by Mr. W. E. Wynn, M.P., F.S.A., on November 9th, 1853. The structure consists of three chambers in a line east and west (see Fig. 6), and at right angles to these is an entrance passage opening into the central chamber. At each end, this again opens into two other chambers, one of which has its cromlech roof entire, which consists of a lozenge-shaped stone of marvellous size, its length being 47 feet 7 inches; breadth, 12 feet 2 inches; and thickness, 15 inches. This large slab is supported by eight upright stones, and the spaces between are filled in with stone-work in regular courses. In the other chambers, a number of the upright stones remain, but the capstones are broken. On the accompanying plan* the most important measurements are given (Fig. 6).

The chambers were accommodated to the inclination of the ground,

* From a plan in Archdeacon J. Evans' "History of Pentrevoelas" (MS.).

increasing in height from the entrance, which was on the upper side of the slope. The entrance consists of two upright stones, 2 feet high, and the same distance apart. After entering, there is a descent of one foot, by three steps, and then the passage widens about the middle, and contracts again to two feet on entering the middle chamber. It gradually increases in height to 4 feet 6 inches. The western chamber has been used as a stable in modern times.

FIG. 5. CAPEL GARMON CROMLECH. *Photo. by R. Parry, Bettws-y-coed.*

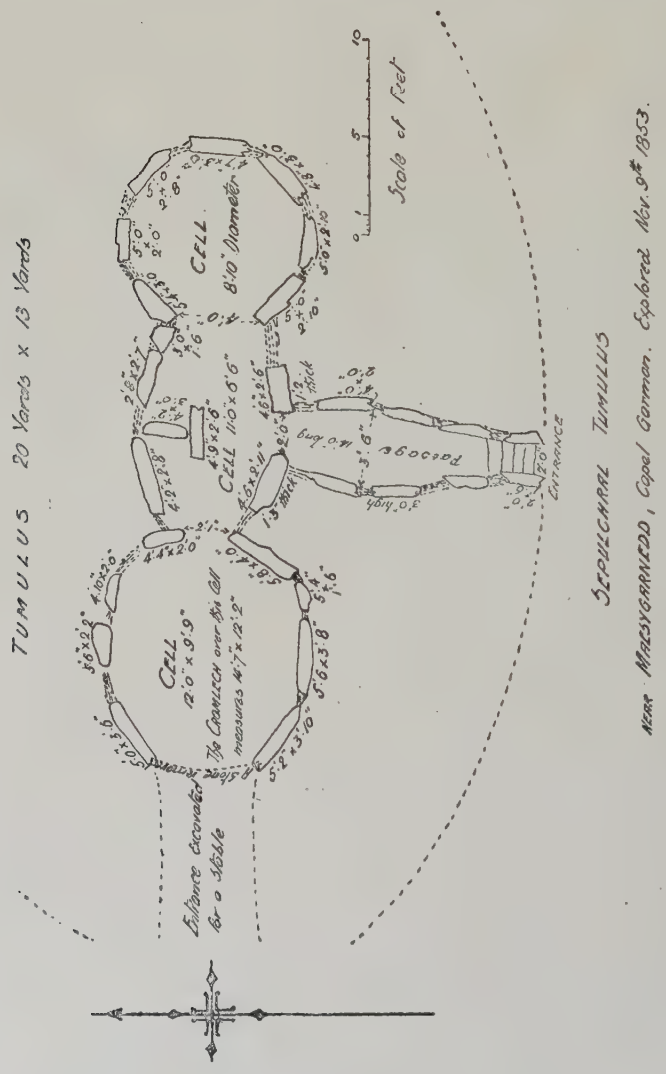
MAEN PEBYLL.

Near Carneddau, not far from the hamlet of Nebo, there existed before 1850 a large upright stone, known as Maen Pebyll, which, according to earlier observers, was surrounded by a circle of stones. The sketch (Fig. 7), was made in September, 1850,* but, unfortunately, soon afterwards the stone was blasted, and it now presents the appearance shown in Fig. 8. In 1909, a plan of it was made by Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.L.S. (Fig. 9), and a description by Mr. W. B. Halhed, J.P., appeared in the "Arch. Camb." for April, 1909,† from which the last two illustrations are, by kind permission, taken.

Maen Pebyll has been translated "stone of tents," but is, more probably, the Welsh form of Papilius, a Roman name.

* From a Sketch in Archdeacon J. Evans' "History of Pentrevoelas" (MS).
† Plan and one illustration are by permission from the Authors and the Cambrian Archæological Society.

The remains now consist of four large stones. A, which was probably the capstone, measures 8 feet 6 inches by 7 feet, and 2 feet 10 inches thick. C and D were probably supports, C showing signs of blasting. The whole, probably, is the remains of a large cromlech covered by a long barrow, the inclosure now roughly measuring 99 feet on the N., 72 feet on the S., 55 feet on the E., and 35 feet on the W. There are several mounds within this area. The existence of a cairn is indicated by the name of the adjoining farm, Pen-y-garnedd.


TUMULUS 20 Yards x 13 Yards
Scale of Feet
0 1 5 10
CELL 8'10" Diameter
CELL 11'0" x 6'0"
CELL 12'0" x 9'9"
The Cromlech over this Cell measures 11'7" x 2'2"
Entrance
SEPULCHRAL TUMULUS
NEAR MAESGARNEDD, Capel Garmon. Explored Nov. 9th 1853.

[From Archdeacon J. Evans' "History of Pentrevoelas."]

FIG. 6. PLAN OF CAPEL GARMON CROMLECH.

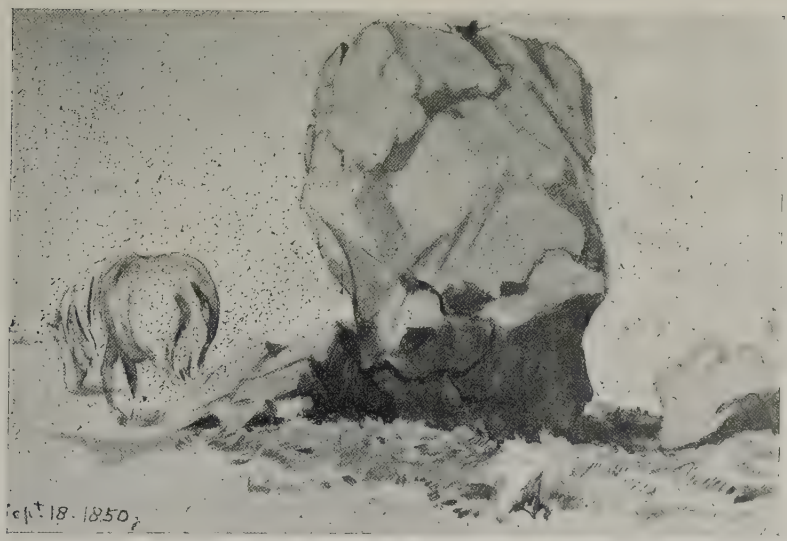


FIG. 7. MAEN PEBYLL. *Sketch, 1850.*

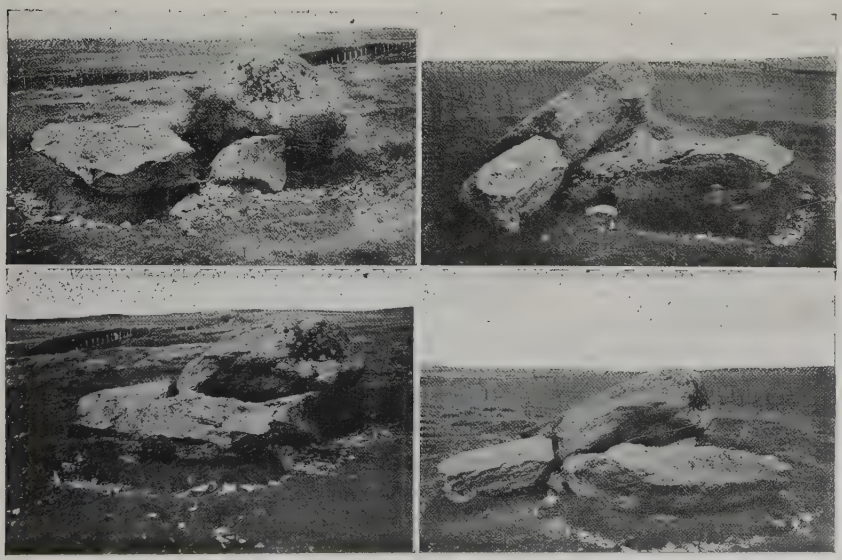


FIG. 8. MAEN PEBYLL. *Photo. by Alf. Hughes, Llanrwst.*

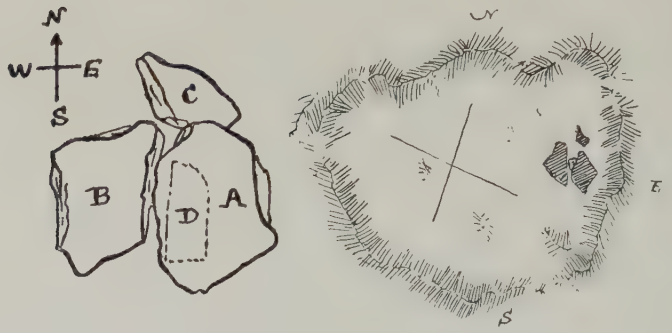


FIG. 9. PLAN, OF MAEN PEBYLL. *Willoughby Gardner, del.*

CROMLECH MAEN-Y-BARDD.

On the north side of the Roman road leading from Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen to Ro-wen, and about 1½ miles from the latter place, situated in a wall that joins the road at right angles, is a very fine specimen of a cromlech (Fig. 10).

FIG. 10. CROMLECH MAEN-Y-BARDD. *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

It consists of a capstone resting on four upright stones. The capstone measures about 12 feet 9 inches by 8 feet in its greatest length and width, its

thickness being about 2½ feet. The average height of the supports is about 4 feet 4 inches. The entrance is S. by E. It is locally known as "Cwt-y-Filiast," and is sometimes called "Cwt-y-Bugail" (Shepherd's Hut), but perhaps this last name may apply to the stone cist (Fig. 11).

Not far from Maen-y-Bardd was a large cromlech ("Cae'r Bardd"), and under this a great thickness of ashes. Unfortunately, this has been broken up to build walls some years ago.

We thus see that where primitive man lived in a cave, he was buried in a cave, or, failing that, in the case of chieftains, in the large chambers described, the body being placed in a crouching position.

By degrees, the cromlech was replaced by a cist* built in rectangular form, and covered with a mound of stones and earth. Good examples have been found in this district.

About fifty yards to the east of Cromlech Maen-y-Bardd is a good example of a megalithic cist (Fig. 11).

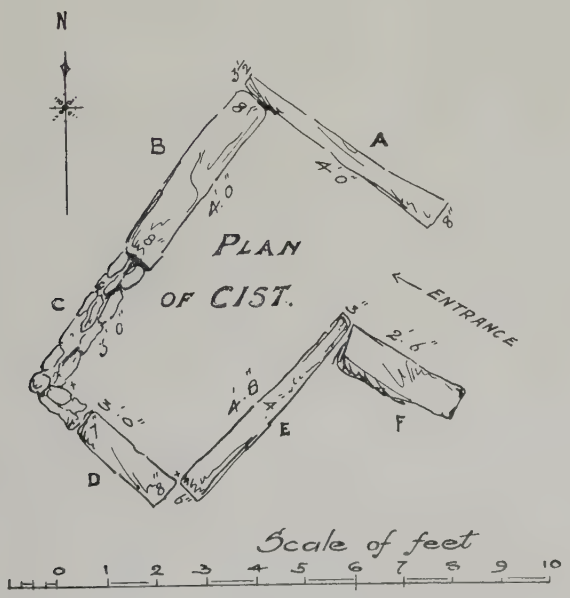


FIG. 11. PLAN OF CIST NEAR CROMLECH MAEN-Y-BARDD.

The chamber is situated on ground slightly sloping to the S.E., and the capstone projects only a little above the present surface of the ground. The cist is roughly in the centre of a mound, the longer diameter of which (from

* Cistvaen, cista-maen, stone-chest.

N.E. to S.W.) is about 26 feet. On the S.E. side are three stones, situated at distances of 12 feet 5 inches, 13 feet 2 inches, and 10 feet 3 inches respectively from the easterly extremity of the N.E. upright. There is also a large stone at the S.W. end of the mound (Fig. 12). The entrance is at the east ends of the S.E. and N.E. sides, and is 2 feet 5 inches wide. The opposite corner has no large upright stone, but the gap of about three feet is filled up with rounded stones. The four stones mentioned above evidently form the outer ring of the mound, and may have been covered with earth. The interior of the cist is approximately rectangular in plan.

Slightly higher up the hill-side, to the west, are two stones, which seem to form part of another circle.

FIG. 12. CIST NEAR MAEN-Y-BARDD. *Photo. by Miss Brazil.*

Another large cist has been found at "Carneddau" on the one-inch Ordnance Map, to the north of the Roman road, between the "meeting of the tracks" and the point where the road descends to the Aber Valley. This cist (a typical example) is formed of rough stones placed on edge, with a larger stone, which has now been displaced, to cover the space thus inclosed. The whole was evidently covered with a heap of stones and earth, and these in their turn were surrounded with a series of stones placed upright to form a toe-wall outline to the mound. There are numerous tumuli in this neighbourhood.

In Carnarvonshire, in neolithic times, the shape of the cover-

ing mound was generally oval, but, towards the beginning of the Bronze Age, circular mounds became common. Belonging to the Bronze Age is the tumulus on the side of the hill known as Dinas, Llanfairfechan, (Fig. 13), and situated on Ty'n-y-llwyfan Farm.

FIG. 13. DINAS, LLANFAIRFECHAN: *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

Four flat stones (Fig. 14), placed edgewise, form the sides of the grave, and a large stone formerly covered it. The depth of the grave was about two feet, and, at the time of the discovery, it was full of earth, in which were fragments of pottery and of burnt bones, the former being sun-baked, and covered with lines and chevrons. A smaller empty cist was found to the south of the larger one, and within the same original earth-mound.*

Between Penmaenmawr mountain and Moelfre, are several opened tumuli.

One of these (Fig. 15), situated on fairly high ground to the north of the track from Llanfairfechan to Penmaenmawr, to the north of Moelfre, and in the corner of a field, is about 48 feet external diameter, and five large upright stones mark out a rough circle. Inside this is a mound of small stones forming a heap in the centre, but now partially displaced. Not far from this are the remains of a large tumulus, which has been opened (Fig. 16).

Along the line of the Roman road from Aber to Ro-wen, between the meeting of the tracks and the summit of the pass, are

* Proc. Soc. of Antiquaries, Vol ix., p. 428. Paper by Mr. J. E. Worsley, F.S.A.

several burial mounds (all opened) of about 7 yards diameter, and before the road passes between two walls, is to be seen, on the south side of the road, a large one about 15 yards in diameter, with a large heap of stones inside the original ring.*

FIG. 14. CIST, LLANFAIRFECHAN. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

FIG. 15. TUMULUS, NEAR MOELFRE. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

* W. Williams, in his "Observations on the Snowdon Mountains," states [1802] that in it "there is to be seen a large stone chest."

FIG. 16. TUMULUS, NEAR MOELFRE. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

TUMULI OF THE PENMAENMAWR UPLANDS.

In the uplands, to the south of Penmaenmawr and Dwygyfylchi, and to the north of that portion of the Roman road which extends from Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen to Ro-wen, a great number of pre-historic burial mounds were discovered, in 1908-9, by Mr. A. E. Elias (late of Penmaenmawr), who rendered the author invaluable assistance in the field-work involved in recording them.

The mounds in the above district may be roughly divided into the following groups :—

1. Those between Moelfre and the Tal-y-fan—Foel Lwyd ridge.*
2. Those near the Druids' Circle.*
3. Those between Waen Gyrach and Tyddyn Grasod.*
4. Those about ¼ mile south of Caer Bach.*
5. There is another group of mounds to the north-west of Moel Dduarth.

1.—The district between Moelfre and Tal-y-fan contains such a great number of mounds that a special map has been prepared (Fig. 17). To the south of Moelfre, there is a ridge of slightly higher ground known as Bryniau Celyn, and this extends in a curve to the pass between Tal-y-fan and Foel Lwyd : along the top of Bryniau Celyn runs the old road, or track, from Graig Lwyd to this pass. To the west of this ridge is a swamp, and it is worthy

* Discovered by Mr. A. E. Elias.

of note that these tumuli are found on the slope of this ridge in the form of a semi-circle, the concave part of which faces the north-west. Crossing the stream, known as Afon Maes-y-Bryn, there are several more tumuli, and they almost reach the western end of Foel Lwyd (close by Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen). Just about here is a remark-

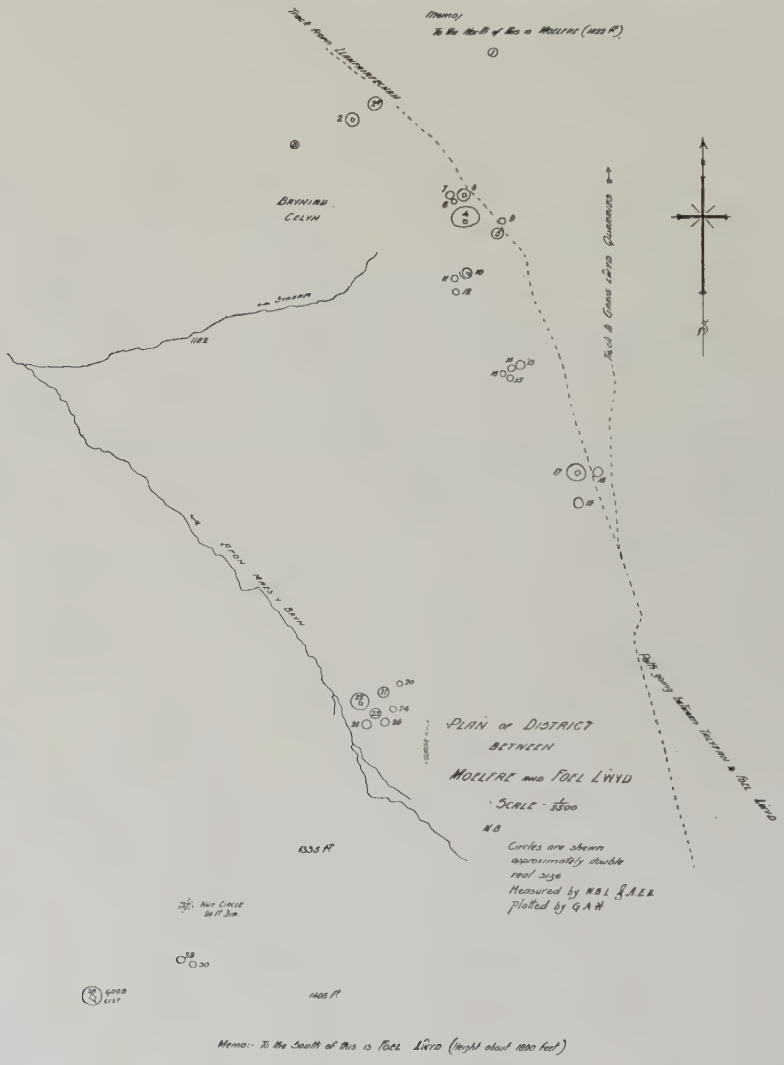


FIG. 17. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

MAP OF TUMULI BETWEEN MOELFRE AND TAL-Y-FAN.

able composite hut-circle, which will be described later on. In the swamp itself are to be found very few tumuli (one, however, is composed almost entirely of earth), and, in addition, there are one or two hut-circles. It will thus be seen that from this position a magnificent view may be obtained of Anglesey and the Menai Straits. What more suitable place could be chosen for a burial-ground, more especially when it is remembered that in earlier times these uplands had a fairly dense population? It seems probable that Pen-y-gaer was one of the earlier hill-fortresses, and that the Penmaenmawr fortress was of a somewhat later date. May not the conjecture be hazarded that the tribes occupying these two larger fortresses met in battle on these uplands, and that they buried their dead on the spot where they were slain?

FIG. 18. CIST, NO. 2, BRYNIAU RIDGE. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

The tumuli seem to occur in groups. Possibly each group may have been the burial-place of a family of the tribe; but, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that many more tumuli may have been covered up by vegetable growth.

For convenience of reference, the mounds have been numbered on the plan.

The first group consists of Nos. 1, 1a, 2, and 3. No. 2 is important, as there seems to be a double cist (Fig. 18), though possibly one of the stones may have been displaced. The lengths of the three longer stones are, respectively,

47 inches, 43 inches, and 43 inches ; the width of the cist is 50 inches ; the capstone measures 2 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 4 inches ; and the diameter of the inclosing circle is 20 feet.

The diameters of Nos. 1, 2a, and 3, are 12 feet, 24 feet, and 12 feet respectively.

Fig. 19. Cist, No. 17, Bryniau Ridge. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

The next group, situated to the south of No. 1, consists of nine mounds (Nos. 4—12), and three of these contain remains of cists, but the cist in No. 4 is doubtful.

Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12 are simple mounds of diameters 15 feet, 15 feet, 9 feet, 10 feet and 7 feet respectively. No. 6 has two sides of a cist remaining, which measure 40 inches and 21 inches, the cist lying from E.S.E. to N.N.W.; the inclosing circle has a diameter of 21 feet. No. 10 has one side of a cist remaining, the length of which is 24 inches, and the diameter of the circle is 12 feet.

A little further south, is a small group of four (Nos. 13—16), simple mounds, with diameters 15 feet, 7 feet, 18 feet, and 9 feet respectively. To the S. S. E. of the last, is a group of three (Nos. 17—19), arranged in triangular form. No. 17 contains a large cist (Fig. 19). Respectively the lengths of the three inclosing stones are 3 feet, 4 feet, and 4 feet 3 inches, their thicknesses being 5 inches, 4 inches, and 4 inches ; their height above the interior surface is about 21 inches, and the diameter of the inclosing mound is 33 feet.

There are two covering stones, measuring 25 inches by 19 inches, and 26 inches by 16 inches. Mr. Elias found in this cist a flint flake or scraper.

All the above-named tumuli adjoin the track from Llanfairfechan or from Craig Lwyd towards the pass between Tal-y-fan and Foel Lwyd.

Almost due south of No. 1, near the bottom of the dip, and near the source of the stream, Afon Maes-y-Bryn, is an important group of seven (Nos. 20—26), which have respectively, diameters of 6 feet, 20 feet, 33 feet, 21 feet, 9 feet, 12 feet, and 6 feet. No. 22 contains a good cist (Fig. 20), the direction of its length being N. N. W. by S. S. E; two of the inclosing stones are 5 inches thick, 15 inches above ground, and 4 feet 3 inches and 2 feet 3 inches long respectively. There is a large capstone close by, measuring 45 inches by 40 inches by 5 inches. The inclosing circle (33 feet diameter) is formed of a well-defined set of single stones set on edge, and inside are signs of two other burials. No 22 has a good circle, and there are traces of a cist. No. 25, excavated by Mr. A. E. Elias, contained at the base a flat stone, under which was black mould. Numerous pieces of coarse gritstone also were found, and these seemed to show traces of fire. This circumstance was also noticed in No. 26.

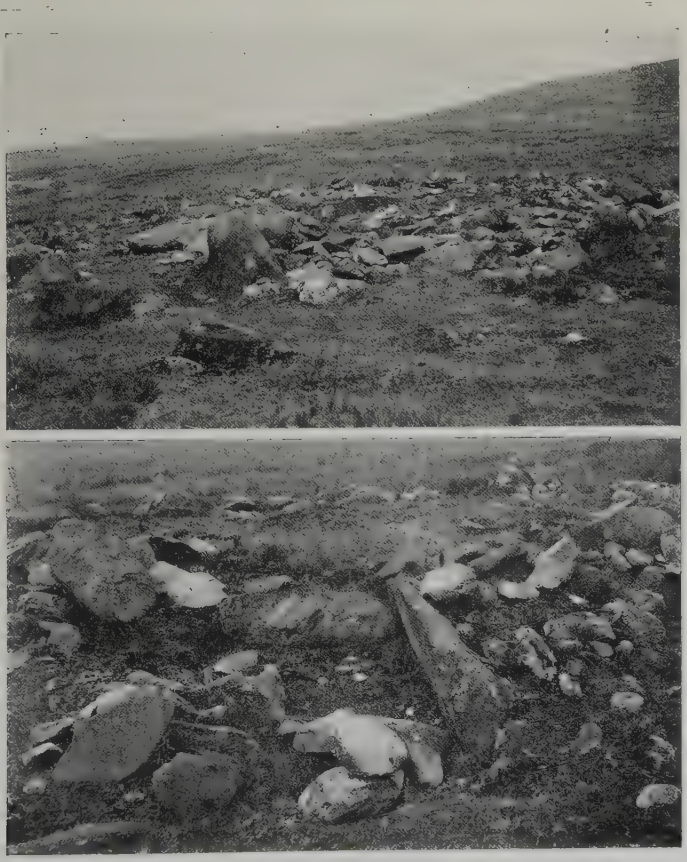


FIG. 20 CIST, No. 22, BRYNIAU RIDGE. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

To the south-west of the last group, on the other side of the stream, and on the rising ground towards Foel Lwyd, is a fairly good hut-circle (24 feet diameter); and again to the south-west of this is No. 28 (Fig. 21), the well-defined mound of which (38 feet in diameter, and with a good outer circle of stones) contains a very good cist, lying from E.S.E. to W.N.W.

Fig. 21. Cist, No. 28, Foel Lwyd Slopes. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

The two side stones are 51 inches and 64 inches long respectively, from 6 inches to 10 inches thick, and 24 inches high above the ground; the stone at one end is 27 inches long, 24 inches deep, and 7 inches thick. The internal width of the cist increases uniformly from 17 inches at the W.N.W. end to 24 inches.

There is on one side a large capstone 70 inches by 43 inches, and 9 inches thick; it is perfectly flat on the under surface.

The early inhabitants displayed considerable skill in the making of cists, as the stones overlap in such a manner that considerable difficulty is experienced in moving them.

2.—About 380 yards to the east of the Druids' Circle, and about 20 yards to the north of the road leading to the Red Farm, is a large tumulus 40 feet in diameter, and to the east of this are indications of two circles (diameters 9 feet), with openings to the north-west. There are also two tumuli at some distance to the S.S.E. of the Druids' Circle.

3.—Several tumuli lie to the north of the track between Waen Gyrach and Tyddyn Grasod, and rather nearer the latter. The E.S.E. portion of the group is formed of a large circle about 56 feet in diameter, with traces of two tumuli inside (Fig. 22). This abuts on another circle, about 14 feet in diameter, with traces of an entrance to the W.S.W., and on the western side are several stones still upright. Forty-six feet to the west of this is a tumulus 12 feet in diameter, with a few large stones on their longer edges, and inside the tumulus is a cist with the south and east sides perfect, the side stones measuring 4 feet by 5 feet 3 inches, with traces of walling on the west side (Fig. 23). Close by, is the capstone (oval in shape), which measures 4 feet 10 inches by 4 feet 4 inches.

FIG. 22. TUMULUS, NEAR TYDDYN GRASOD. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

There are also several tumuli near the Penmaenmawr reservoir.

4.—About 200 yards south of Caer Bach,* is a large circular inclosure, 30 yards in diameter, with an easterly entrance. The width of the bank surrounding it is about 4 feet. Still further south of Caer Bach, about 400 yards, is a tumulus 23 feet in diameter, containing a cist with three sides complete, the open side facing S. to S.S.W. (Fig. 24).

* Caer Fach may be more correct.

FIG. 23. CIST, NEAR TYDDYN GRASOD. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

The cist measures internally 4 feet by 2 feet 10 inches; the stone on the north side is about 4 feet long and 5 inches thick; on the east is a stone 3 feet 10 inches long by 15 inches thick, and on the west side are two stones of about the same thickness, these measuring together 3 feet 3 inches. The height of the stones above the interior of the cist is 14 inches.

FIG. 24. TUMULUS, SOUTH OF CAER BACH. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

On the Drum ridge, on the next peak to the north of Drum, is a large tumulus (Fig. 25), measuring 48 feet by 50 feet, nearly circular.

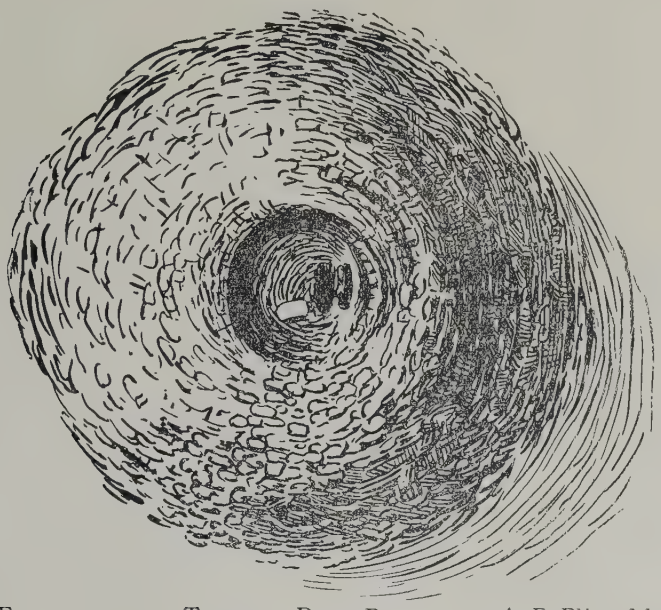


FIG. 25. TUMULUS, DRUM RIDGE. *A. E. Elias, del.*

The inside diameter is at the present day 14 feet, and the depth is 4 feet 9 inches. At a depth of 4 feet on the west is one side of a cist, the length of which was probably 3 feet. On the north-east side is evidently a part of a capstone (flat), 2½ feet long by 1 foot 10 inches wide. The cist runs roughly north and south, and the height of the mound above the present surface is nearly 5 feet.

I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Elias for the above particulars. It is possible that this tumulus may be Carnedd-y-Ddelw, mentioned further on (p. 48).

In March, 1889, a large burial mound was discovered by Mr. C. H. Darbishire, J.P., in Ty Mawr field, Penmaenmawr.

It was oval in shape, about 30 feet long by about 15 feet wide, and nowhere more than 3 feet above the level of the ground. About ten large urns, from 4 inches to 9 inches high, and from 3¼ inches to 6¾ inches across the mouth, and three small urns were found. The large urns (Fig. 26), which were very fragile, crumbling when found, and probably sun-dried, mostly rested mouth downwards on flat stones, but, in one or two cases, stones were placed on the top to protect them. Each urn contained charcoal, earth, and calcined bones, with in two instances a bronze pin 1½ inches long. The largest urn was inverted, but

not on a stone. The soil around was black, and the urn was evidently placed where the body was cremated. In addition, there were about seven burials without urns, and, in one case, the ashes, placed in a small hole in the ground, were covered with a slab of shale. The very small urn (Fig. 27) was harder baked, of a different colour, contained no calcined bones, and was placed with its mouth uppermost. One of the small food vessels contained bones of a small mammal, and a few bones, other than human, were found in some of the large urns. Perhaps the most interesting discovery was a small stone vessel, about 4½ inches long, 2 inches wide, and 1½ inches high (Fig. 27), which had evidently been formed by cutting off a rounded boulder, and scooping it out to form a bowl.* It was in one of the larger urns, and it is unique. In one part of the grave were found a number of flat stones (1 foot 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches), placed upright on the natural surface of the ground, at unequal distances, forming an irregularly-shaped figure. Within this there were no urns, but two or three interments.†

Fig. 26. Urn, Penmaenmawr Tumulus. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.* (In Chester Museum).

* Some writers consider that it was used for a lamp, others as a mortar for crushing small seeds.

† Arch. Camb., viii., 5, 33 (1891).

In a small chamber at a place called "Cae Gwilym Ddu," in the parish of Llanllechid, were found some brass utensils, previous to 1802, but these have, unfortunately, disappeared.*

URN, N. WALES. FIG. 27.

BOWL-SHAPED VESSEL, PENMAENMAWR. (In Chester Museum).

URN, PENMAENMAWR. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

In the making of a road to Pen-y-bryn, at Aber, in 1824, about a yard deep, were found an urn containing ashes, and a portion of a skull placed [face downwards on a flat stone], and about the same date a bronze celt was discovered at Wig Farm.†

When the Marine Drive was being made round the Great Orme's Head, what was probably a round barrow, "many yards across," and possibly of the Bronze Age, was destroyed. Near the centre were clear "traces of fire," but neither bones nor other relics were discovered.

In the extreme south end of the district, between Pentrevoelas and Cerniogau, are a great number of burial places, indicated by the place-names—Dol Trebeddau and Trebeddau (the "township of graves").‡

It has thus been seen how the whole neighbourhood abounds in examples of pre-historic burials. It will not therefore be out of place to describe briefly some of the most important "finds" connected with these tumuli, more especially as from these some slight idea can be formed of the manners of the early races who then peopled

* Williams' "Snowdon Mountains."
†Rev. E. Owen in Arch. Camb., 1864.
‡ See Chapter on "Incised Stones" [Brochmael's Tomb].

this district, and who, as often as not, buried with their dead some notable object used during their lifetime. Moreover, the belief seems to have prevailed that the departed spirit required food and drink, and so we find many vessels (of various shapes) which may have been used for drink or food. They are rather small in size.

Earthenware Vessels met with in connection with interments may be divided into four classes, viz.:—Food-vessels ; Drinking-cups ; Cinerary Urns ; Incense-cups.

Food-vessels.—These are most common, and are found in association with both burnt and unburnt bodies. They vary from 3 inches to 8 inches high, and are of various shapes.

Drinking-cups.—These are usually of smaller diameter, just above the middle height, than at the mouth, and there is also an expansion from the middle to the base ; they are thus roughly of hour-glass section.

Cinerary Urns are the largest pieces of pottery found. They vary in height from a few inches to about 3 feet, and their breadth at the widest part usually equals about the height. The ornamentation is generally on the upper part of the vessel.

Incense-cups are found with burnt bones, but archæologists are not quite unanimous as to their use ; possibly they were Cinerary Urns for the remains of infants. Cord ornamentation is common, and sometimes there is a kind of grape pattern. Occasionally these " incense cups " are perforated.

No pottery has been found which can be dated earlier than the Neolithic Period, and the pottery of that period was always made by hand and never turned.* It was burnt in the open, and not in a kiln. The pottery connected with interments was never glazed, though drinking-cups often show signs of having been polished, when the clay was moist, by bone or other implements.

Mr. W. O. Roberts, of Plas Dulyn, Llanbedr, found in a tumulus on Bwlch-y-Gwryd (below Drum), at a height of about 1,800 feet, a small vase, about 3½ inches high, which, for workmanship, might have been a drinking-cup (Fig. 28) had it not been so exceedingly small ; moreover, it was partially broken when found, and there were ashes in it.

The marks were probably made with a pointed piece of wood, pressed on the clay while the clay was still soft. This is characteristic of the earliest period of the Bronze Age. Later in

* This applies generally to the Bronze Period, with rare exceptions. See Rice Holmes' "Ancient Britain," p. 159, Note 1.

the Bronze Age, lines were made by string, and, as time advanced, the ornamentation became less elaborate. A similar vase, but of possibly later date than the preceding example, was found in the Ty Mawr tumulus, Penmaenmawr, in 1889 (Fig. 27), associated with urns of a larger size (Fig. 26).

FIG. 28. URN, BWLCH-Y-GWRYD. *Photo by Edge, Ltd.*

The ashes usually were placed in one part of the grave, and were either covered with a flat stone, or were placed either under an urn, or in an urn, and, in some cases, the urn was covered with a flat stone. The food vessel was placed in another part of the grave, or inside the urn containing the ashes. The ornamentation of the urn was often in the form of alternate bands of pattern and plain surface.

The fragments of urns found in the Llanfairfechan grave were of unburnt clay, the bottom of one urn measuring 2¾ inches. The ornamentation consisted of undulating bands of surface between parallel lines, the intervening surface being filled in with parallel strokes at right angles. The waved bands were arranged so that the tops of the waves were next each other, thus causing the breadth of the scored surface to expand and contract alternately.*

* Arch. Camb., 1888, p 168-170.

In referring to the Prehistoric Periods, the division originally suggested by Sir John Lubbock (afterwards Lord Avebury) will be adopted, viz.:—

1. Palæolithic (from the Greek words signifying "old stone").

2. Neolithic (from the Greek words signifying "new stone") ending in Northern Europe, possibly about 1800 B.C.

3. Bronze Age, ending in this part of Europe about 500 B.C.

4. Early Iron Age, represented in Britain by Late Celtic (or Early British) Culture.

These several epochs must not be held to refer to divisions of time, but rather they denote the stages of culture through which man is believed to have passed before the time of written history. Neither must they be taken as distinctly separated periods, for evidence tends to show considerable overlapping.

There are no signs of the work of Palæolithic man in the district dealt with in this work, but we have examples belonging to each of the three later periods.

In Great Britain, man, by the beginning of the Neolithic Age, had developed into the state when he could train animals for domestic use, cultivate cereals for food, and grow textile plants to provide materials for garments, use the bow for hunting, and for offensive and defensive purposes, make rude pottery, and construct a place wherein to dwell. He buried his dead chief in a chambered sepulchral mound (a long barrow), and from these and other megalithic monuments, evidence is obtained of the birth of primitive religious beliefs. Implements and weapons were made in a great variety of forms, and, unlike those of the Palæolithic Age, which were simply flaked, they were now usually flaked, polished, and hafted, though the knives, scrapers, arrow-heads, and even some axes, of the New Stone Age, appear to have been found more serviceable without being ground or polished. A few examples found in this district may be referred to.

Fig. 29 is a stone implement picked up by Mr. A. C. Nicholson, of Oswestry, in 1893, near Foel Lwyd, the western spur of Tal-y-fan. It is not of flint, but of felstone, merely chipped into form and unground.

Sir John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., in his book "The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," p. 76, writing of those celts

which are "merely chipped into form and unground," states that they occur also in other kinds of stone than flint, but are much rarer, and that he has "a fragment of one in greenstone, found by Mr. W. D. Darbishire, F.G.S., at Dwygyfylchi, and another of felstone, extremely rude, found by him on Penmaenmawr."

Fig. 29. Stone Celt, Foel Lwyd. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.* (In Chester Museum).

In this state they are rarer than the beautifully-shaped celt shown by four views in Fig. 30, found by the Rev. Thomas Roberts, M.A., R.N., in a field near Llanrwst. This, after being chipped, or flaked, has been ground or polished over the whole surface, with special attention to giving it a knife-edge.

Two stone axes and a circular stone ornament were found on the slopes of Dinas, Llanfairfechan, and, on the neighbouring mountain (Penmaenmawr), some years ago, a stone hammer with a socket for a handle. The hammer weighed 10½-lbs., and measured 10 inches long by 4½ inches wide at the cutting edge, and 2½ inches at the blunt end; it was fairly polished, and was made of the local rock.

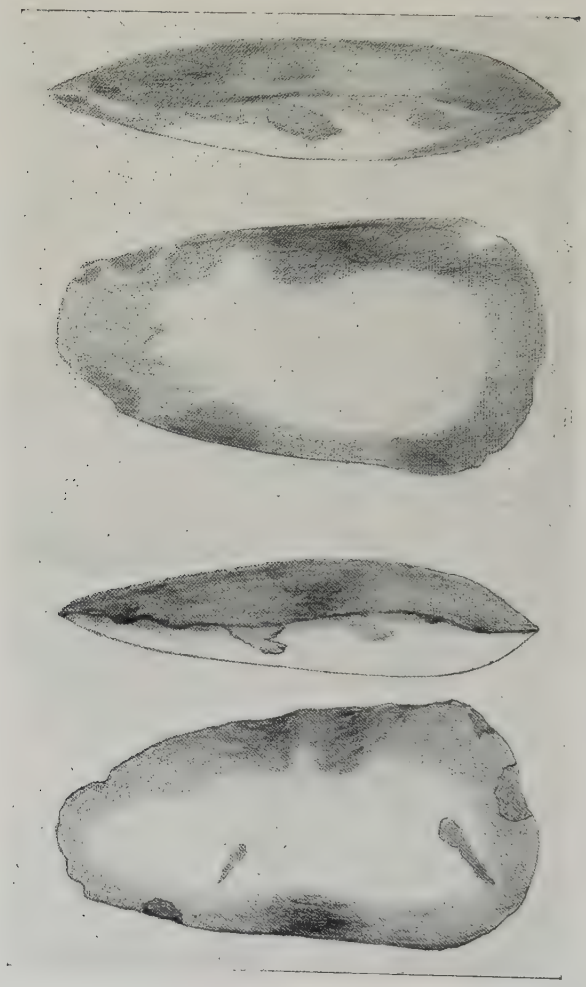


FIG. 30. STONE CELT, LLANRWST. *Ivor P. Williams, del.*

Among the discoveries on the Great Orme's Head about 1837, and again in 1849, were some stone hammers and a stone mould.

There is a great range in the size, shape, and finish of polished celts,* and the reader is referred to Sir John Evans' work (mentioned above), where very valuable details may be obtained.

* The name of "celt," where used in this work, is intended to refer to a hatchet, adze, or chisel. Sir John Evans says there can be no doubt as to its derivation, "it being no other than the English form of the Latin 'celtis' or 'celtes,' a chisel."

During March 1911, was excavated what appears to be a small pre-Roman village (discovered by Mr. A. E. Elias, about 1908), just above Gwern Engan, to the south of the Sychnant Pass. It consists of a number of hut circles, surrounded by a substantial stone wall, with two transverse walls. In addition to numerous "pot-boilers," there were found three stone implements worthy of attention. One is of a characteristic axe-head shape, oval in section, 5 inches long, and 2 inches across at the widest part. Another stone is 7½ inches long, rounded at each end, 3½ inches wide (from top to bottom), and oval in section; judging by the flattened edge along one side, it appears to have been used as a hand-hammer or pounding-stone. The third implement is 7¼ inches long, 3 inches broad, and ¾ inch thick; the ends are rounded, and both long edges have been flattened (possibly by pounding some animal or vegetable substance for food).

The introduction of metal marked a most important step in human culture. For the beginning of bronze in Great Britain and Ireland, the date suggested by Sir John Evans is about 1800 B.C., and he divides the Bronze Age into three parts:—

(1) The period of the "barrows," characterised by the primitive forms hardly found apart from burials;* (2) The period of the flanged celt and the tanged spear-head; and (3) The period of the bronze hoards, when swords and socketed celts and spear-heads are most conspicuous. To the last period he would assign four or five centuries, and an approximate date is thus reached for the close of the "barrow" period about 900 B.C.

The "finds" in this district which belong to the Bronze Period are fairly numerous, and comprise bronze celts, spear-heads, swords, and other articles.

Professor Boyd Dawkins follows Gen. Lane Fox in dividing the axes of the Bronze Age into three distinct types, viz.:—

1. The oldest form is the simple wedge, which was secured to a wooden handle in the manner shown in Fig. 31a. This was a weak construction, as the handle would be liable to split.

2. The middle period form consists of the metal being wedged

* In the Neolithic Period, to which the Long Barrows are referred, there was a noticeable difference in the method of disposal of the dead in the north and south of England. The Long Barrows of the north show an elaborate system of cremation, while many in the south contained unburnt burials.

In the Bronze Age, both burnt and unburnt burials are found in barrows that are circular and more or less conical. Cremation, according to the British Museum authorities, appears to have been by far the most common usage in Cornwall, and almost universal in the counties of Carnarvon, Denbigh, and Merioneth. The Aryans are credited with the introduction of cremation into Europe.

into the wood, and then bound around. Further security was obtained by tying from the metal loop to the wooden handle (see Fig. 31b).

3. Lastly, the wooden handle was let into the socketed celt, and was further secured from loop to handle as before (see Fig. 31c).

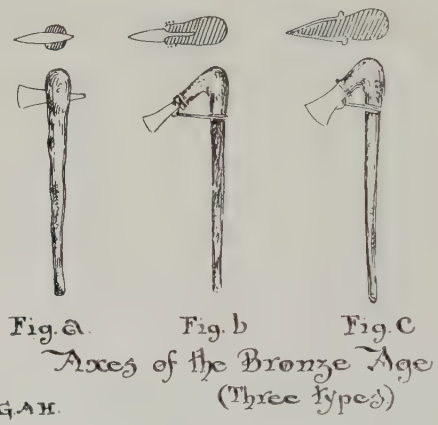


Fig. 31 (a, b, c.). *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

The following is a more detailed description of the most important of these finds :—

A collection of seven bronze celts at Gloddaeth, belonging to the Lady Augusta Mostyn, are probably those found in 1720 at Deganwy ;* another celt found at Cilmeityn Bach, Bryn Pydew, near Llandudno, is now in the possession of Mr. William Owen, Cystenin, Llandudno ; but, perhaps, the most interesting "finds" of bronze weapons are swords and spears. On the slopes of Carnedd Llywelyn, there was recently found a well-preserved bronze sword, a description and illustration of which (Fig. 32) is appended. Lastly, a bronze celt (palstave, or axe-head) was found in a field called Cae Canol Uchaf, Bwlch-y-Maen Farm, near Bettws-y-Coed, and is shown in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 33).

The bronze sword (Fig. 32) was found some years ago, by Mr. Rowland Jones, of Tan Llyn Eigiau Farm, on the slopes of Carnedd Llywelyn, above Llyn Eigiau.

* Canon Williams' "History of Aberconwy," p. 2; "Cambrian Traveller's Guide," 1813, col. 396; "Camden's Britannia," p. 192.

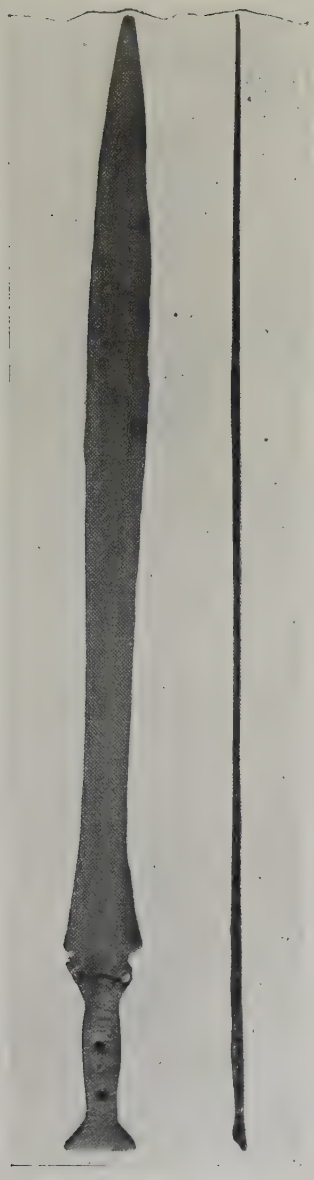
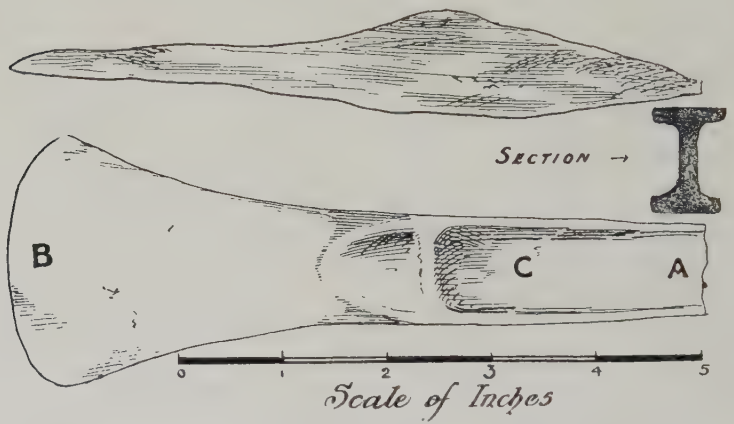


FIG. 32.
BRONZE SWORD. CARNEDD LLYWELYN.
Photo. by Edge, Ltd.

It is of the leaf-shaped type, with the handle cast in one piece with the blade. Its total length—blade and tang—is 22⅜ inches; about ⅜ inch has been broken off the point, leaving a broken edge 3-16 inch across. The greatest width of the blade—1¼ inches—is about 7 inches from the pointed end, and the narrowest part—15-16 inch—is 15 inches from the pointed end. In cross-section, the blade is of oval form, and it averages slightly under ¼ inch in thickness longitudinally down the centre, where there is a slight tendency to a ridge on both faces. It thickens a little towards the hilt. This specimen is noticeable for the absence of the usual two notches near the base of the blade. Both edges show signs of use, and sharpening—by rubbers of sandstone, or otherwise—is distinctly traceable. The edges of the blade curve gracefully to the shoulder, which is 1⅝ inches across, and in the shoulder there are symmetrically placed two rivet-holes nearly 3-16 inch diameter, with the remains of two others just above. From the centre of the shoulder to the pommel end, the tang measures about 4 inches. Near the shoulder end, the tang is fully ⅝ inch wide, and ¼ inch thick, thence it swells on each side to a width of ¾ inch, again diminishing to ⅝ inch width, with a final swelling out to 1⅜ inches at the pommel end, which is straight across. In the widest part of the grip, there are two holes, 13-16 inch apart, and about 3-16 inch diameter, and between them a third hole, about a quarter the size of the others, but counter-sunk on each side, as though it might be an unfinished hole. Probably the hilt was of wood, horn, or bone, rivetted on to the metal. The outlines of the blade and of the hilt end are very graceful and symmetrical.

(G. A. H.).

Bronze swords really belonging to Roman times have frequently been ascribed to the Ancient British Period. The present specimen, however, is distinctly of the "leaf-shaped" type, and, therefore, a late specimen of work of the Bronze Age. It contains so many characteristics of the bronze swords found in the British Isles—particularly those from Dowris (King's County, Ireland), and from Battle (Sussex)—that it may fairly be attributed to the centuries between 800 B.C and 400 B C. (G.A.H.).



Bronze Celt (Palstave or Axe Head) found in field called Cae Canol Uchaf, Bwlch-y-Maen farm
G A H ~ 1909.

Fig. 33. Bronze Celt, Bwlch-y-Maen. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

A bronze spear-head (Fig. 34) was found near Nebo, Capel Garmon, about 1810, by Mrs. Evans, the mother of Mr. Evans, of Cobden House, Rhyl. It is now in the possession of Col. C. S. Mainwaring, J.P., of Cerrig-y-druidion.

Archdeacon Evans mentions the discovery, in 1822, of two bronze spear-heads in a field called Dol Trebeddau, near Pentrevoelas.

They were of brass or bronze, one 9 inches, and the other 4¾ inches long. The cavity to receive the shaft was not uniformly hollow downwards, but separated into four slips or sides, which probably were rivetted to the wood. The point, or blade, of the larger was 3¾ inches, and the smaller 2½ inches.

The spear-head (Fig. 34) consists of a hollow tube 17 inches long, with two wings jutting out therefrom for a length of 13 inches (measured from the pointed end), elongated leaf-shape in front view. The tube is 13-16 inches diameter at the base, roughly circular in section, and extends

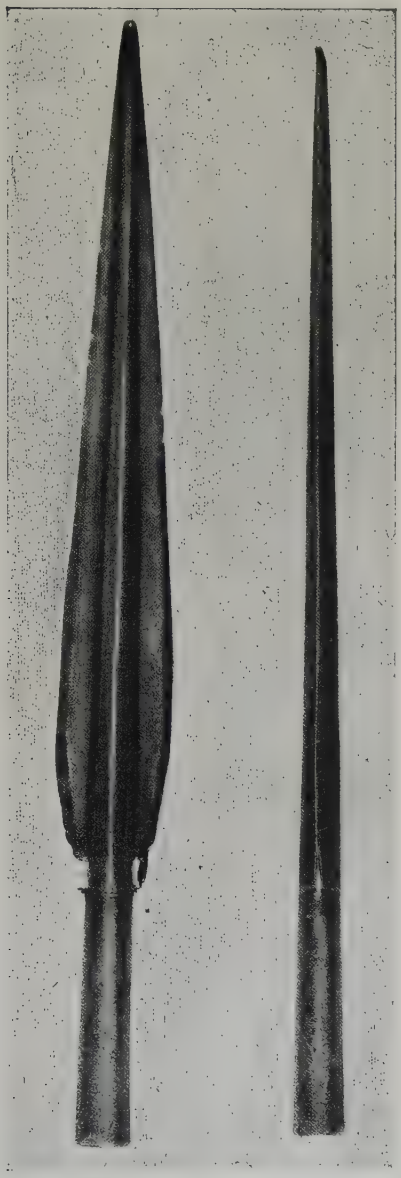


FIG. 34. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*
BRONZE SPEAR-HEAD, CAPEL GARMON.

the full length of the spear-head, diminishing regularly to the pointed end, where it is about ¼ inch across. The broadest part of the spear-head is about 10 inches from the top, where it is one and 11-16 inches across, from edge to edge of wings. At this point the centre tube is about ½ inch diameter, and somewhat flattened in section. At the base of each wing there has been a loop, and one loop is still perfect. The weight of the spear-head is 10 ¼ ounces. (G. A. H.).

An elegant bronze spear-head, linear-shaped, was found about 1892, by Mr. Robert Storey, in some cave-debris on Rhiwleden (Little Orme's Head),* associated with remains of horse, rhinoceros, base of stag's horn, etc. In 1893, an urn and a bronze dagger were found in a tumulus at Llansannan. Again, a bronze bracelet (or armlet) was unearthed by Mr. Robert Gerard, when digging the foundations, in 1897, of his house (Primrose Cottage), near St. Mary's Church, Llanrwst, and was sold, in 1904, to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The bracelet† (1½ inches wide) is made in three pieces (Fig. 35), an inner band, plain, the edges of which are turned to hold securely the repoussé external design, which is made in two sections (each section being a semi-circle). The decoration is carried out in bold repoussé of the finest period of late-Celtic art. The bracelet is slightly oval in form

* Exhibited by Mr. R. Storey at a meeting of the Liverpool Geol. Association, April, 1892.
† From particulars kindly furnished by the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

now, but was probably round originally, with an inside measurement of 3 inches diameter.

FIG. 35. BRONZE BRACELET. *Photo. by Alf. Hughes, Llanrwst.*

On the Great Orme, among the debris at the back of a large loose rock, near the Pigeon's Cave, were found (in May, 1898) some valuable ornaments and bronze weapons,* consisting of two gold shoulder brooches, a bronze celt, and a bronze dart-point. One of the brooches, both of which are of fine gold, weighs nearly ¾ ounces, and is beautifully engraved with 21 concentric lines, while the other bears traces of having been enamelled.

The early Celtic people used these brooches (without pins) to gather the corners of their robes together, the under robe on the right shoulder, and the outer robe on the left shoulder, thus proving that the owner was a wealthy person of considerable position. It is possible that they were the ornaments of some British chieftain, hidden after his death by another clansman of the Decantæ, whose territory included the Creuddyn peninsula, their southern boundary being near Hendre-waelod on the river Conwy, not far from Glan Conwy. The bronze celt weighed 13 ounces. It is not uncommon to find bronze implements, or weapons, associated in some cases, and not in others, with burials.

In a cairn on the top of Drosgl, north of Drum, two men, Paul Parry, of Rhiwiau Uchaf,† and Hugh Owen, of Llanfairfechan,

* History of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, by the Rev. W. Venables Williams, M.A., p. 61.

† "Llanfairfechan and Aber," by G. Jones (Glan Menai), Carnarvon, 1901.

found, about 100 years ago, a gold cross, about 5 inches long, and the spot has been since known as Carnedd-y-Ddelw (the "cairn of the image").

There are several interesting records of discoveries on the Great Orme's Head. The author* of "A Trip to Conway and Five Days in Wales," published at Liverpool in 1837, describes the finding of some stone hammers and bone chisels in some closed-up workings, the bone tools being encrusted with copper. Again, on Oct. 10th, 1849, stone hammers, together with bone augers, were found in another old working; and, lastly, Mr. Albert Way, in the Archæological Journal, No. 61, 1869, p. 22, refers to an obtusely-pointed fragment of bronze found also about 1849,† with a stone mould. He conjectures that this was part of an ingot, and a remnant of Roman metallurgy.‡ It was presented by the Hon. W. O. Stanley to the British Museum.

With regard to the Early Iron Period, there are proofs that iron was produced in Britain centuries before the Roman occupation, but no furnaces of the earliest period have been found. Mr. Charles H. Read, of the British Museum, says that it is probable that the Ancient Britons employed the simple low hearth, resembling the Catalan furnace of the Pyrenees,§ which has been in use there from very remote times to the present day. The source from which Britain derived the art of extracting iron from its ore, seems to have been the Mediterranean region, but it may also be reasonably held that the first iron furnace in Britain was derived from that used in the extraction of tin.

From what has been observed in excavating tumuli of the Bronze Age in Britain, we can form a fairly vivid picture of the mode of burial in those far-away times, but we have no evidence as to the ceremonies. May not these be conjecturally supplied from a perusal of the following passage from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,‖ where there is a description, not only of a similar mode of burial, but also of the ceremonies connected with it?

* Probably Mr. Isaac Lloyd, Standard Office, Liverpool.

† Williams' Complete Guide to Llandudno, 1864. See also Arch. Journal, vol. vii., p. 68, and Gentleman's Magazine, 1849.

‡ See also Paper by Prof. John Phillips, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Oxford, on Ancient Metallurgy and Mining amongst the Brigantes, and in some other parts of Britain.

§ See description of the hill-fortress, Penygaer.

‖ Morley's Beowulf, lines 1357—1376, from the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle."

Beowulf, when dying, tells his faithful thane how his body shall be burned on the whale ness, or headland:—

> "My life is well paid for this hoard; and now
> Care for the people's need. I may no more
> Be with them. Bid the warriors raise a barrow
> After the burning, on the ness by the sea,
> On Hronesness, which shall rise high and be
> For a remembance to my people. Seafarers
> Who from afar over the mists of waters
> Drive foamy keels, may call it Beowulf's Mount
> Hereafter." . . . . . .

The thane sent for the people, but when they came, they found Beowulf dead.

> "Then the Goth's people reared a mighty pile
> With shields and armour hung, as he had asked,
> And in the midst the warriors laid their lord,
> Lamenting. Then the warriors on the mount
> Kindled a mighty bale fire; the smoke rose
> Black from the Swedish pine, the sound of flame,
> Mingled with sound of weeping; . . . while smoke
> Spread over heaven. Then upon the hill
> The people of the Weders wrought a mound,
> High, broad, and to be seen far out at sea.
> In ten days they had built and walled it in
> As the wise thought most worthy; placed in it
> Rings, jewels, other treasures from the hoard.
> They left the riches, golden joys of earls,
> In dust, for earth to hold; where yet it lies,
> Useless as ever. Then about the mound
> The warriors rode, and raised a mournful song
> For their dead king; exalted his brave deeds,
> Holding it fit men honour their liege lord,
> Praise him and love him when his soul is fled.
> Thus the [Geat's] people, sharers of his hearth,
> Mourned their chief's fall, praised him, of kings, of men
> The mildest and the kindest, and to all
> His people gentlest, yearning for their praise."

Mr. Andrew Lang pointed out* the astonishingly close parallelism of the above passage with Homer's description of the prayer of the ghost of Elpenor (in the Odyssey):—"Burn me in my armour, all that is mine, and pile for me a cairn on the shore of the gray sea, the memorial of a luckless man, that men unborn may inquire concerning me."

* "Morning Post," April 17th, 1911.

In 1881, there were found in the bell-chamber of the tower of Thornhill Church, Yorkshire, parts of the shaft of a sandstone grave-cross, and Dr. George Stephens, F.S.A., states it is "the only runic example yet found in England of BERG for Barrow (or Grave-mound)." Date about 700—800 A.D.

We have thus seen that upright stone circles surrounded many barrows and cairns, and these were invented before the Bronze Age,* but gradually the circle was separated from the barrow or cairn and became the leading feature of the grave. Such stone circles are to be seen in many English counties and in Wales. Earlier writers regarded stone circles as Druidical Temples (hence the name assigned to a circle at the back of Penmaenmawr), and even now a famous French archæologist still supports that view; if so, may not the Druids have directed the worshippers? It has also been contended that many circles were orientated to the place of the midsummer sunrise, and that outlying stones acted as pointers. But one thing is fairly certain, that many stone circles were erected in honour of the dead, and, even supposing that there were no burials, they may have been erected in honour of brave men who had fallen in battle, or of some chief whose body could not be recovered, i.e., cenotaphs. The same remarks apply to the solitary stones or menhirs ("maen hir," plural "meini hirion").

The best examples of stone circles in our district are those on the uplands at the back of Penmaenmawr, including the well-known Druids' Circle (Fig.36), locally called Meini Hirion ("Long Stones"). This last has been described by various writers from the time of Sir John Wynne,† among them Pennant,‡ Mr. Longueville Jones,§ and Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S.

Sir John Wynne's description (1553-1626) is so accurate that with literal alterations it is quoted at length.

> This monument (called Y Meini Hirion) stands round as a circle compassed about with a stone wall, and within the wall close unto the wall are long great stones round about the circle standing upon their ends in the ground, that a man would wonder where in these parts such stones were to be found. . . There are of these stones now standing in this circle, as I take it, twelve, whereof some of them are two-yards-and-three-quarters, some two

* T. Rice Holmes' "Ancient Britain," p. 207.

† "An Ancient Survey of Penmaenmawr," p. 24. Re-edited by W. Bezant Lowe, June, 1906.

‡ Tours in Wales," vol. iii., p. 118.

§ Arch. Cambrensis, 1846.

yards, some a yard-and-three-quarters above ground, besides what is in the ground; the circle within these long stones, which we call Meini Hirion, is every way in breadth some six-and-twenty yards; this stands upon the plain mountain, as soon as you come to the height. . . It should seem that this was a place whereunto the ancient Britons came from the Dinas aforesaid (Dinas Penmaen, or Braich-y-Ddinas) to encamp themselves and train their soldiers; it stands in a place fit for jousts and tournaments, and this circle thus rounded might be the place where the King's tent was pitched; and near to this circle there are three pretty big stones upon their ends standing triangle-wise like a tribbett (*trybedd*), whereupon as they say was set a great cauldron to boil meat in, and surely the three stones do look as if they had been long in a great fire."

FIG. 36. DRUIDS' CIRCLE (No. 1). *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

Pennant, writing in 1781, states that there are ten upright stones, the largest 5-ft. 3-ins. high, and on the ground another 11-ft. 2-ins., and that the circle is completed by a low bank of loose stones between the great stones, the diameter of the circle being 80 feet. Mr. Longueville Jones, writing in 1846, says that the circle is a double one, the inner consisting of eleven stones, some of them 8 feet high, with small stones between them, the outer circle being much broken up, and the inner one nearly complete, and within this again are traces of a still smaller circle. It will be seen that there is a fairly close agreement between these descriptions. At the present day, there is one well-marked circle, with traces of

another inside. Llewelyn Jewitt, writing in November, 1876, on "English Antiquities," says :—

"A large circle on Penmaenmawr was composed of several uprights connected with smaller masonry. Here the interments were apparently made beside the pillars. Against the inner side of the tallest stone on the eastern part, were the remains of a small Cistvaen ; while against the pillar facing it on the opposite side, was heaped up a small cairn. The whole is surrounded by a ditch, within which is another small cairn."

A short distance to the west of this is another circle (Fig. 37), with prominent stones, which have unfortunately been moved, so that the circle is not so distinct; and again to the south-west of this, on some slightly raised ground, is still another, where the circle is marked by a ring of earth, with small stones projecting through it at intervals.* Pennant states "there are *four* circles near the first, and in the centre of one a *flat* stone"; this last seems to have disappeared, and, in fact, in his time these circles seem to have been far more numerous. Alas! they have been removed for walls and gate-posts!!

FIG. 37. DRUIDS' CIRCLE (No. 2). *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

* Tradition says that a bloody battle was fought here between the Romans and the Britons, and that the "Carneddau," now visible, were raised over the bodies of the Britons that fell. See E. Parry's "Railway Companion from Chester to Holyhead" (1848), pp. 101—2.

The late Mr. G. Jones (Glan Menai), of Llanfairfechan, stated that from the largest circle an old roadway could be traced from the direction of Conway towards Llanfairfechan, and that it was used in comparatively modern times, before the Holyhead road was constructed through Penmaenan.

About half-a-mile to the west, in a field not far from a tumulus with an outer circle of stones, is a small circle of eight fairly large stones, with an opening in the eastern side (Fig. 38).

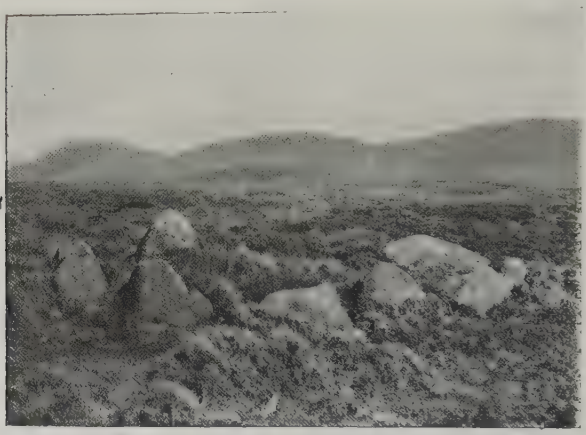


FIG. 38. SMALL CIRCLE, PENMAENMAWR UPLANDS. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

To the south-west of Meini Hirion is a round-topped hill called Moelfre, which is of interest, as it has a tradition, thus quaintly described by Sir John Wynne :—*

"Near this place is a fine, delicate hill, called Moelfre, . . and upon this hill is a circle marked, whereupon stood three stones about a yard-and-a-quarter above ground, the one red as blood, the other white, and the third a little bluer than the white stone, standing triangle-wise." . . .

He then goes on to say what the tradition is,—

"Three women, . . . upon a Sabbath day in the morning, went to the top of this hill to winnow their corn, and, having spread their winnowing-sheet upon the ground and begun their work, some of their neighbours . . . did reprehend them . . . for breaking the Lord's Commandment by working upon the Sabbath day. These faithless women, regarding their profit more than the observing of God's Commandments, made slight of their neighbours admonition, ... whereupon it pleased God to transform them into three

* "Ancient Survey of Penmaenmawr."

pillars of stones, corresponding to the colour of their clothes, and so to leave them there as an example to others."

Sir John Wynne quaintly remarks:

"The tradition is wholesome, and will deter others from working on the Sabbath Day."

and he later on regrets that

"these stones being worth the seeing as they were there placed, have been digged up by some idle-headed youths within these six years, and were rolled down the hill."

Near the track, alongside a wall leading from Llyn-y-Wrach to Tyddyn Grasod, about ⅓-mile due west of a small farm-house called Hafoty, and about ⅔-mile to the N.N.E. of Maen Namor, is a fairly good example of a stone circle (Fig. 39). Its diameter is about 40-feet, and six stones are still standing; the largest stone is 2 feet 6 inches high, 3 feet broad on the side facing west, and 2 feet thick at the base. It tapers to a thin edge at the top, which is one foot broad.

FIG. 39. CIRCLE NEAR HAFOTY, GYFFIN. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

About fifty yards to the W.S.W. of the above are remains of a tumulus, with three or four of the outer ring of stones still remaining, and to the N.W. is a small tumulus.

On the summit of Moelfre is a mound, which measures roughly 24 feet by 20 feet, and a line drawn through its longer axis cuts the ridge of Cefn Maen Namor a little to the south of east. The entrance seems to be at the eastern end.

Not far from the Pass-of-the-Two-Stones, the Roman road to Caerhun passes between walls. A few hundred yards from this point may be seen, over the wall on the right, what appears to be either two adjacent stone circles or a series of stones enclosing an oval space.

It remains only to say a few words about the monoliths or maenhirs. These seem to be chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of the Roman Road from the Conwy to Aber. From their general position it is quite possible that, in early times, some of them may have been land-marks over a somewhat difficult country, before the Romans made their celebrated road from Conovium (Caer Rhun) to Aber. One of these stones is said to have been at the bottom of the slope below Llanbedr, but it has unfortunately been broken up. Near "Bath Farm," Llanbedr, is another—a huge stone of rectangular shape. Further on, near Cromlech Maen-y-Bardd, is a long, needle-shaped stone (Fig. 40), sloping a little to the east; it is 7 feet

FIG. 40. MAEN HIR, NEAR MAEN-Y-BARDD. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

3 inches high, by 1 foot 2 inches, by 1 foot 3 inches. There is a quaint tradition regarding this stone which brings in the "inevitable giant."

> He was standing on Pen-y-gaer, and had sent his dog to bring in his sheep from near Tal-y-fan, but as the dog remained in Cwt-y-Filiast (Cromlech Maen-y-Bardd), he threw his stick after it, and the stick became this standing stone on touching the ground.

Cwt-y-Filiast means "the kennel (hut) of the greyhound." The cromlech on the Great Orme is called "Llety-y-Filiast." It is a possible conjecture that these names are allusions to Ceridwen, the British Muse, who was symbolized by the greyhound.* The legend may signify that the chief god, or else the chieftain, had set up a new worship, competing with that of Ceres. The giant's staff bears some resemblance to the heathen "groves" (A.V.) in Canaan, erected in honour of Astoreth, the Hebrew word used being given as "Asherim," "Asherod," or "Ashera," in the Revised Version of the Bible, and in Ferrar Fenton's translation variously, including "Groves," "Shrines," "Asheroth." Prof. Angelo Mosso, in "The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation" (London, 1910), says:—

> "It is now demonstrated that pillar-worship dates back to the Neolithic Age. . . . I believe that the "standing stones" belong to the bætylic cult."

Further on, to the right (north) of the road, is another monolith, not far from the farm called "Cae Coch" ("Red Field"). The stone is oval in section, the larger diameter being 6½ feet, the shorter 1½ feet, and the height about 7 feet.

Proceeding to the top of the Pass, the famous "Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen" (Fig. 41) comes in view. Until quite recently, only one of these stones was standing; but, within recent years, the second was placed upright. The larger stone is 11½ feet high, 5 feet wide in the middle, and 4 feet thick; it tapers towards the top (which is rounded) to 2½ feet. The smaller stone, which is nearer the "Bwlch," has a flat surface on the east and west faces, and is 7 feet high, 4 feet wide, and 1½ feet thick (Fig. 42).

The tumulus near Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen has been called "Barclodiad-y-Gawres," or "the Giantess' Apronful." This may possibly be an allusion to the legend that:—

A giant and his wife, when travelling to the island of Mona, had heard

* Gwalchmai's "Llandudno," 1864, p. 102.

FIG. 41. GENERAL VIEW, BWLCH-Y-DDEUFAEN. *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

FIG. 42. THE TWO STONES. *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

that only a narrow channel separated Mona from the mainland. He took up, in his arms, two large stones to form a bridge, and his lady filled her apron with smaller stones; but on reaching this spot, they met a man carrying a

large parcel of old shoes. "How far is it to Mona?" asked the giant. The man replied that he had worn out these shoes in his journey from Mona to this spot, whereupon they both dropped their burdens.

This is the legendary origin of the Ddeufaen and the Barclodiad-y-Gawres.*

Among other stones of interest in the district may be mentioned :—

1. A group of huge stones, one 20 feet long, on the summit (1,282 feet) of a ridge called "Cefn Maen Namor," possibly Cefn Maen Mawr or Big Stone Ridge, extending from Waen Gyrrach Farm [not far from Green Gorge] to the western end of Tal-y-fan. It seems most probable that these stones were deposited by ice in their present position, abundant evidence of glacial action being found in the neighbourhood.

2. A stone situated near Miss Penney's house, about ½-mile S.S.E. of Llanrwst. It is about 9 feet long and flat. There are no markings on it, but Mr. Hallhed, who found it, thinks it may be an early Christian tombstone, and this seems to be supported by its association with an ancient yew-tree.

3. Maen Nawdd is a large stone of blackish colour and weathers into rough flakes ; it has veins of quartz, about ½ inch thick, running through it, and seems to be foreign to the district. It is situated in the middle of a field near Colwyn Bay, above Glyn Fawr, on high ground, between Nant-y-Glyn and an old tithe-barn, which is about ¼ mile to the S.S.E.

It is about 500 feet above sea level. From its general appearance, it looks like an erratic. It is about 3 feet high, 7 feet 3 inches long, 4 feet across the bottom, and 16 feet in girth along its length, which is S.S.E. by N.N.W.

According to the Rev. W. Venables Williams, in his "History of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos," this stone divided the jurisdiction of Gloddaeth from that of Brynffanigl, and experts have inclined to the view that it was once a maen nawdd, or stone of refuge.

4. Maen Hir (Fig. 43) monolith is situated in the middle of a field, about ⅓-mile to the W.S.W. of Hafoty, Gyffin parish, the same distance to the N.N.E. of Tyddyn Grasod, and ¾-mile to the N.N.W., of Llangelynin Old Church.

It is 7 feet high, 6 feet 9 inches in girth at the top, and 7 feet 6 inches at the base, and it tapers to a roundish point at the top. It is nearly round in

* Williams' "Observaitions on the Snowdon Mountains" (1802), p. 98.

section, except on the west, where there is a flat surface, about 2 feet 7 inches wide.

Fig. 43. Maen Hir, near Hafoty, Gyffin. *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

There is no other monolith, except Maen-y-Campau, in the immediate vicinity.

It should he noted that the maenhir, menhir, or standing stone, is not as long in this country as in Brittany.

The Dol menhir, Brittany, is 28 feet above ground and 11 feet below, while that at Locmaraquier was 64 feet before it was shattered by lightning. The Clun example—this country—is 8 feet high, 6½ feet wide, and 8 inches to 1 foot thick.

There are examples of perforated menhirs in Cornwall, Gloucester, Ireland, and Cyprus.

5. Maen-y-Campau (Stone of Games). This remarkable stone (Fig. 44), which is marked on the Ordnance Map as Maen Penddu, is situated to the north-east of Tal-y-fan, close to the slate quarry, and about ½ mile to the north-west of Caer Bach.

It is 6 feet 6 inches high, on its S.W. face is 4 feet 5 inches broad, and

FIG. 44. MAEN Y CAMPAU. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

on its N.E. face 5 feet 10 inches broad; its girth is 12 feet 8 inches. It stands on the N.W. edge of a large roughly-circular inclosure, which measures 289 feet by 277 feet. The country around was much inhabited, and according to Pennant this large circular area, which is quite flat, was "a British circus for the exhibition of ancient games."

6. Lastly, the famous Rocking-Stone (Fig. 45) on the Great Orme's Head. Gwalchmai, in his "Guide to Llandudno," says that this Rocking Stone, or Maen Sigl, is a curious Druidical remain, and is called, by the country people, "Cryd Tudno," or St. Tudno's Cradle. He says:—

"There are not many of these logan-stones, or Meini Chwyf, compared with the number of cromlechs. It is a conjecture that the Druids made these stones instruments of imposition on their votaries." There is a tradition that the Druids were in the habit of trying, at the upper Gorsedd mound, persons accused of certain misdemeanours, the prisoner being placed half-way down the mound, and the people assembled around the base. At the conclusion of the trial, the Druids announced, from the summit of the mound, that the case was too difficult for them to decide, but that the gods must decide by an ordeal, at the Rocking Stone, of the prisoner blind-folded. The Druids had, however, decided secretly as to the capital punishment, or severe fright, and accordingly, jostled the prisoner, so that he touched the pre-determined end of the stone. Touched at its northern end, the stone visibly moved, whereupon the Druids shouted, 'He is innocent, the gods have intervened, let him go.' If the prisoner,

FIG. 45. ROCKING STONE, GREAT ORME. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

however, touched the other end of the stone, it was immovable, and the Druids cried, 'He is guilty, over the cliff with him.'

In the 6th Century A.D., St. Tudno, the hermit-founder of the first Christian Church on the headland, is believed to have used this stone as an open-air preaching platform.

HILL FORTRESSES.

Subsequent to the Neolithic Period, and prior to the Roman invasion, there was a constant succession of fresh tribes crossing over from the Continent of Europe to these islands, each bringing new elements of culture, and it is an acknowledged fact that the tide of civilisation in Britain always flowed from the east and south-east. As they advanced, the prior occupants and more backward races were pushed further north and west, and the more advanced culture is found in that part of the country occupied by the latest arrivals, and thus Wales was far behind the southern parts of Great Britain.

The written history of the Island begins about the fourth century B.C.. Pytheas, of the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles) sailed here about 330 B.C., and refers to the corn-lands he saw near

the coast, the climate being damp and foggy ; but the first history (as generally recognised) begins after the landing of Julius Cæsar 55 B.C.*

Referring to the pre-historic fortresses, Cæsar describes how the Britons had secured a place admirably fortified by nature and art, all the entrances being closed by felled trees.

Tacitus,† in writing of the campaign of P. Ostorius, describes how, during the first century A.D., the Icenian Britons formed a league, and chose their ground for a decisive action :—"The place was inclosed by a rampart thrown up with sods, leaving an entrance in one part only, and that so difficult of access that the Roman Cavalry would not be able to force their way." The description by Tacitus, of the Roman invasion of North Wales, the country of the Ordovices, also supplies additional information :—"The intrepid countenance of the Britons . . . . . struck Ostorius with astonishment," for Caradoc (Caractacus), the heroic British chief, had chosen a spot where "approach and retreat were alike difficult to the enemy, and to himself in every way advantageous, ... defended by steep and craggy hills, and, in the places where the mountains opened, and where the acclivity afforded an easy ascent, he fortified the spot with massive spears heaped together in the form of a rampart."

Man was first a hunter, then a shepherd, and lastly, an agriculturist. It was the pastoral life that required the construction of earthworks. The pasture land was bordered by dense forests, the wild animals from which were constantly attacking the herds of the tribe. What more natural than the construction of folds? But as the population and cattle increased, the herds of one tribe would be tempting to another tribe, and hence arose the necessity of selecting sites which could be fortified against wild beasts and against man. Tacitus relates how every tribe was torn asunder by factions, and Cæsar tells us that the Britons collected their cattle and lodged them in enclosures.

Such were the influences, through various ages, which brought about the necessity for earthworks.

The Committee on Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures classify defensive earthworks as follows :—

* De Bello Gallico, V., 12—14. † Annals, XII., 31—35.

A.—Fortresses partly inaccessible by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by artificial works usually known as Promontory Fortresses.

B.—(1) Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences following the natural line of the hill.

(2) Fortresses usually on high ground, but less dependent on natural slopes for protection.

C.—Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period.

D.—Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse.

E.—Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts.

F.—Homestead moots such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats.

G.—Enclosures, mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of F, but defended by stronger defensive works ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks.

H.—Ancient village sites, protected by walls, ramparts, and fosses.

I.—Other defensive works, such as Dykes, Dene-holes, Fish-ponds, Tumuli, Moot Hills, etc.

The question has often been asked, by whom were these fortresses built, by the dark Iberian or by the fair Celt? Were they for inter-tribal warfare, and to what period in the pre-historic ages must we assign them? In any case, they must have been built by one of the races that occupied North Wales before the Roman Conquest. The earliest of these were the Iberians,* with their weapons of stone and long sepulchral barrows. These were followed by the Goidels of the Bronze Age, only to be in turn dispossessed by the Brythons, who came to these islands in the Early Iron Age, and who reached Wales not long before the invasion by Julius Cæsar. Were these fortresses built by the Iberians to check the advance of the Goidels, or by the Goidels to stem the wave of the advancing Brythons? Are the great number of burial-mounds (described above), between Penmaenmawr and Tal-y-fan, the records of a struggle between the occupiers of the fortress on Penmaenmawr (possibly the Brythons) and those who held Pen-y-Gaer (possibly the Goidels)? It must not, however, be forgotton that in these early times there was a fairly dense population in these uplands, and the primitive inhabitants might have selected the spot as a burial-place. However, all these and similar questions can

* Iberic burials have been found at Llandudno, the Gop (Flintshire), Cefn, etc.

only be answered by the patient use of the spade, under expert supervision, and it is hoped that a perusal of the following descriptions of some of these fortresses may spur on the workers in this field of research, and induce others, who cannot do this, to give their generous financial support.

A number of the hill-forts of North Wales are to be found in this district, and they invite detailed attention. Outwardly similar, they vary in details, and probably belong to different ages and peoples, but they are as a group distinct from the other classes of strongholds, such as Deva (Chester), Conovium (Caer-Rhun), and others erected by the Romans.

Among the various hill camps in the area under review may be mentioned Castell Gawr, above Abergele; Parc-y-Meirch (or Dinorben), on the hill above St. George; and Pen-y-Corddyn Mawr, above Llanddulas. About 5½ miles to the west of Pen-y-Corddyn, is the fort on Bryn Euryn, and 3½ miles further west is the Dinas, on the Great Orme's Head. On Conway Town Mountain, is Castell Caer Lleon, with a smaller caer on Allt Wen, above Dwygyfylchi. A little further west is the vast fortress known as Dinas Penmaen, on Penmaenmawr; and a little inland is Dinas (Llanfairfechan); while on the hill above Aber, to the east of the stream, is Maes-y-Gaer. Still further west are the famous fortresses of Tre'r Ceiri on the Eifl, and of Carn Boduan and Carn Madryn in Lleyn. Inland, up the Vale of Conway, are Pen-y-Gaer, above Llanbedr-y-Cennin; to the east of Tal-y-fan, Caer Fach; and, across the Conwy, Caer Oleu.

These fortresses are found between the 300 and 1,000 feet level, and occasionally higher; but they have not been found on the highest mountains in Snowdonia. Only three in this district have been excavated, and these partially.

PEN-Y-CORDDYN MAWR.

Among the most extensive hill forts is Pen-y-Corddyn Mawr, which has been well explored by the Abergele Antiquarian Association, under the guidance of Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.L.S., from whose paper the following description has (by special permission) been chiefly taken.*

* Arch. Camb., 6th Series, Vol. x., pp. 79—156.

THE SITE OF THE FORTRESS.

Y Corddyn, situated on the east side of the Dulas Valley, about 1¼-mile from the sea, covers an irregular plateau on a rocky hill 568 feet high, called Pen-y-Corddyn Mawr, the outlook from which is extensive in all directions.

The rock consists of carboniferous limestone, with a dip of 12 feet to the north, on which side there is a grassy slope, B. (Section C. to D., Fig. 47); to the south, the escarpments form a series of rocky terraces; while to the east and west are vertical crags (Section E. to F., Fig. 47).

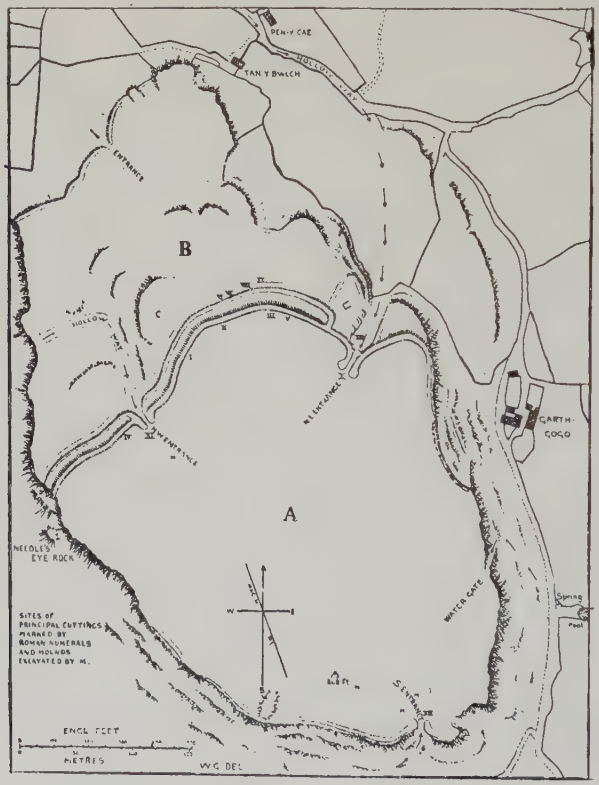


FIG. 46. PEN-Y-CORDDYN, PLAN OF. *Willoughby Gardner, del.*

The plateau A. (Fig. 46), irregularly circular, has an area of 24 acres, and is a position of great natural strength.

ARTIFICIAL DEFENCES

were mainly necessary on the north and north-west sides and across the top of the little grass slopes between the crags round the east, south, and west sides. There was a second line of defence, about two-thirds down the slope to the north and north-west, enclosing an annexe, B.

Taken in detail (Fig. 46), to the north is a double row of ramparts, about 45 feet apart (but diminishing to the west, up to a rocky promontory, C.). The crest of the upper rampart is about 6 feet above the plateau, with a ditch on the upper side, extending as far as the north-west entrance, from which the double rampart runs to the top of a high cliff. In some places, an outer ditch can be traced below the second rampart. The cliff decreases in height from the westernmost point, and runs south-east, and then due east, with easy slopes at two points, which are protected by ramparts. The second entrance, at the south-east corner, is at the head of a zig-zag ascent, and east of this, for 250 yards, is an almost unbroken precipitous cliff, and about half-way a narrow path runs diagonally down the face of the cliff. Further on, opposite Garth Gogo, is another grass slope, protected by a double rampart; northwards, there is a cliff [due to quarrying] with traces of a rampart which curves westward to a third entrance, at the top of a hollow, grassy ascent. To the west of this entrance, the rampart is continued to the northernmost point.

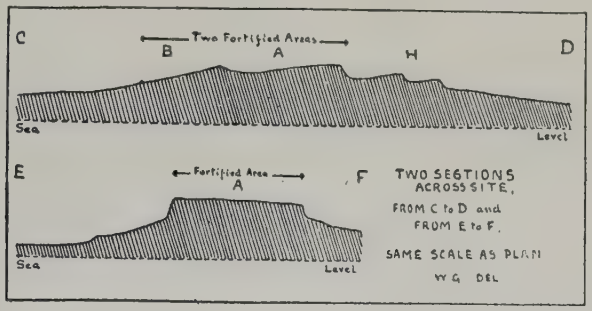


FIG. 47. PEN-Y-CORDDYN, SECTION OF. *Willoughby Gardner, del.*

The annexe B. is defended on the north-east by the east rocky escarpment of the hill, which, at the north, is succeeded by a grassy slope, protected by a rampart, which now ends abruptly in a quarry.

It will thus be seen that the fortress was protected by precipices and by artificial defences, the latter being the strongest on the north and north-west sides.

They consist of a rubble-built rampart, without footings or foundations, 18 feet thick at the base, and about 8 feet high; a flat space for convenience called a berm, 25 feet wide; a second rampart 18 feet thick and 4½ feet high, and beyond this, in some places, a ditch, 12 feet wide and 4 feet deep. The upper rampart was cased on the outside with a dry stone wall; on its under side was a platform, above and below which was a similar wall.

There was a wide fighting platform on the top of the rampart, probably once protected by a stone parapet on its outer edge. The second or lower rampart was of rubble, but with no wall facings.

The fortress had three elaborately-constructed entrances at the

heads of hollow approaches, flanked in two instances on either side with outworks, and all ended in long, narrow passages between the ramparts, which were thickened or incurved to form them.

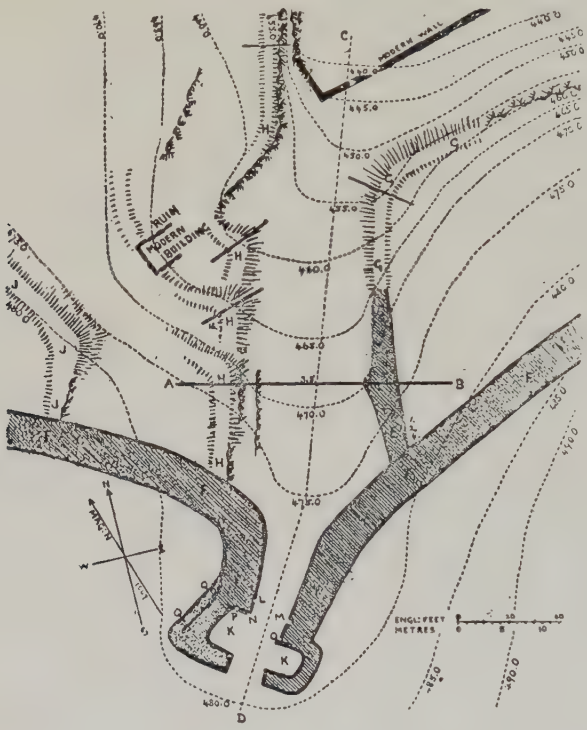


FIG. 48. *Willoughby Gardner, del.*
PEN-Y-CORDDYN, ENTRANCE.

At the inner end of these passages was a gate, and at the north-east entrance two gates.

Assailants, as they rushed up the narrow ascent between the flanking works on either side, would be exposed to a rain of missiles from the defenders on the top of the two ramparts, and would, eventually, enter a *cul-de-sac;* at the north-east entrance, the outer approach was widened out before reaching the main ramparts; the assailants, on attempting to retreat, would be crushed in the narrow neck through which they had come (Fig. 48).

The site was well supplied with water from springs at the foot of the hill; so far no traces of permanent dwelling-places have been found in it. That it was occupied at least by sentinels is shown by the broken bones of animals consumed for food, pot-boilers, charcoal, and sling stones, a few objects of iron, stone and flint, and some fragments of pottery.

The fortifications appear to have been constructed hastily, and not to have been completed on the north side; cut turfs were also used in some places instead of rubble. It is now a ruin, due in some measure to deliberate destruction, many of the ditches being filled to the brim, and with stones of large size, as if carried from the facing wall.

The great size of the fortress, and the fact that a very commanding little hill to the north-west of the site was not used by preference, show that it was not a mere military fortress, but one in which, during times of strife, must have lived temporarily in rude shelters, which have long since disappeared, one of the tribes which in times of peace lived in the sheltered valleys. The annexe B. would thus give additional accommodation for the flocks and herds. The fortifications, though erected with skill, are of a rude character, and the work of a somewhat primitive people; pottery was scarce, their cooking was done by heating stones, called "pot-boilers," which were probably placed in cavities in the ground. Among their weapons of defence were sling stones, in the use of which the Ancient Britons were skilled; their other weapons were of iron, and they had domestic implements of flint and stone.*

The fortress was probably occupied during one of the early centuries A.D., the few relics that have been found being such as are found on Romano-British sites. The ramparts, though of native work, seem influenced by Roman methods of defence.

BRYN EURYN.

This hill consists almost entirely of carboniferous limestone, there being a little patch of Silurian shale at the southern foot. It commanded Nant Semper on the south, and the valley of the Afon Ganol on the west. The fortifications, which were not very extensive, nor very strong, occupied the whole of the summit.

The main enclosure is bounded by low banks of stones (except where the slope is precipitous), with large upright stones, at intervals, facing outwards. Inside this, at the northern end, is a smaller enclosure, which forms a sort of citadel, and the entrance to the main enclosure is on the east side, where the bank of the main enclosure overlaps that of the citadel, just above a steep part of the hill; on the south side is a cut in the rock, forming a steep and difficult approach. Within the area on the south side, are traces of huts and of a large circle 13 yards in diameter, with three graves 15 yards long by 7 yards wide.

PEN-Y-DINAS, GREAT ORME'S HEAD.

The pre-historic fortress of Pen-y-Dinas is an excellent

* See article on "Food of the Ancient Britons."

example of a Welsh promontory fortress. The shape has been governed by the formation of the hill, which is a very bold spur jutting out from the south side of the Great Orme's Head, and terminating along the south-west, south, and east sides, with precipitous cliffs forming a natural protection that needed little strengthening.

The area is seven acres in extent, outlined by a rampart of stones and earth, and full advantage was taken of the rocks which protruded above the general surface, to incorporate them in this inner line of defence.

Where there are no rocky cliffs, which is chiefly on the north and north-west sides, artificial defence was resorted to, in the shape of double or triple vallum and fosses. The inner escarpment is longer and steeper than the others, as will be seen by the section A.A.

The main entrance appears to have been along the south-west side, and is shown by double dotted lines on the plan (Fig. 49). Its route was well selected, as it would be commanded by a succession of dominating positions. Between the inner ramparts and the valley below, on the south side, there are traces of a wide track leading straight up to the famous Rocking Stone. A short distance to the north-east of the Rocking Stone, is a prominent upright stone, which probably had some significance, but it is difficult to even hazard an opinion as to its meaning.

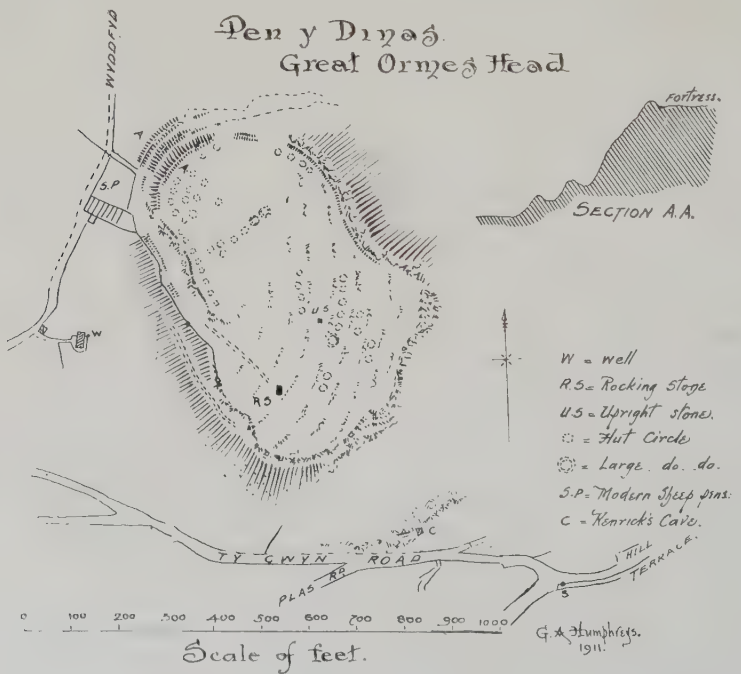


FIG. 49. PEN-Y-DINAS, GREAT ORME'S HEAD. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

The limestone protrudes above the general surface of the interior of the fortress, in almost parallel lines, running from north to south, then curving off westwards. Between these lines of rocks, are to be seen the remains of numerous hut-circles, while, on the north-west side of the seven acre area and immediately within the triple-vallum defence work, practically the whole available space was occupied by hut-circles. The most prominent remains show that the huts—60 to 70 in number—were from four to seven yards diameter, and that they were constructed with concentric rings of large stones.

There is no well within the fort, but on the western slope there is a very good spring (see W. on Plan), which may have supplied the occupiers with water. (G.A.H.).

CAER OLEU.

The words " Caer Oleu " have been supposed by some to mean "Beacon Rock," but, perhaps, the interpretation the " Bright Rock" may be more expressive, as it is in a position exposed to the sun the greater part of the day.

Unfortunately, up to the present, this camp has not been explored by experts ; in fact, hidden as it is among the trees, it is but little known, even to the persons born in the adjacent country-side.

The camp is situated a little to the north of Maenan Hall, on a long and narrow level space, on the crest of a steep and rocky ridge, and could easily be defended. On the east, behind a strong and wide defensive wall, there is a steep escarpment, making it almost unapproachable, and so there are no walls here, whilst in some parts of the west side the walls are well defined and double. The intervening space, bordered by a stone rampart, is divided into three courts,—the northernmost, nearly square ; the middle one, longer and oblong ; and the third (and largest), an irregular triangle following the line of rock. In the north west angle is a circular hut, with a narrow passage. On the south west of the middle court is a sallyport, which has a stand or look-out place for two or three men ; and in the centre of this court are the remains of a mound called "Beddau Soldier," such places of interment being not unusual.

PEN-Y-GAER.

In 1773, this ancient camp, then known as Pen Caer Elen, was first described by Pennant.* Notices of the camp have also appeared in the Arch. Camb., by Mr. J. T. Blight, in 1867, and by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, in 1883, and in the "Archæological Journal" for 1868, a plan was given by Mr. W. G. Bonney ; but the first systematic investigation was that made in 1905, by the Nant Conwy Antiquarian Association, under the guidance of Mr. Harold Hughes,

* Tours in Wales, iii., 137—138. Edit. 1810

A.R.I.B.A., and Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.L.S., from whose joint paper in the Arch. Camb., July, 1906, the following description is, by kind permission, taken.

The camp crowns the hill above the village of Llanbedr, and, excepting the two entrances, the natural and artificial defences were impregnable, the chief danger from attack being on the west and south-west.

The camp is divided into two by a wire fence (shown by a dotted line, Fig.50). The outer defence on the north side extended to the east of this fence. There are two main entrances, at A. and near IX. on the plan, and two minor ones respectively at the north and east. Within the inner walls are many circular depressions, suggestive of hut-circles, often backed with rock, and forming a series of ascending platforms.

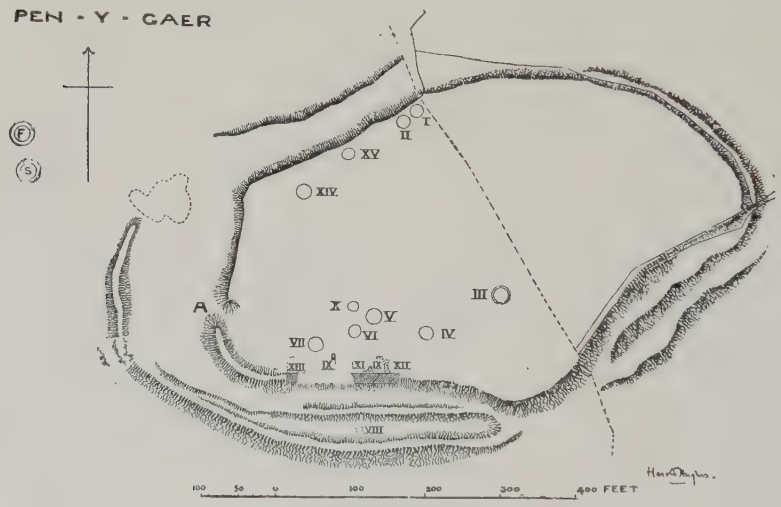


FIG. 50. PEN-Y-GAER, PLAN OF. *Harold Hughes, del.*

The sites excavated are marked I. to IX. on the plan, two tumuli being shown at F. and S. At F., fragments of calcined human bones and a small piece of copper were buried in charcoal resting on a clay floor, so that, seemingly, the body was cremated there, and then covered with earth.

Tumulus S. (previously disturbed) was similar—burnt stones and very small fragments of bronze being also unearthed.

As to the other sites, No. III. was a notably perfect hut-circle (diameter 19 feet) with an entrance to the S.S.W.; the walls (of rubble) were 2 feet thick, the inner and outer faces being rough slabs on edge. On the side opposite the entrance was a platform 3 feet 6 inches wide, curbed with large stones, and to the right of the hut on entering was a hearth against the wall,

much charcoal and many burnt stones being found here. Fragments of rubbing stones, and small pebbles were found on this site, as also on those sites marked V., VI., VII., IXa., &c. The excavation on site IXa. was made against the inner face of the wall of the camp, which here was found to be 14 feet 6 inches wide, resting, at 3 feet deep, on a whitish clay; the inner face of this wall was made of very good rubble work. Perhaps the most important discovery was the iron slag on site VII., in patches of a reddish material on the floor, the refuse from a blast furnace on this site.

To the south and west the artificial defences are very remarkable. At the top (Fig. 51) the great rubble wall AB. ($14\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick), is even now 5 feet high; outside this was a *glacis*, or *berm*, BC., ending in a ditch C.; beyond this a low rampart D., followed by a second ditch E.; outside this was a steeper slope FG., and another ditch G., with a *glacis* HI., ending on a steeper slope and a ditch I.

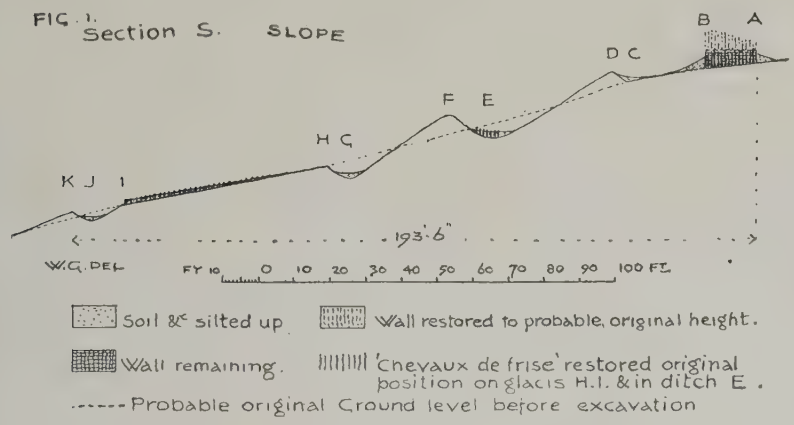


FIG. 1.
Section S. SLOPE
B A
D C
F E
H G
K J I
193·6"
W.G. DEL
FT 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FT.
Soil &c silted up
Wall restored to probable original height.
Wall remaining.
'Chevaux de frise' restored original position on glacis H.I. & in ditch E.
Probable original Ground level before excavation

FIG. 51. PEN-Y-GAER, SECTION OF. *Willoughby Gardner, del.*

But the most noteworthy feature of the defences is the *chevaux de frise*, which is to be found on the south and west slopes. Along the southern slope HI. are a number of upright stones from 1 to 2 feet 4 inches in length, and pointed at the top, those at the bottom of the slope being larger and thicker. Perhaps the finest example of these stones was found in the ditch E., a section of which is given (Fig. 52). At the present time, these pointed stones project 1 foot 1 inch above the turf, but on digging through 9 inches of mould, the original red clayey soil was reached, and in this the blunt ends of the stones were seen to be sunk to a depth of 1 foot 3 inches, and, to make them firmer, flat stones had been placed round the upright ones as supports. In an area of 35 square feet, about forty of these upright stones were found, about 12 inches apart.

These two sets of defences would form a serious obstacle to an attacking force. Their rush would be checked on the slope HI., where they would have to pick their way carefully among these stones, while at the same time they were exposed to the missiles of the defenders. They would have then to cross the ditch G., and to scale the rampart F., thence to make a rush which would

carry them into the ditch E., where they would be overthrown among the pointed stones at this spot, and thus be placed at the mercy of the defenders. On the west slope were a similar series of defences.

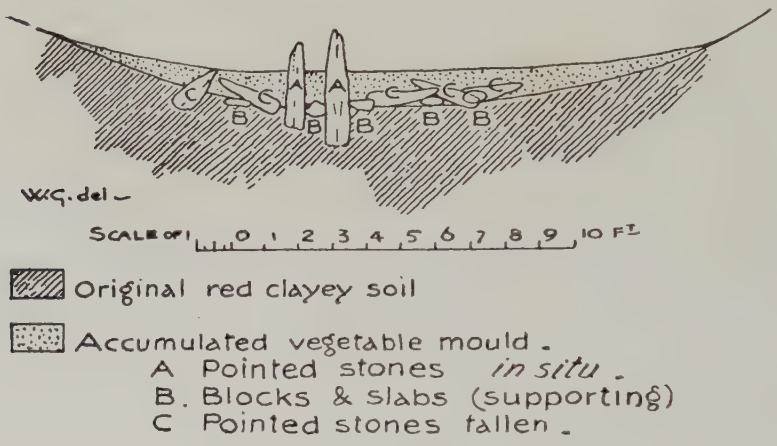

W.G. del.
SCALE OF 1
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FT.
Original red clayey soil
Accumulated vegetable mould.
A Pointed stones in situ.
B. Blocks & slabs (supporting)
C Pointed stones fallen.

FIG. 52. PEN-Y-GAER, CHEVAUX DE FRISE. *Willoughby Gardner, del.*

There are no other defensive works of this character in Wales or England, but there are two in Peebleshire (Scotland), and two in the South Aran Islands (Ireland), of a similar character.

CAER BACH

Is a natural hill fortified, and is situated about 1,300 feet above sea level, on the south-east slope of Tal-y-fan (Fig. 53).

FIG. 53. CAER BACH. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

There is an outer fosse, about 327 yards in circumference, with an inner fosse bounded on the inside by an inner vallum of stones, the distance between the top of the outer and of the inner vallum being about 15 yards. In the inner vallum are a number of large stones in situ (about 24 on the north side), and there are also several others at larger intervals.

This fort is approached from the south side by an entrance at the head of the pass from the road to Conwy and the track to the Roman road.

CAER LLEON FORTRESS.*

This fortress, like that on Penmaenmawr, is situated near the sea, and would command the entrance to the Conway, and also the approach to Penmaenmawr by way of the Sychnant Pass. The highest point is 808 feet above sea level, but the outer line of defence follows the 700 feet contour line for the greater portion of its course. The length from south-west to north-east is 1,087 feet, and the area, within the inner rampart, is about 10½ acres. The fort is thus small compared with Pen-y-Corddyn ; but, at the same time, it was a position of great strength. As is usually the case in all the hill camps, advantage was taken of the slope of the hill ; where this is gradual, the defences are proportionally strengthened by artificial works (vallum and fosse), and where this is steep the artificial works are weaker. Except on a portion of the north-west side of the outer camp, there are no precipitous parts, and consequently there are defensive works on all sides (for Plan, see the Appendix).

The nature of the defensives is as follows : —

On the north-west, there are precipitous rocky cliffs, and for a short distance no wall is required.

To the north-east there is about 330 feet of practically straight walling (mainly covered with turf), extending from the precipitous part to the eastern end, where the principal fortifications form nearly a right angle.

To the south-east is a long continuous stone wall (with a slightly outward curve), which extends to the entrance ; no fosse is traceable, but a noteworthy feature of this wall is the line of upright stones, placed with their lengths sloping outwards (Fig. 54), so as to make it more difficult for assailants to scale them, and to serve also as main supports for the wall.

To the south, there is a thick stone wall with a fosse.

On the north-west, is a much weaker wall, protected by a fosse, which sweeps round the west end of the citadel, and which is continued towards the entrance.

The fortress may be divided into two parts :—

(1). The inner fortress, or citadel ;

(2). The outer camp.

* Sometimes spelt Caer Seion.

FIG. 54. CAER LLEON FORTRESS. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*
Wall and Hut on S.E.

FIG. 55. CAER LLEON. N.W. Wall. *Photo. by A. Hammond, Conway.*

The citadel (Fig. 56), is about 80 yards long by 30 yards wide, practically diamond-shaped in plan, and is a position of exceptional strength. The walls are of great thickness, faced on both sides with dry rubble walling, carefully and strongly arranged, a feature of this work being the long thin stones projecting into the walls and forming a strong bond ; the outer face is vertical in parts, with a "batter"* near the bottom.

FIG. 56. CAER LLEON. The Citadel. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

On the inside of the main walls, at a height of 3 feet or 4 feet above the original camp floor, a set-off (or platform) is formed on the wall,† as shown at BC. on the section (Fig. 57), and then the walling is continued above the platform, evidently with the view of protecting the latter. On the outside is an important fosse.

This class of construction is to be seen in other camps in North Wales, notably at Pen-y-Corddyn and Tre'r Ceiri, and in the latter place there was, at different heights, more than one platform on the same wall.

The walls of the most westerly hut-circle abut on (and form a part of) the outer wall.

At the south-west end of the citadel, there is still an example of a wall with a good face [at present about 2 feet 9 inches high], and beyond this a fosse circles round the south-west end of the camp, continues north-easterly

* A "batter" is an outward slope towards the base.

† Mr. H. Picton found what he considered traces of a second platform.

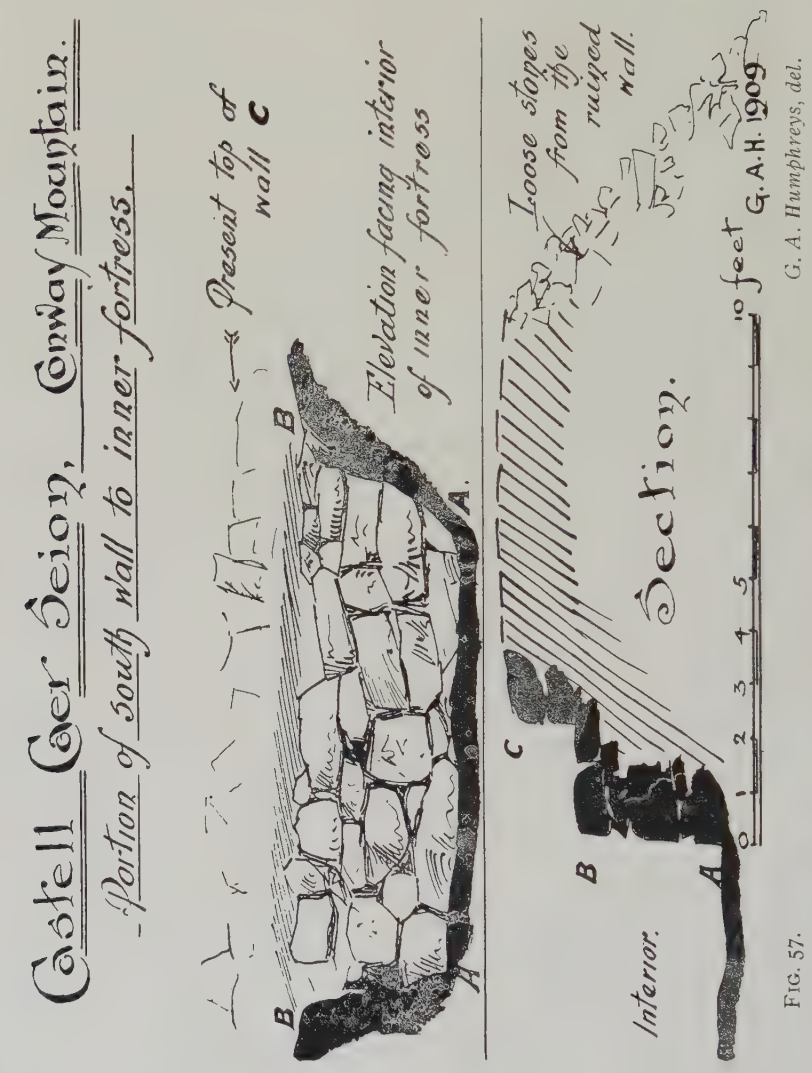


FIG. 57.

contiguous to the rampart for about 20 yards, and then leaving the rampart, extends to the precipitous cliffs on the north-west side of the outer camp.

Still further westward, is a second fosse, which dies out to the north and south. At the east end of the citadel, is a strong wall, partly formed by the natural rock, especially at the south-east corner.

Within the citadel, on the south side, are five hut-circles, with diameters* of from 14 feet to 19 feet ; they are all formed with double walls, the intervening space being filled with earth, the walling (earth included) being 4 feet thick.

* The diameters are, in all cases, internal,

Hut-circle No. 1 (Fig. 58) was paved with fairly flat stones, selected to fit together at the joints, although of course crudely ; the outer wall was formed of a good series of upright stones.

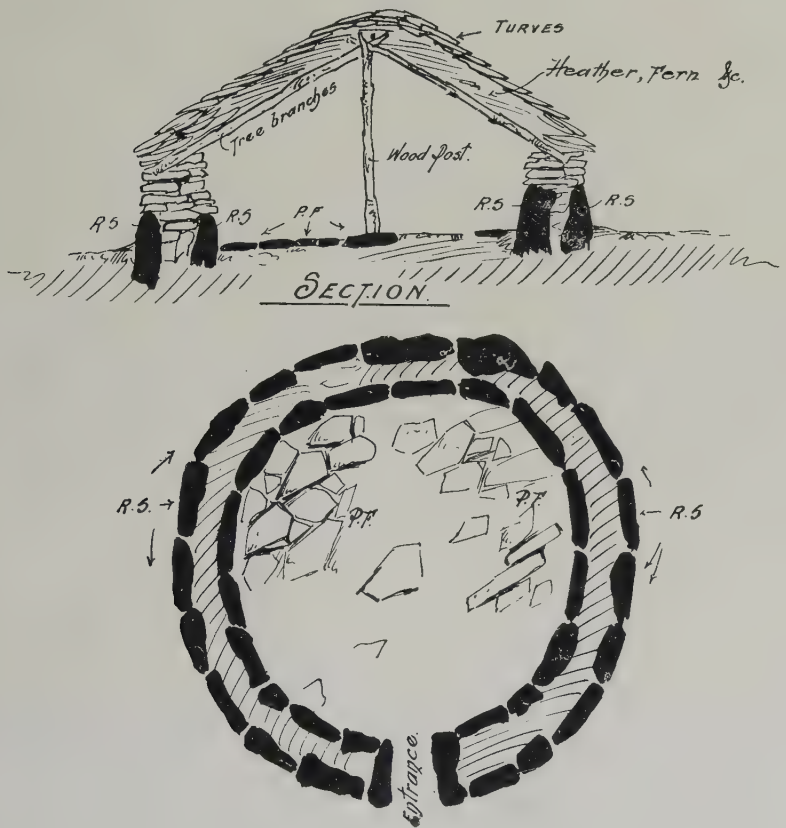


FIG. 58. HUT-CIRCLE PAVEMENT, CAER LLEON. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

The entrance to the citadel was on the south side towards the eastern end (Fig. 59), and on the inner side to the east and west, are hut-circles, whilst immediately facing the entrance is a semi-circular defence, with the concave side facing the entrance. In the eastern hut-circle (Fig. 60), near the entrance, were found a large number of fire-stones or (pot-boilers), together with sling-stones ; the walling of this hut is particularly good. To the east of the north-eastern wall of the citadel, is a fosse running north-west and south-east, and this seems to join a fosse (Fig. 61) that runs north-east and south-west past the north corner of the inner fortress, these fosses forming a very strong division between the main camp and the citadel.

2. The Outer Camp is enclosed by the series of walls above described, and contains a very large number of hut-circles, some single-faced and others with double walls.

FIG. 59. CAER LLEON. Entrance, from Inside. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

There are about 34 well-defined hut-circles (of which 26 have double walls and 8 single), varying in diameter from 9 feet to 24 feet, there being 9 with a diameter of 17 feet, 4 of 15 feet, 3 of 19 feet, and 4 of 22 feet. It is worthy of note that the majority of these huts are situated on the south side of the camp, and abut on the south side of the south-east wall, where they would be sheltered from the northerly winds. To the north of this outer enclosure, is a large fairly flat space, in which might have been placed the flocks and herds, but there are features suggesting tumuli. To the north-east of this area is a good example of a hut-circle (Fig. 62) with double walling.

The entrance was most carefully planned. The approach was from the south-west, and went straight to the outer camp, with a branch to the left into a space (inclosed on the west and south), forming a sort of outwork, this having well-defined walls and being in extent about 45 feet by 40 feet. Near the south-east corner of this outwork, are two particularly prominent stones, which might even suggest an outer entrance at this point. The above-mentioned branch to the left doubles back to the south-west, and although it leads straight to the well-defined main entrance, the writer considers it probable that the road passed *between* the two large stones to which reference has been made.

The actual entrance (Fig. 63) from this guard-chamber was through the wall of the inner fortress, slightly askew, the width being 7 feet, and flanked on each side by very good faced walling, which extends a short distance beyond the main wall on either side; to the east of this entrance is an exceptionally fine piece of walling (Figs. 64, 65), almost vertical, and about 10 feet in height; this dies out into a steep mass of natural rock (Fig. 66).

FIG. 60. CAER LLEON. Wall of Hut Circle, near Entrance. *Photo. by H. Picton.*

FIG. 61. CAER LLEON. FOSSE, on North Side. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

FIG 62. CAER LLEON. Double Ring Hut Circle. (Northern Side). *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

FIG. 63. CAER LLEON. Entrance from Outside. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

FIG. 64. CAER LLEON. Walling (Outside) near Entrance. *Photo by Edge, Ltd.*

FIG. 65. CAER LLEON. Example of Wall Facing. *Photo. by H. Picton.*

FIG. 66. CAER LLEON. Walling nr. junction, with Rock. *Photo by H. Picton.*

The "finds" are chiefly pot-boilers (Fig. 68I.) and slingstones (Fig. 67), and are mostly found near the inner edges of the hut-circles, more especially those in the south-east corner of the citadel, and in the outwork, just outside the entrance to the citadel.

No flakes of flint, nor pottery, nor bronze, nor iron implements have so far been found. The large number of pot-boilers, and the absence of pottery, seem to show that the camp was occupied at one time by a people who did not know the use of pottery, or, at any rate, of fire-resisting pottery, and therefore before the time that pottery was used for cooking.

In addition to the above "finds," Mr. Picton unearthed what seems to resemble a rubbing-stone (Fig. 68II.).

The writer, in concluding the account of this camp, wishes to express his warm thanks for the great assistance rendered by Mr. Harold Picton, B.Sc., in unearthing the large amount of walling on the south side, for the discovery of slingstones and pot-boilers (in the positions mentioned), and for some of the photographs of the walling.

ALLT WEN CAMP.

This camp (Fig. 69) is situated, as the name implies, on a steep-

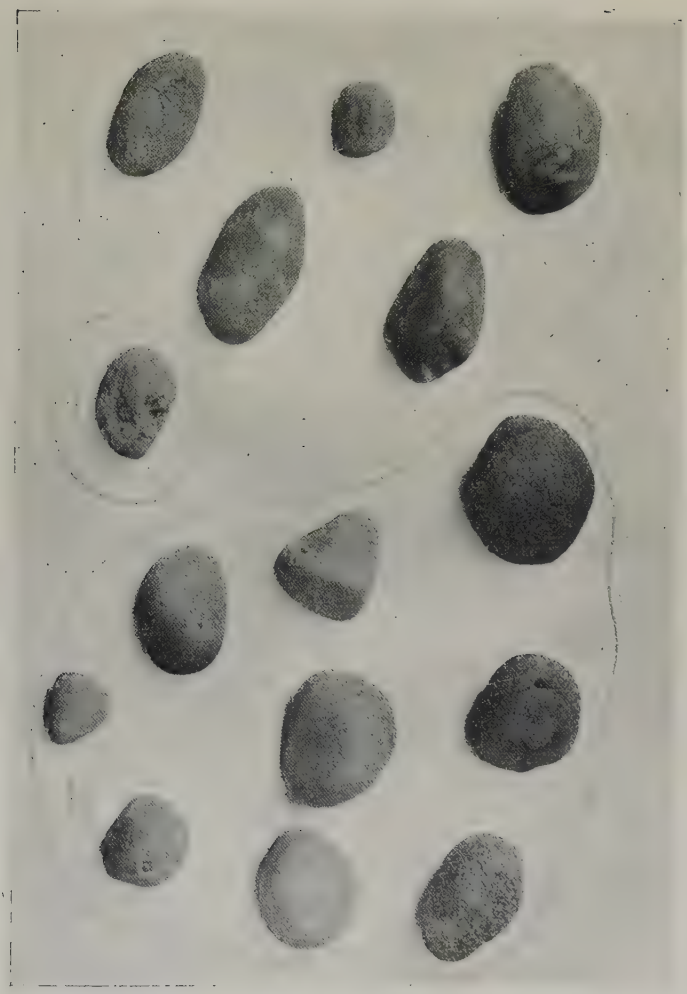


FIG. 67. CAER LLEON. SLINGSTONES. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

sided hill about 820 feet high, and almost due south of Penmaen Bach. Its area is rather less than 1½ acre.

It is approached by a sunk entrance, from the south-east, and, at the point at which the camp is actually entered, there is a hut-circle about 16 feet diameter, which may have served as a guard-room.

On the north of the camp are remains of a well-built wall, about 363 feet long, with a fosse on the outside. The wall and the fosse then curve round in a W.S.W. direction, for a distance of 140 feet, and the fosse ends at the most westerly point. Hence the wall is continued to the summit at a steep gradient for some 310 feet in a south-easterly direction. From the summit, the wall

still continues to the south-east for a distance of 66 feet at a fairly-uniform level, then continues for 165 feet in an E. N. E. direction at a moderate downward slope, and thence there is a gentle descent due north to the entrance.

Fig. 68. Rubbing Stones and Pot-Boilers. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

This small camp may have been an outpost of that on Conway Town Mountain, and it certainly commanded the head of the Sychnant Pass.

The Rev. Owen Jones, in a book called "Cymru" (written in Welsh), has the following remarks about Allt Wen :—"On a mountain between Penmaen Bach and the Sychnant, stands an old fort called Dinas; and there is strong presumptive evidence that this was the place where Hywel ap Owain Gwynedd encamped, and to which reference is made in one or two of his poems in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology.'" The following is a free translation of one of these :—

"I love the proud fort of Gyvylchi, proudly shaped in the pass, and myself in it; noted and difficult to penetrate, the wild noisy wave close by it; a beautifully-chosen spot of bright aspect, rising clear and fine above the sea, and the wife is the light of it, for a year in the wilderness of Arvon in Eryri. She does not order tents or prepare fine garments for me, but there is none I love more to protect."

What appears more likely is that Prince Hywel ap Owain

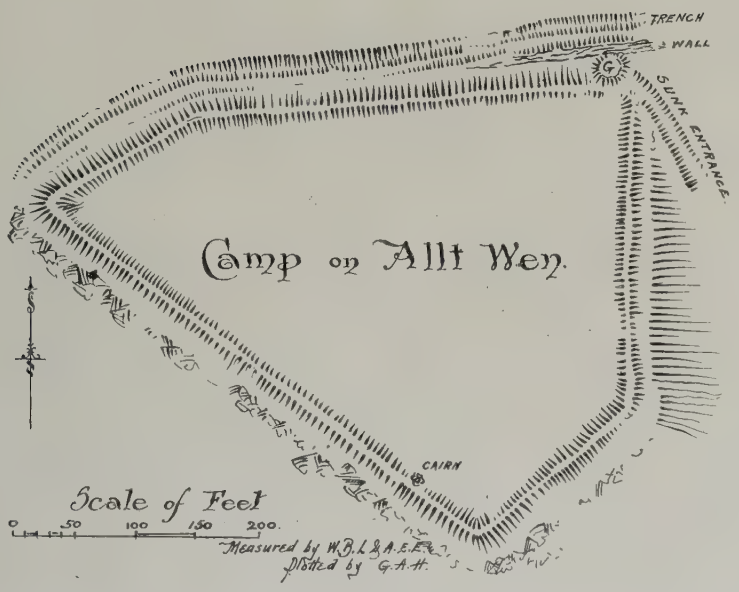


FIG. 69. ALLT WEN, PLAN OF. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

Gwynedd, on the death of his father, removed his wife to this neighbourhood for safety, while he strove against his brother David for the lordship of Gwynedd ; and she resided at the place, known to this day as "Merddyn Hywel," at the foot of the hill, on which are the ruins of the fort. Probably, a strong garrison occupied the position, and hither the princess might easily retreat when danger threatened.

PENMAENMAWR.

This bold headland has of old been noted for the dangerous passage round its foot on the sea-ward side, and not less for the remains of the famous British camp to be found on its summit. Many a time, and oft, has it been described, but probably the most interesting record, though in places somewhat exaggerated, is that given by Sir John Wynne of Gwydir, in that quaint book entitled, "An Ancient Survey of Penmaenmawr," which has formed the basis of well-nigh all accounts from the time of Camden onwards.

From the sea the mountain rises almost perpendicularly to a height of 1,545 feet. The view from the summit embraces the

Wicklow mountains, the Isle of Man, the Cumberland mountains, the mouths of the Ribble, the Mersey, and the Dee, the island of Anglesey almost at its foot, and the Great Orme's Head.

Its commanding position made it an excellent site for a fortress, as it covered the northerly passage to Anglesey, and, from its vast strength, it must have been invincible, as it was on the sea-ward side inaccessible, and on the other sides strongly fortified. It would also serve the further purpose of forming a temporary place of refuge for the early inhabitants in time of alarm. As Sir John Wynne aptly remarks :—

"It was the *ultimum refugium*, the strongest, surest, and safest refuge and place of defence that the Ancient Britons had in all Snowdon to defend themselves from the incursions and inroads of their enemies ; . . it was a princely and royal fortification, strengthened by nature and workmanship, . . . in the midst of the best and most fertile soil in all Carnarvonshire. The mountain adjoining this place is a fine, delicate, dry pasture, and hath been anciently enclosed and inhabited, as appears by the foundations of stone walls which are everywhere to be discerned, and by ridges which are in many places so apparent as if it had been ploughed within this six years, but now it lieth waste."

FIG. 70. PENMAENMAWR. Summit Cone. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

The upper portion of the mountain, conical in form (Fig. 70), rises from a plateau, and is called Braich-y-Dinas ("Arm of the Fortress"). The fortress on this was protected by three or four encircling walls, within and above each other. The facings of these walls, more especially to the west (Figs. 71, 72), are very perfect, having been built of the large rough stones of the mountain top, in layers, without mortar, and chiefly set crosswise (Fig. 73), their ends forming the outer face,* — what would to-day be called "dry rubble uncoursed walling,"—but very strong owing to the natural shape and rise of the stones.

The walls were 6 feet to 9 feet thick, and in Pennant's time (1778) they were 9 feet high. On the eastern side, between a double line of walling, were numerous circular hut-dwellings (Fig. 74), formerly much higher, and from 12 to 18 feet in diameter, but attention must be drawn to the fact that a few of the huts were built with angles. Mr. W. Gilpin, in his "Observations on Several Parts of North Wales" (1809), states that Welsh Castles appear to have been of three kinds: (1) the residences of chiefs; (2) for the defence of passes; and (3) temporary places of refuge in times of alarm, the last being commonly seated on lofty mountains, and of immense size. Referring to Penmaenmawr, Mr. Gilpin adds, "This seems to have been one of them." The hut walls were up to 5 feet thick, their greatest thickness being at the entrance, which was from 3 feet to 5 feet wide.

Sir John Wynne states that on a small area at the top were the "foundations of at least 100 towers, . . . and," he adds—

"The entrance to it is ascending with many turnings, sometimes one way, sometimes another, so that a hundred men might defend themselves in this castle against a whole legion that should assail them, and yet it should seem that there were lodgings within these walls for twenty thousand men. In the highest top of the rock is a fine delicate well, wherein is plenty of sweet wholesome spring water (Fig. 75) at all times in the driest summer!"

Pennant (1778) states that on the small area at the top had been six towers,† one in the centre and five surrounding it, and that, of these, three were then still distinct, while of two others there were only faint vestiges. He says—

"The well is always filled with water, supplied by rains, and kept full by the frequent impending vapours"

* Hugh Prichard, Arch. Camb. (1877), p. 220.

† These are probably "Cytiau" (Hut-Circles).

PENMAENMAWR. WALLING, WEST SIDE.

FIG. 71. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

The principal entrance was at the south-east, and near it was a circular pile of stones, indicating the position of a hut, which may have served as a guard-house. A similar feature is noticeable at Tre'r Ceiri, at Conway, and also at Pen-y-Corddyn.

The pathway (Fig. 76) from this entrance, was in its ascent, commanded by higher ground, on which are the remains of straggling huts (Fig. 74), and, winding obliquely up the hill, passed through the second line of defence into an irregular space, confined on all sides by walls and buildings, whence it reached a well-defined gateway in the third bulwark, after which it disappeared. At some parts were remains of short cross walls, about 9 feet wide.

FIG. 72. PENMAENMAWR. Walling, North-West. *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

The lay-out of the whole scheme shows considerable strategic skill. The main encircling walls (Fig. 76), set one within and above the other, on such steep slopes, must have proved exceptionally strong defensive works, but further strength was given to the camp by cross-walls, dumb entrances and blind alleys.

It has been suggested that the camp was so strong and complete that it must have been permanently occupied, and not just used as a refuge camp. Although situate on the southern side of the headland, and sheltered from the cold northerly winds, it is difficult to believe that life would be bearable there in bad weather.

There is, however, one feature in the construction of the huts (Fig. 77), which rendered them fit for habitation, even during the

winter months. In the hut-circle remains, the dry walling is vertical for a short distance, and then the stones are laid projecting one over the other, so that they would eventually meet at the top and completely cover in the huts, forming a circular oval-shaped roof. This was no doubt overlaid with turf, etc., to keep out the wind and wet, thus giving them a bee-hive appearance.*

FIG. 73. PENMAENMAWR. Walling on the North Side. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

Mr. Hugh Prichard† describes a partitioned hut on the south-east face of the hill; the outer wall of this, where it faces south and west, is of two-fold construction, consisting of two walls, "separately but contiguously built," the outer one touching and embracing the inner one.

In these two points the huts resemble the bee-hive huts on Tre'r Ceiri, and on the South Aran Isles, off the west coast of Ireland. Prof. C. C. Babington also refers to this.‡

It should not, however, be forgotten, that, in the vicissitudes of ages, great changes must have been made during the occupation of

* This class of construction may also be seen at Clynnog Church.
† Arch. Camb., 1877, p. 220.
‡ Arch. Camb., iii., 4.

this fortress by British Commanders, for example, it may have been occupied by King Griffith (Ap Llywelyn ap Seisyllt), when in 1063 he was assassinated through the treachery of his subjects.*

The saddle quern discovered in so many ancient sites in Anglesey, primitive in form, and so different from the corn-mills introduced by the Romans, favours the supposition that grain of some kind was an article of food here, before the arrival of the invaders. In the summer of 1910, Mr. Dunbavand found, among the hut-circles on Penmaenmawr, what Prof. Anwyl considers to resemble closely the lower stone of a quern (Fig. 79), though the cavity is flatter than the usual kind of quern ; from its formation he suggests that it belongs to the late Bronze Age or the Early Iron Age. This is of interest, as it helps to fix approximately the date of the camp.

FIG. 74. PENMAENMAWR. Huts on East Side. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

The only other relic definitely assigned to the fortress site, and worthy of notice in this connection, is a stone rubber (Fig. 68III.),

* There is the following reference in the "Brut y Tywysogion," Rolls Series, 1860, p. 45:—"1061. Gruffydd, son of Llywelyn, the head and shield and defender of the Britons, fell through the treachery of his own men ; the man who had hitherto been invincible, was now left in the 'gleus of desolation.' . . . "

* R. W. Morgan's "History of the Ancient Britons," 1857. For a graphic description, founded on history, see Bulwer Lytton's historical novel, "Harold,"

Fig. 75. WELL, SUMMIT OF PENMAENMAWR *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

FIG. 76. RESTORED PLAN OF FORTRESS.
(By permission of the Camb. Arch. Society).

found (in 1909) by Mr. Dunbavand among the huts. The stone is of very fine grain and of extreme hardness, as is necessary for sharpening metal by rubbing.

FIG. 77. PENMAENMAWR. East Side of West Wall. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

FIG. 78. PENMAENMAWR. Hut Circles. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

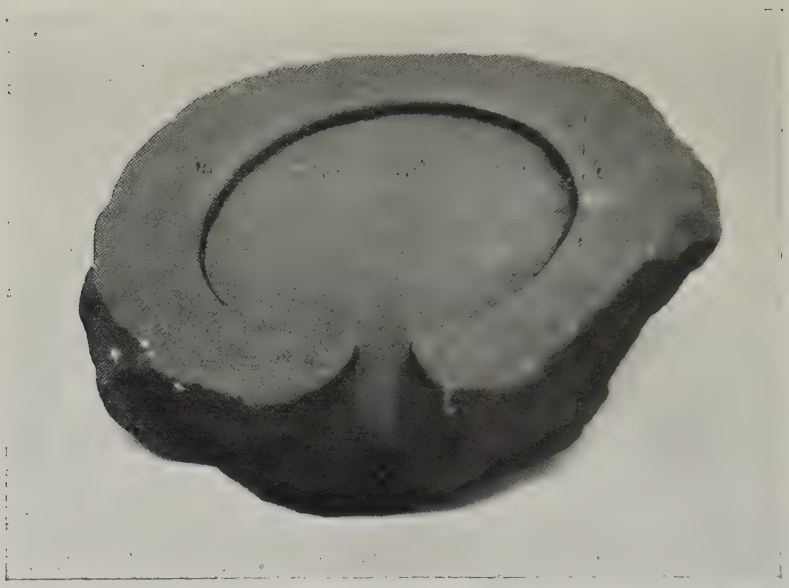


FIG. 79. QUERN, PENMAENMAWR. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

For a description of burial-mounds and of their contents, found on the lower northern slopes of the mountain, see pages 36, 37.

DINAS, LLANFAIRFECHAN.

This camp is situated just above the 1,000 feet contour line, on a round-topped hill called Dinas (Fig. 13), about 1 mile south of the Penmaenmawr fortress. The west and south-west sides of the hill are almost precipitous, to the north and south the slope is moderate, while on the east the inclination is gentle.

The top of the hill is fairly level, the actual summit being on the westerly side. A roughly circular enclosure (150 feet in diameter) but very much flattened on the eastern side (where the entrance is found), and covering only a portion of the hill-top, was probably the citadel. The length from north to south is about 150 feet, and from the east to west about 100 feet. Within the enclosure can be seen at least five hut-circles, four with double walls, and with respective diameters (external) of 20 feet, 26 feet (single wall), 41 feet, 31 feet, and 31 feet. Outside the citadel to the south-east are two hut-circles, of diameters 28 feet and 32 feet (external) respectively, while on the north and north-west are two other circles (double-walled) of diameters 32 feet and 34 feet.

To the west of the enclosure, and around the actual summit, are well-

defined remains of several hut-dwellings, the walls of which were massive and almost entirely of stone, thus bearing a resemblance to the huts on Penmaenmawr.

Quite recently (in April, 1911), there have been some very interesting "finds" of stone implements, which may possibly throw some light on the date of the camp. Down to the present these "finds" have been made in the hut-dwellings near the summit, in one hut-circle about the centre of the citadel, also in what appears to have been a well, situated towards the east and within the citadel.

Among them may be mentioned, a flake 2 inches long by 1 inch broad, with signs of fine chipping on the edges; another flake 2¾ inches long by 1⅛ inch, with a sharp cutting edge; a flake 3 inches by 1¾ inch, with a good point and one sharp edge [of the spear-head or lance-head pattern], and several other flakes. In the well about 1 foot below the surface were found a stone measuring 7 inches by 3 inches, roughly chipped, with a semi-circular edge, finely chipped, but with no signs of grinding, and another 4 inches by 2 inches (at base), and with a regular thickness of ¾ inch to the extent of the hatched surface, which is flat and looks as though it might have been used as a rubber or sharpening stone.

All the stones were merely chipped into form, and the flakes show some fine chipping to give shape and cutting edge, but there are no signs of any edge being rubbed. They are also all of the local stone.

FIG. 80. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*
PENMAENMAWR SUMMIT CONE AND DINAS, LLANFAIRFECHAN.

To judge from the state of the work it looks as though they might have come from a prehistoric workshop. At a distance of about 18 inches below the surface, in the wall of the hut-circle about the centre of the citadel, were discovered a number of flat stones, placed in such a way as to suggest the remains of paving, and resting on this were several stones, of a size which could easily be held in the hand, and with one surface perfectly flat. May the suggestion be hazarded that they were used as pounding or rubbing stones for grinding corn? Was the smooth paving the surface which was used for the grinding?

In any case, the "finds" on this site are of great interest, and further investigations could with advantage be undertaken.

Possibly this camp may have been an outpost of the Penmaenmawr fortress, and it must not be forgotten that a stone hammer (see page 41) and also a quern have been found on the latter. (Fig. 80).

Just before going to press (May, 1911), the writer made the interesting discovery of two stone hammers, found about twenty years ago by Mr. Owen Griffith, of Llanfairfechan, and now in his possession. They are of especial interest, as affording additional confirmation of the remarks made in connection with the description of Dinas, Llanfairfechan, as to the possible age of this camp and the adjacent fortress on Penmaenmawr.

One hammer (No. 1a, Fig. 80a) was found in what is known as Park Nant, on the east side of Valley Road, Llanfairfechan. It is a finely crystalline in texture, and very hard, and is made of local stone, or at least of stone that is found in many parts in the form of boulders between the Three Streams and Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen. The hammer is 7⅛ inches long, one end is roughly rounded and the other tapers to a sharp cutting edge, and in the central line, about three inches from the cutting edge, is a circular hole, 2 inches in diameter, decreasing to 1½ inches at the centre, the length of this hole being 3 inches. The thickness of the hammer at right angles to this hole is 3¾ inches.

The other hammer (No. 1b, Fig. 80a), found between Camarnaint and the Llanfairfechan reservoir, is of similar stone, very hard, but possibly a little rougher in texture, and the cutting edge is a little sharper.

Its length is 7 inches, thickness at right angles to the hole 3¼ inches. The hole, which is 3⅛ inches from the cutting edge, is 2 inches in diameter, decreasing to 1 inch at the centre, and is 3¾ inches long.

In both cases the diminution of the diameter of the hole was

No. 1a No. 1b

Fig. 80a. Stone Hammers, Llanfairfechan. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

evidently intentional, as the wooden handle could thus be fixed in place by driving wedges in from both sides.

THE PRIMITIVE DWELLING-HOUSE.

In the earliest prehistoric times, primitive man lived in a cave, but only one example has been found in this district, viz., Kendrick's Cave,* Llandudno. From what was discovered there, it is fairly certain that the "long-headed" neolithic people, who are generally known as Iberians, lived and were buried in this cave. At the Gop, near Newmarket, Flintshire, the late Mr. H. D. Pochin discovered a number of skulls of the Iberic type. As man increased in numbers, the accommodation afforded by caves was insufficient, and he had to turn his attention to some other form of dwelling. He copied the round shapes of nature—trunks of trees, birds' nests, and the like,—and in neolithic times a form of civilisation was developed, which had much in common with the building methods of burrowing animals. He went to earth like a fox, and sought refuge in pit-dwellings, as at Fisherton, near Salisbury. Each pit was round, and the mouth was covered with inter-laced

* For particulars, see p. 13.

branches of trees, plastered with clay and mud. Underground houses, akin to those of the Neolithic Period, were built in Germany in the time of Tacitus. The simplest form of a dwelling *above* ground was something like a wigwam, made of boughs arranged in a circle, and inclined to a central point, where they were supported by a post fixed upright in the ground. To give greater protection against wind and rain, the next step consisted in building a low, circular wall, a few feet high. At first the wall was probably made of earth, thrown out from within the circle; next, this was strengthened by a few large stones placed at intervals, examples of which may be seen near Llyn Dulyn (Fig. 87), and also in Wern Uchaf field, Llanfairfechan. By degrees, the single circle was replaced by two concentric circles of stones, the intervening space being filled up with the earth thrown out. There are numerous examples of this type, such as the circle in Gloddaeth Woods (Fig. 95), and very many of the hut-circles on Conway Town Mountain. Lastly, no earth was used, but a thick, dry rubble walling was built, as may be seen in the circle on the slopes of Foel Lwyd.

Though primitive in character, such dwellings must not be considered as of necessity belonging to the Neolithic Period, although the building of a hut of this kind may have been begun in that period. On the low wall thus formed was a roof of trunks and branches of trees, these all meeting at the centre, where they were supported by a post, the base of which rested on a flat stone (Fig. 58).

The Rev. S. Baring Gould says that, in Dartmoor, in the floor of these huts have been found traces of the hole which formed the socket for the post. In the Glastonbury lake village, stumps of the original oak posts were found in position. The trees were probably inter-laced with wattle, and were covered with bracken, turfs, &c. The older writers confirm this. Strabo says that "the houses of the Britons were round, with a high, pointed covering," and Cæsar remarks "they were only lighted at the door." In the Antonine column, they are represented as circular, with an arched entrance, upright wooden walls, and thatched dome-like roofs, but in the case of these last there was a lean-to annex.

As stone was plentiful in North Wales, it was used freely, and, as the skill of the builder increased, the walls were made higher, and, in order to cover the hut, the stones of each succeeding course

projected inwards, so as to form a domed roof, making a hut like the bee-hive huts of the South Aran Isles (Ireland). The huts on Penmaenmawr mountain exhibit this kind of construction.

The most important circular houses to be found in the area under review will now be briefly described, and, for that purpose, the following rough classification will be adopted:—

(1) Hut-circle Villages; (2) Hut-circles associated with Camps, or Hill-fortresses; and (3) Detached Hut-circles.

I.—HUT-CIRCLE VILLAGES

These occur at heights ranging from 350 feet to 1,700 feet.

HUT-CIRCLE VILLAGE ABOVE GWERN ENGAN [NEAR SYCHNANT].

This is a small and very compact village (Fig. 81), situated at a height of about 600 feet, on an upland flat, with rising ground at its back on the west, and facing east. At a short distance is a lakelet called Gwern Engan, so that there was a plentiful supply of water close by. It is, moreover, just above ancient trackways running from the summit of the Sychnant Pass to the Conway

FIG. 81. HUT-CIRCLE VILLAGE, GWERN ENGAN. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

Valley, and thus there was easy communication with Dwygyfylchi, on the north, and the upper Gyffin valley, on the south.

On the N.N.E. side it is protected by a wall from 15 feet to 18 feet thick, which circles round to the west at the north and south ends, finally dying away on the mountain slopes. The greatest length of this enclosure, from N.N.W. to S.S.E., is about 258 feet, and the entrance, which is 9 feet wide, is at the N.N.W. end. The enclosure (Fig. 82) is divided into three sections by

FIG. 82. HUT-CIRCLE VILLAGE, GWERN ENGAN, PLAN OF. *A. E. Elias, del.*

two transverse walls—4 feet to 5 feet thick—running E.N.E. and W.S.W., but it is possible that these walls may be later additions.

Section 1 is roughly triangular in plan, and measures 115 feet by 53 feet.* The main entrance is at the apex of the triangle at the N.N.W. end.

Section 2 measures 66 feet by 36 feet, and contains two huts, A. and B. Hut A., which is 14 feet from the straight wall, is roughly circular, measuring 11½ feet by 9 feet, the thickness of the hut wall varying from 3 feet to 5 feet. Adjoining and communicating with this is Hut B., which is 11 feet from the straight wall, and in area 15 feet by 11 feet, with an entrance which curves round to the south-east.

At the N.N.E. end of the second cross-wall is Hut C., which is 12 feet by 10 feet, with its entrance to the S.S.E.

Section 3 is about 134 feet from N.N.W. to S.S.E., and contains four or five circular enclosures. Hut D1 is of an intricate shape, and measures roughly 9 feet by 9 feet, and at the west end is L-shaped; the distance from D1 to E. is 6 feet. Hut D2 is about 24 feet by 12 feet, with a hollow westwards from it and around D1 from the entrance of C.; the distance from the entrance of Hut C. to the end of Hut D1 is 46 feet.

* All the hut measurements are internal.

Hut E. (Fig. 83) is the largest and best, and is nearly circular, measuring 23 feet north to south, by 22 feet east to west. There is, to the south-east, a double entrance, about 9 feet wide, and on this side is very definite dry rubble walling. The hut wall between D1 and E. is 6 feet. In this hut, which was excavated by Mr. A. E. Elias and the Masters McKenna, under the writer's supervision, were found numerous pot-boilers, also several stone implements, which might have been used for pounding grain, or as whetstones (see page 43).

Hut F. measures 12 feet by 12 feet, and abuts on the outer wall or mound, and is 10 feet from Hut E. Hut G. is much higher up, measures 18 feet by 17

FIG. 83. HUT E., GWERN ENGAN. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

feet, and has a wall 4 feet thick; the entrance is at the south-east, and curves round towards the north-east. The distance from the entrance of F. to the inside wall of G. is 36 feet.

The hut walls are distinct from one another, which seems to show that they were separate hut-dwellings, and the various "finds" tend to confirm this. This hut-circle village was first discovered by Mr. A. E. Elias in 1908, and the author is indebted to him for the accompanying plan.

A COMPOSITE HUT-CIRCLE.

On the western slopes of Foel Lwyd, not far from the Roman

road, is a very interesting group of remains, consisting of three circles (Fig. 84), connected with each other, and a small one adjoining.

FIG. 84. COMPOSITE HUT, FOEL LWYD. *A. E. Elias, del.*

The three are arranged in a straight line in an E.S.E and W.S.W. direction, the central one (20 feet diameter) being the largest, with a thickness of walling of from 3 feet to 4 feet. There is an entrance to the W.N.W. about 3 feet wide, but becoming wider to the west, and protected on the south by a wall and mound, 11 feet in total thickness. On the eastern and western sides of the middle circle are openings, about 3 feet wide, into the circles on the E.N.E. and W.S.W. The walls of the westernmost circle (so-called) vary from 3½ feet (north) to 4½ feet (south) thick, and the interior measures 12 feet by 11 feet. In the angle between this and the large circle, on the northern

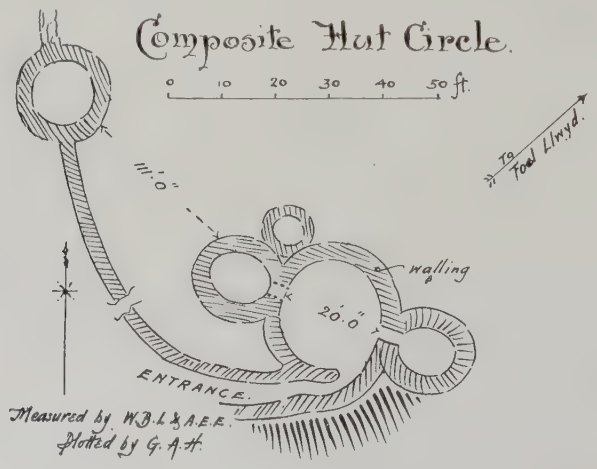


FIG. 85. — PLAN OF COMPOSITE HUT. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

side, is a smaller circle, 9 feet in diameter. The circle on the E.S.E. side measures (internally) about 10 feet by 11 feet, and the walls vary from 4 feet to 4½ feet in thickness.

From the northern side of the entrance runs a wall, about 4 feet wide, and built almost entirely of stones. This curves round towards the north, and, at a distance of 111 feet (Fig. 85), is a large hut-circle, about 20 feet in diameter (Fig. 86), with a double ring. Beyond this, the wall is continued till it is lost on the slopes of Foel Lwyd Similarly, on the eastern side of the composite circle, this wall curves round towards the slopes of the mountain.

The position of this composite circle seems to suggest that it may have been the abode of some chieftain, and that his dependents lived in huts within the enclosure formed by the long wall. The position is a good one, and the huts would be sheltered from the northerly winds, and would face the south. Being on a slope, it is dry, and water could easily be obtained from the springs, not far distant, which form the source of the Afon Maes-y-Bryn.

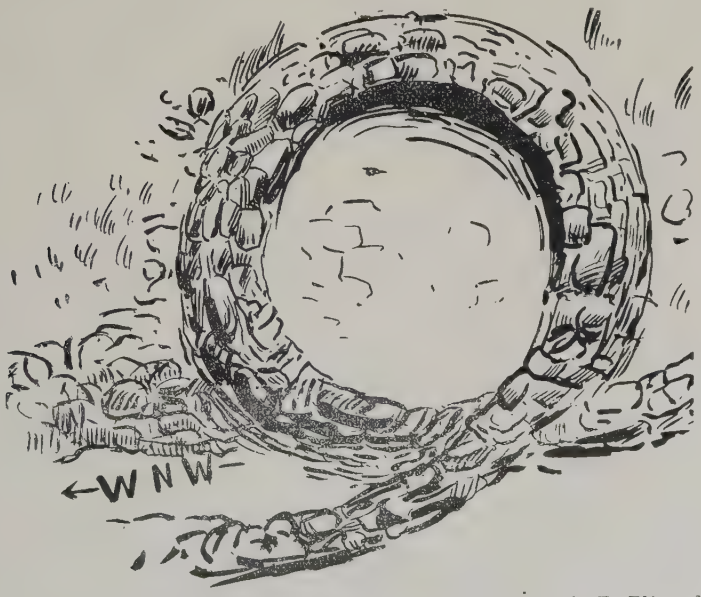


FIG. 86. HUT-CIRCLE, NEAR COMPOSITE HUT. *A. E. Elias, del.*

BRYN SYCH VILLAGE, NEAR PANT-Y-GRIAFOLEN.

Some years ago, Mr. W. Owen Roberts discovered the remains of a hut-circle village near Llyn Dulyn, at a height of about 1,600 feet above sea-level.

The huts (Fig. 87) are situated about ¼ mile to the east of Llyn Dulyn, on

the slopes of Bryn Sych, and mostly between the Dulyn--Llanbedr pipe-line and the Afon Dulyn. They occur in groups of two or three, and a peculiarity of their construction consists in there being a low wall between each hut, so that the three huts frequently form a semi-circle, and sometimes the wall is continued so as to form a more or less complete enclosure.

The Afon Dulyn afforded a plentiful supply of water, and, as the huts were on a slope, the position was a dry one. There are also remains of tumuli, and ashes were found in some of these. Tumuli are not infrequent in this district, and the one on Bwlch-y-Gwryd, about 1⅔ mile to the north, contained an urn with ashes (page 39).

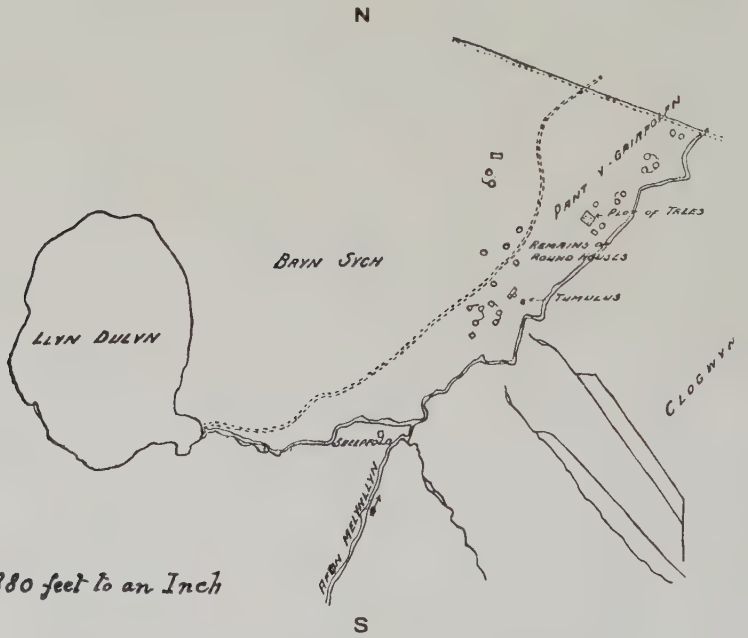


FIG. 87. HUT-CIRCLE VILLAGE, LLYN DULYN. *W. Owen Roberts, del.*

GREAT ORME'S HEAD.

Near the extreme north-west coast of the Great Orme, about 350 feet above sea-level, and south-west of the lighthouse, are the remains of a cluster of hut-dwellings, sufficiently numerous to form quite a "village community." Although the Marine Drive is cut through the village, few have noticed these Pre-Roman habitations.

The circles are clearly visible by reason of the saucer-shaped cavities in the ground, and the large stones placed concentrically in the outer mounds. Mr. G. A. Humphreys could not find any trace of a stone-pitched floor, and, from their general characteristics, he considered them to be early examples.

UPLANDS NEAR FOEL DDUARTH.

It will be remembered that there are a large number of tumuli north of the Tal-y-fan and Foel Lwyd ridge, but that up to the present few hut-dwellings have been found. Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen separates Foel Lwyd from the ridge (Drosgl), which runs nearly up to Drum, and to the north-west from the last-named there is a succession of summits, among which may be mentioned Bryn Du ("Black Hill"), strangely noted for the great number of blocks of white quartz; Foel Ganol; and Foel Dduarth. This chain of hills forms the northern boundary of the Llyn Anafon valley, and to the north of it is the Roman road, which, after meeting a track from Bod Silin, rapidly descends, and passes between the walls to Pont Newydd. The uplands to the north-west and west of Foel Dduarth are of great interest, as they abound in tumuli and dwelling-places. It has therefore been thought advisable to describe these as a group.*

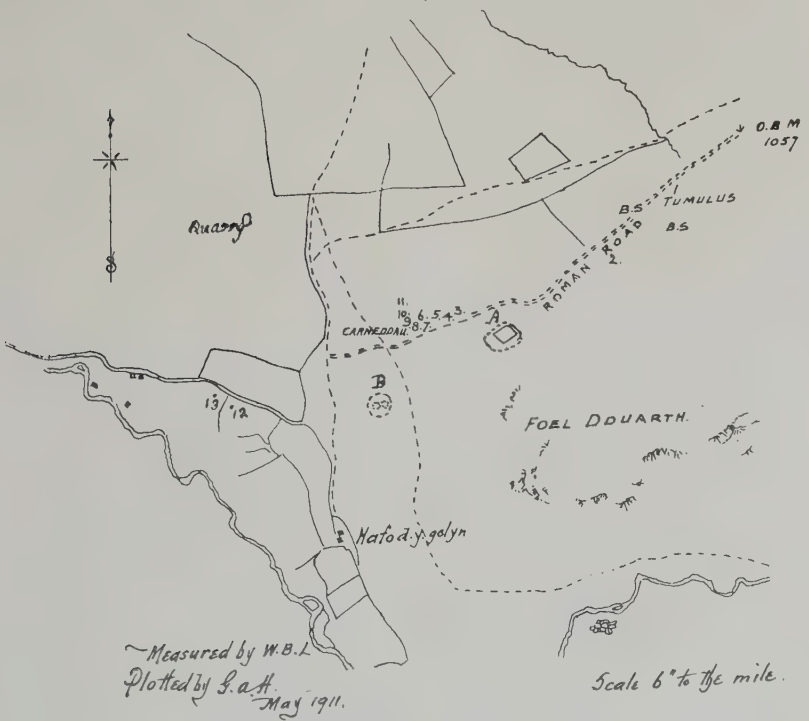


FIG. 88. HUTS AND TUMULI, Near Foel Dduarth. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

* A reference to one of these tumuli was made in the description of the Penmaenmawr Uplands.

Most of the tumuli are situated near the place marked Carneddau (Fig. 88), mostly to the north of the Roman road, and about the 900 feet contour line. On the accompanying map they are indicated by dots and numbers. On the whole, they are larger than those found to the north of Tal-y-fan.

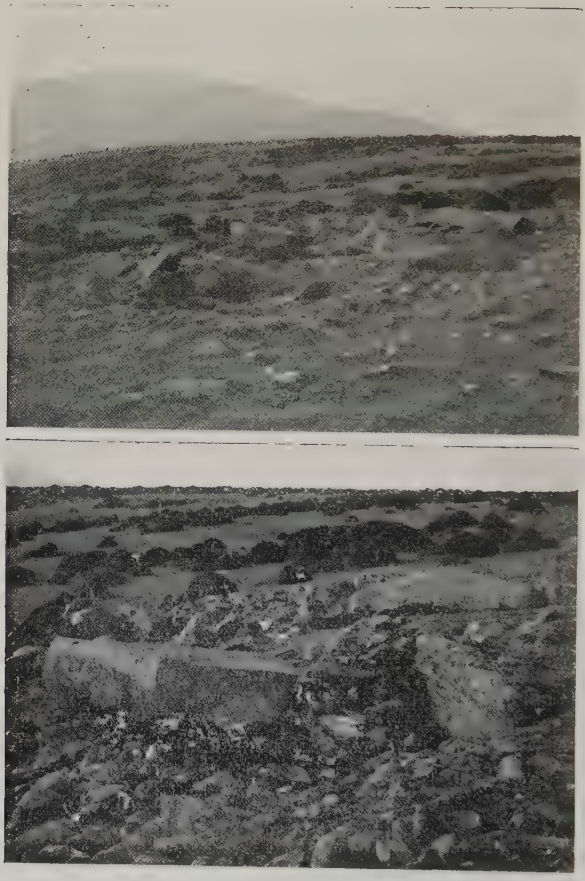


FIG. 89. TUMULUS AND CIST, Near Foel Dduarth. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

Nos. 1 and 2 are close to the Roman road, about the 1,000 feet contour line, with diameters of 26 feet and 24 feet respectively.

Nos. 3—11 form a group, near the word "Carneddau" on the map.

No. 3 (22 feet in diameter) has a well-marked outer circle of stones.

Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9, have respective diameters of 18 feet, 12 feet, 14 feet, 21 feet, and 12 feet, and are simple mounds.

No. 11 is a large tumulus 28 feet in diameter, with an enclosing ring about 4 feet thick.

In No. 10, all traces of the mound have disappeared, but there is a cist lying N.N.W. and S.S.E. A stone of this measures 5 feet 6 inches by 18 inches deep and 18 inches thick. To the S.S.E. is a displaced capstone, measuring 5 feet by 4 feet by 18 inches. But by far the most important tumulus is No. 8 (Fig. 89), which is 30 feet in diameter (external) with a distinct double stone ring; the outer ring is well defined, being formed of thin slaty rocks on edge, and the inner ring consists of fairly large stones. In the centre is a large cist lying N.N.W. and S.S.E., 6 feet long and about 2 feet 6 inches wide; on the E.N.E. side is a large stone on edge, 6 feet long, 3 feet deep (above ground), and 11 inches thick, and forming one side of the cist. The capstone is roughly pentagonal in shape, 9 feet long, 4 feet 6 inches broad, and 2 feet 3 inches thick, and lies to the W.S.W. of the cist.

A great number of remains are in the ground attached to Hafod-y-Celyn, on the south-west of the road after it passes through the gate.

At respective distances of 192 yards and 231 yards from the gate, and 65 feet and 15 feet from the wall are two large tumuli, Nos 12 and 13. No. 12 (Fig 90) has a diameter of 33 feet, and seems to be enclosed in a double ring or mound, about 10 feet thick; inside is a large cist (Fig. 91), 3 feet 6 inches in length, with the east and west sides still remaining. To the north is a large capstone, measuring 10 feet by 5 feet by 18 inches thick, with its under surface perfectly flat. Adjoining this tumulus, and to the south of it, is a mound 21 feet square. No. 13 has a diameter of 33 feet, and in some parts the outer ring of stones is distinctly visible.

FIG. 90. TUMULUS AND CIST, Near Hafod-y-Celyn. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

FIG. 91. CIRCULAR VILLAGE ENCLOSURE, Foel Dduarth. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

A CIRCULAR VILLAGE ENCLOSURE*

is situated (Fig. 92) about 150 yards south of the Roman road, before it rapidly descends in a zig-zag course to the Anafon valley. It is on fairly flat ground, with a gentle slope to the south-west, and behind it is Foel Dduarth ; the position is a dry one, but there is abundant water from springs a little higher to the north.

The enclosure (Fig. 92) is surrounded by a massive wall or mound 12 feet in thickness, in which are placed, at fairly regular intervals, stones about 2 feet 6 inches high by 18 inches wide, which evidently acted as supports; present height of the wall is about 5 feet, but on the south-east, where the slope of the hill is greater, the ground was excavated, and the wall is a retaining-wall. The average diameter of the enclosure is 120 feet over all, and the entrance, which faces the north-west, is 8 feet wide, while to the N.N.W. are signs of a second entrance, 4 feet 3 inches wide.

Within this enclosure, and roughly about the centre, are two circles ; the easterly one is 37 feet diameter over all, and has an entrance 5 feet 6 inches wide facing the W.N.W., the wall being 6 feet thick. The westerly circle is 40 feet wide over all, its entrance, which faces also to the W.N.W., being only 4 feet wide, but this entrance expands outwardly to 11 feet; the wall is 2 feet thick by the entrance.

The walls of these inner huts are made, on the inner side, of well-fitted

* The composite hut-circles might be called "compound houses," in which human beings, cattle, food-stuffs, etc., all had their place in the same building or compound.

dry walling, built in horizontal courses (Fig. 93), with an outer ring of stones about 2 feet high ; where the huts abut on one another, there is a party-wall about 8 feet thick. The walls of both these huts, give the idea of solidity and strength. On excavation they only yielded one or two slingstones.

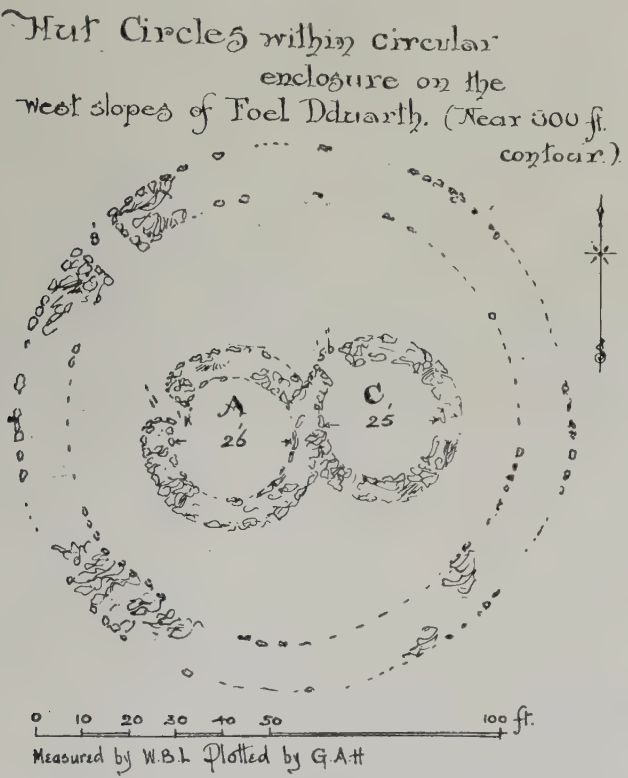


FIG. 92. CIRCULAR ENCLOSURE, Foel Dduarth, Plan of. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

The position of the enclosure, and the strength of the walls, seem to suggest that this may have been a small fortified village to command the road and the approach to the Aber valley.

A CIRCULAR ENCAMPMENT.

About 300 yards to the north-east of the village enclosure, and on the north-west slopes of Foel Dduarth, on the 1,000 feet contour line, and 100 yards south-east of the Roman road, are the remains (Fig. 94) of a large encampment, but unfortunately very many of the stones which formed the walls have been removed to form a large sheep-fold.

Fig. 93. Hut Wall, Circular Enclosure, Foel Dduarth. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

Irregular in shape, the encampment is roughly circular, with an average diameter of 160 feet, but the direction of its greatest length is north-east and south-west. The surrounding wall is about 9 feet thick, and must have been very strongly built, as shown by the foundation-stones (3 feet high by 2 feet square) still firmly fixed in the ground; these stones are very noticeable on the north-east side, and on the north-west they must have been of the nature of a retaining-wall, as the slope on this side is considerable.

Few traces of hut-circles are visible; at the east end is one (18 feet internal diameter) showing a distinct ring,* and near the north end inside the present sheep fold, is a smaller one, 10 feet diameter, seven of the stones forming the ring being visible.

Being situated on the slopes of Foel Dduarth, the position is sheltered from the easterly winds, and is a dry one, though water is not far distant. It commands the road and may have been an outpost of the village enclosure. It may be the Buarth-Merched-Mafon ("Raspberry Women's Pen")† referred to by the Rev. E. Owen, of Llanllechid, in the Archæological Cambrensis for 1864, page 319.

* In it were found some slingstones.

† "Mafon's Daughters' Enclosure" (T. Shankland).

FIG. 94. CIRCULAR ENCAMPMENT, Foel Dduarth. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

II.—HUT-CIRCLES ASSOCIATED WITH HILL-FORTRESSES

There are numerous hut-circles on the various hill-fortresses of the district. Conway Town Mountain contains at least 34 within the ramparts, the greater number with a double line of walling, and in one a rude pavement was found, also in many there were pot-boilers and slingstones.

There are said to be about 70 hut-circles on Pen-y-Dinas, Great Orme's Head ; but on Penmaenmawr mountain, the hut-circles are very numerous and of especial interest, as there is evidence to show that they were of the bee-hive type, similar to those on the South Aran Islands, off the west coast of Ireland. This form of hut would be of special use on Penmaenmawr, as the position was an exposed one, and such huts would thus form a good shelter against the weather, and the inhabitants might be able to live in them during the winter months.

In some cases, as on Pen-y-Corddyn, Conway Town Mountain, Allt Wen, and, possibly on Penmaenmawr, a hut-circle was placed near the entrance, and might have served for a guard-room. About 10 circular platforms are mentioned as occurring on Pen-y-Gaer ; there are several on Pen-y-Corddyn, two faint remains on Bryn Euryn, and on Dinas (Llanfairfechan) there are at least eight, and near the summit there seem to be indications of stone dwellings.

III.—DETACHED HUT-CIRCLES

are to be found all over the Carnarvonshire portion of the district, and a careful search would, in all probability, reveal a large number. Among them may be mentioned one on the Great Orme near Penmynydd Isa', several between the Bryniau ridge and Foel Lwyd, and on Carreg Fawr. Special descriptions of a very fine circle in the Gloddaeth Woods, of several near the Aber Falls and near Llangelynin Old Church, are subjoined.

GLODDAETH WOODS.

In the Gloddaeth Woods, not far from the Old Windmill, now known as Hendwr, is a very good example of a hut-circle (Fig. 95), possibly of a rather late period.

FIG. 95. HUT-CIRCLE, GLODDAETH WOODS. *Photo. by R. Gresley Jones.*

It consists of an inner and outer circle of stones, and the space between the circles is only partially filled up. The thickness of this double wall is about 5 feet 3 inches, and the stones forming the inner circle are 2 feet 2 inches to 2 feet 6 inches in height,—above the ground,—flattish, and placed edgewise at regular intervals. The internal diameter is 27 feet, and the entrance, which is 5 feet 8 inches wide, is from the E.N.E. Just outside this, to the north-west, are two stones, roughly in a line from N.E. to S.W.

CIRCLES NEAR ABER.

To the east of the Aber Waterfall,* on a level space on the mountain side, is a hut-circle eighteen feet in diameter, formed of stones (about 80 in number, from 12 inches to 18 inches in height, and about 9 inches apart). Two hundred yards to the south are traces of a larger circle, within which there is a stone 5 feet long. At a distance of 400 yards from the waterfall, but overgrown with branches and weeds, is a circle with a double wall. What was then left (in 1865) resembled dry stone walling more than pillars set erect. The inner wall had two courses in some parts, the stones being very rudely placed. The diameter of the circle—which is not in the centre of the larger one—is 18 feet. Within the inner one—not in the centre—was a stone 6 feet high.

On the summit of the ridge between Hafod-y-Celyn and the Waterfall, is a circle about 18 feet in circumference, consisting of 18 stones, and to the west are the remains of some primitive dwellings, possibly the ruins of the ancient village, Aber Garth Celyn.

In the Anafon Valley, about half-a-mile below the lake, just below the point where the river valley opens out, and where the path

FIG. 96. HUT-CIRCLE, ANAFON VALLEY. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

* Arch. Camb., 1865, p. 137, by J. T. Blight.

descends rather sharply, are several hut-circles, one of which (Fig. 96) is about 12 feet in internal diameter, and consists of a very distinct circle of stones, eight being from 3 feet 6 inches to 2 feet in height.

LLANGELYNIN, &c.

About 400 yards from Llangelynin Old Church, down the hill on the east side of the road, are three good examples of hut-circles, each with a double ring and an entrance facing east; their respective diameter are 22 yards, 24 yards, and 27 yards.

In the "Cambrian Traveller's Guide," col. 805, there is a statement that about two miles south of Llanrwst "there is said to be a whole circle of stones called 'Cefn Creini.'"

The hill slopes of Carreg Fawr, Llanfairfechan, facing Dinas, show very numerous traces of enclosures, somewhat different in character from field-walls. In a field, about 200 yards south-east of Ty'n-rhedyn, and south-west of Rhyd Deuryd, between the 700 feet and 800 feet contour lines, is a group of about ten hut-circles, with indications of an encircling wall. They vary in diameter from 18 feet to 25 feet, and the hut walls are massive, with a thickness of 6 feet.

In bringing to a conclusion the account of the hill-forts and hut-dwellings of the district, a question arises as to their date. Some authorities are of opinion that none of the fortresses are pre-Roman, and that many of the hut-circles are not of any earlier period, but it must be remembered that the advancement of civilisation in Wales was brought about by the influence of successive immigrations of more advanced and cultured peoples to a much greater extent than by home initial development. Mr. A. H. Allcroft, M.A., in his "Earthworks of England," referring to the walled enclosure of Grimspound, Dartmoor (somewhat similar to Pen-y-Corddyn, Pen-y-Gaer, Castell Caer Lleon), says (p. 220) that "the excavations proved that the state of culture of the occupants ranged from the very early Neolithic Age down to the Bronze Age," and, with reference to the excavation of similar groups of huts, that "it is almost certain that the huts were occupied over long periods by successive peoples," but that "Tre'r Ceiri is apparently the work of a far later age, dating from the very last days of British independence in the first century A.D."

Probably the Penmaenmawr huts might be a late example

of the same class, for the methods of construction both here and at Tre'r Ceiri are somewhat similar, and show a distinct advance upon the hut-circles found on the hills of Carnarvonshire. The chipped celts and stone implements found at Dinas, Llanfairfechan (see pp. 41 and 98), and the quern and stone hammer found on Penmaenmawr (see p. 41), seem to support the above view.

No one doubts that the hut-circles still existing belong to different periods, to judge by the excavated "finds," and by the character of their construction. Authorities fairly agree that the stone-built huts are the latest, as evidenced by those at Din Lligwy, Anglesey (Figs. 97, 98), where there seems to be a transition from the round to the square form, there being in some cases a square building with rounded corners, but very probably due to Roman influence.

FIG. 97. HUT-CIRCLE, DIN LLIGWY. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

Dr. Windle, F.R.S., F.S.A., in "Prehistoric Remains," p. 256, says: "Pit-dwellings, hut-circles, the British village of the Ordnance maps, are the remains of habitations occupied, we can now say with certainty, in the Neolithic Period. The excavations in Kent by Mr. Church, and in Dorset by Dr. Colly March, have settled the point that these structures were in use in the Pre-metallic Period." Prof. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., in his "Early Man in Britain," expressed

similar views. Mr. G. A. Humphreys, F.R.I.B.A., is of opinion that "practically all the important camps about here have been used for centuries B.C. down to Romano-British times, and were altered and improved from time to time by the successive peoples who occupied them according to their requirements and culture. The result is that we have on the same hill-tops very early hut-dwellings (and other works) in close proximity to very late dwellings.

FIG. 98. HUT-CIRCLE, DIN LLIGWY. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

FOOD OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and other Roman authorities, say that the inhabitants of Britain were, in cases of great extremity, cannibals. At the time of the Roman invasion, the Britons of the south had a plentiful variety of provisions, their diet was the same as that of the Gauls. They grew grain for bread and cultivated roots, herbs, and fruits of many kinds, but not grapes and olives. Prof. Boyd Dawkins (1896) said it is not improbable that the numerous cherry-stones, found in the remains of the Glastonbury Lake village, may have been grown in a sort of cherry orchard. Many authors state that vegetables were not introduced till the time of Elizabeth, so that it is not quite clear what Robert Henry, in his "History of Great Britain" (1789), means by roots and herbs.

The Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations had great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, the flesh of which they prepared by boiling, broiling, or roasting. Posidonius, the Stoic philosopher, says concerning the Celtæ, that they used very little bread at their entertainments, but a great deal of fish, which "they either boiled in water, or broiled on the coals, or roasted on spits." The Gauls and the Britons knew the art of salting flesh. The process by which they made salt is described in several ancient authors. They set on fire a pile of trees, oaks and hazels chiefly, and reduced it to charcoal, upon which, while it was still glowing, they poured a quantity of salt water, which converted the whole mass into a kind of salt, of a black colour.

The Britons had also venison, game, and poultry in great abundance, though they were restrained by some superstitious idea from using as food either hares, hens, or geese. They used milk and made butter. Pliny says, "of milk butter is made, which is the most delicious and favourite food of the barbarous nations, especially of those among them who are wealthy." By "barbarous nations" the Romans generally meant the Germans and the Britons. Strabo says that "some of the ancient Britons were so ignorant that, though they had abundance of milk, they did not understand the art of making cheese."

There was, however, a very great difference between the people of the south and those of the interior and northern parts of the island at the time of the first Roman invasion, and R. Henry states that they knew nothing of husbandry and gardening—"they were, in a great measure, strangers to those grains, herbs, and fruits which are produced by those arts."

When he says "in a great measure strangers," he implies that they got some grain from their southern neighbours by barter. Henry also states that, either restrained by superstition or by their ignorance of catching them, they made no use of that "great variety and almost infinite multitude of fishes" with which their rivers, lakes, and seas abounded. They lived, like the ancient Germans, on wild fruits, on milk, and on the flesh of their flocks and herds, and the meat of such animals as they caught in hunting. This was their condition at the beginning of the third century, as we learn from the testimony of Dio Nicæus:—"The Maeatæ and Caledonians inhabit barren mountains and marshy plains, have no cultivated or

manured lands, but feed on the milk and flesh of their flocks, on what they get in hunting and on some wild fruits, when they are in woods they feed on roots and leaves."

Traill* also corroborates the fact that the growing of corn in Cæsar's time was chiefly confined to the dwellers near the coast, and that the people of the interior lived on their "cattle productions," by hunting, and on the fruits of the earth as they might happen to grow and come in their way, or else by plundering the fields cultivated by those whose labour, however, they despised.

According to Tacitus, some of the Celtic nations had the art of roasting their acorns and other wild fruits, then grinding them into meal, and afterwards making them into bread; but we are not informed whether the Maeatæ and Caledonians were acquainted with this refinement.

Among the Caledonians the method of cooking seems to have been somewhat as follows:—A pit lined with smooth stones was made, and near it was placed a heap of smooth, flat stones, of a silicious nature. The stones, as well as the pit, were made nearly red hot. Then some venison was laid in the bottom of the pit, and a layer of smooth stones above it, and thus alternately, till the pit was filled. The whole was covered over with heath to confine the steam. Ossian, in his poems, refers to this: "A hundred youths collect the heath, ten heroes blow the fire, three hundred choose the polished stones."

Whitaker, in his "History of Manchester," Book I., chapter x., states that these people prepared their meat in the following manner: They placed it on a bed of ferns, which had been lighted, and then covered it with a layer of smooth stones, and another layer of ferns; or, according to the Hon. W. O. Stanley ("Cytiau'r Gwyddelod"), the aborigines bored a hole in the ground outside their huts, placed therein as lining the skin of an animal, in which the meat was put. On this a quantity of water was poured, and then a plentiful supply of red-hot stones was thrown into this water till the meat was boiled.

Striking survivals of this ancient method were in existence in the hill farms of Western Denbighshire less than a century ago. As an illustration may be taken the house known as Gallt 'Refail (now in ruins), about two miles south of Llanrwst, on the upper road

* Vol. I., page 113.

leading to Nebo. Under the fire-place was a circular hole, about 2 feet in diameter and 18 inches deep. Peat was placed in this and lighted, and, after the sides of the cavity had become red hot, the ashes were raked out, and the dough was put in ; this was covered with the ashes and left till it was baked.*

Very frequently a peat fire was kindled in the grate at the same time, and on this was placed a "crochan" (a three-legged iron pot), in which meat was put (Fig. 99). This was covered with a sheet of iron, and on that more peat was put. Another example was in actual use at a farm near Nebo less than 40 years ago.

The drinking-vessels of the Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations, were mostly made of horns of oxen and other animals, but those of the Caledonians consisted of large shells.

Water was the only drink of the most ancient inhabitants of Britain as it was of other countries ; but it was not long before they began to drink the milk of animals as "warmer, pleasanter, and more nourishing than water."† It is abundantly evident from history that very few nations continued long unacquainted with some kind of fermented liquor. Before the introduction of agriculture, mead, or honey diluted with water, and fermented, was probably the only strong liquor known to the inhabitants of Britain. (Fig. 99).

Many centuries after the time of the Romans, mead was the favourite drink of the Britons, and the mead-maker was the "eleventh person" in dignity in the Courts of the ancient Princes of Wales, and took the place of the physician. The following law of Wales shows how much mead was esteemed by the British Princes :—

> "There are three things in the court which must be communicated to the king, before they are made known to any person : (1) Every sentence of the judge, (2) every new song, and (3) every cask of mead."

This is, perhaps, the liquor which is called by Ossian "the joy and strength of shells," with which his horses were so much delighted.

After the introduction of agriculture, ale or beer became the most general drink, and among those of the British who tilled the soil, as it had been of all the Celtic people on the Continent. Pliny

* Mr. G. A. Humphreys saw this done in a cottage, near Llyn Dulyn, not 25 years ago.

† Henry, "History of Great Britain" (1789), Vol. i., p. 479.

says: "All the several nations who inhabit the West of Europe have a liquor with which they intoxicate themselves, made of corn and water." The manner of making this liquor was somewhat different in Gaul, Spain, and other countries, and is called by many various names, but its nature and properties are everywhere the same. The method by which the ancient Britons and other Celtic nations made their ale is described by Isidorus and Crosius, as follows:—"The grain is steeped in water, and made to germinate, by which its spirits are created and set at liberty; it is then dried and pounded, after which it is infused in a certain quantity of water, which, being fermented, becomes a pleasant, warming, strengthening, and intoxicating liquor." This ale was most commonly made of barley, but sometimes of wheat, oats, or millet.

If the Phœnicians or Greeks exported any wine to Britain, it was only in small quantities. Wine was very little known in this island before the Roman conquest. After that period, wine was only imported from the continent, and that in considerable quantities, but some attempts were made to cultivate vines and make wines in Britain.

FIG. 99. MEAD VESSEL. "CROCHAN." *Photo. by A. H. Hughes*

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMANS IN NORTH WALES

When we remember how the ever-victorious Roman armies subdued the greater part of what is known as Europe, it would have been surprising if they had not extended their conquests to the British Islands. The great Julius Cæsar mentions his passage into Britain, and, later on, Tacitus, in his Annals, describes how the Romans brought Britain under their sway ; but it is hard to fix the exact time the Roman occupation of Wales began. We know that in the time of Nero, about A.D. 58, Suetonius Paulinus led an army into the Vale of Clwyd, encamping at Bryn Paulin, near St. Asaph, and afterwards penetrated as far as Anglesey, when he massacred the Druids, but, on hearing of the revolt under Boadicea, he soon had to retreat, leaving what garrisons he could spare. During this campaign, Sempronius, his second in command, was slain, and it is possible that his name is still perpetuated in the place-name "Nant Semper" —that narrow defile westward of Colwyn Bay. We can picture to ourselves how the Roman legions, in their rapid advance towards Anglesey, attempted to rush this narrow pass, and, as in Thermopylæ of old, were almost annihilated by the Britons who were posted on Bryn Euryn and the hills to the south-east of Mochdre. That the Romans occupied this region is indicated by the discovery of a coin of Hadrian in Nant Semper ; of coins of Constantine the Great, of all brasses, wrapped in sheet lead, and buried in an arch in the Abbey garden of Rhos Fynach ; of Carausius, near the Little Orme ;* of Constantine, near Aber ; and of about sixty coins of Vespasian, Nerva, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, at the Graiglwyd Quarry in 1871.† A number of Roman coins were also found at Caerhun in 1801, and among them one bearing the inscription "VESP. F. DOMI.", possibly of the date of Domitian. Near the same spot

* See special article by Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.R. Num. S.

† Arch. Camb., 1871.

also was found a round piece of copper, flat on one side and uneven on the other, about 11½ inches over, and forty pounds in weight, having on the flat side a rectangular sinking in it, with the inscription "SOCIO ROMÆ" (short for "SOCIORUM," the Socii being the "company," or "lessees," who hired the works).* This is at present in the possession of Lord Mostyn. In April, 1888, Mr. Thomas Kendrick, while altering the roadway in Ty Gwyn Road, Llandudno, discovered an ancient fire-place, in which were imbedded in clay a piece of pottery and eighteen Roman coins belonging to the Emperors—Gallienus (253—268), one; Victorinus (265—267), three; Tetricius (267—273), one; and Carausius (287—293), thirteen.†

Camden also refers to Sempronius (Gibson Edition, p. 664), and there is a still further reference in Reinesius (Synt. Nisc., chapter 3, p. 64).

Still later, about A.D. 78, Julius Agricola passed this way on his march to Anglesey, in the reign of Vespasian.

For centuries, the district between St. Asaph and Bettws-yn-Rhos was the scene of warfare between Briton, Roman, Saxon, Norman, and Irish, and much may be learned by a study of the scattered records to be found in this, "the Heart of Northern Wales." Truly was it a struggle, which grew more and more intense, as, owing to dangers nearer home, the Roman armies were compelled to leave this scene of their conquests and their power.

An attempt will be made to give an account, as far as space permits, of the few remaining traces of Roman occupation. There is but little doubt that the Romans came to Britain to work the minerals then so near the surface. In the neighbourhood of Abergele, at Castell Cawr, are some of the largest Roman mines. The workings are known as "Ffos-y-Rhufeiniaid," or the Roman Fosse. The vein was followed, where it was large enough to admit a man, and where it opened into a large chamber, the ore had been cleared quite away. Some hammers were found, and the golden hilt of a Roman sword. Later on, there were mines at Cae'r Gwaith, Tyddyn Morgan, and Cefn Ogo'. Near Fron-y-Berllan, an earthenware vase was dug up many years ago, containing about 800 Roman coins

* Way, Arch. Journ., xvi. 1859, p. 40.

* Some authorities consider that this ingot of copper came from Anglesey.

† "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. viii., s. 3, p. 163. Arch. Camb., vol. v., s. 5, p. 370.

of various dates, and, in 1856, coins of the reign of Maximinianus were found at Pentre'r Gwyddel, near Llanddulas.

There is evidence to show that the Romans worked the lead mines at Tre' Castell, near Henryd, as old wooden pumps and a shovel of oak have been found, and also drill-holes (in the solid rock) 15 inches deep and 1 inch in diameter. Many of these holes contained lime, as one method of blasting was by putting quick-lime in them, and then moistening this with water, the expansion thus caused splitting the rock.

ROMAN ROADS

In the Eleventh Antonine Itinerary, drawn up in the second or fourth century, there are the following particulars of the distances from Chester to Carnarvon :—*

A. Segontio Devam -	m p m	LXXIII.
Conovio - - -		XXIII.
Varis - - -		XVIII.
Deva - - -		XXXII.

Total, 73 miles.

From Deva (Chester) the Antonine Iter goes by Varæ and Conovium (Caerhun) to Segontium (Carnarvon).

This road appears to have branched from the northward road leading to Chester after it had crossed the Dee at Aldford, thus avoiding the Saltney marshes. According to Mr. Shrubsole,† its course was then to Hawarden (where the pavement may be traced, and where there was a branch to Bala), and thence to Varæ, 32 miles from Chester. The next point on the road is Conovium (Caerhun), where there is a camp (see later). In 1846, a raised, turfed road was traced,‡ past Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen, along Llidiart-y-Mynydd, to Aber. Near Aber is a large camp, but this is, probably, not Roman. Traces of the road are lost on reaching the enclosed ground, but the name "Hen Ffordd" (Old Road), near Aber, seems to indicate its continuance towards Segontium (Carnarvon).

From the neighbourhood of Conovium, a road known as Sarn Elen ran southward. It was described in 1864 as being at the

* "Roman Roads in Britain," by Thos. Codrington, M.I.C.E., F.G.S.; Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1903.

† Arch. Camb., V., vol. ix., p. 257. ‡ Arch. Camb., vol. i., p. 72.

foot of the cliffs to the west side of the Vale of Llanrwst as far as Trefriw, then over the moor behind Gwydir.* A later conjecture, however, is that the road kept some little way up the western hillsides, fringing the valley, passing over the Ardda uplands, thence to what is now the upper extremity of Trefriw village, thence ascending to Llanrhychwyn, and thence past the sites of the old quarries in a southerly direction over the moor, past Bryn-y-Fawnog to a point east of Ty'n-y-Mynydd, and then along the existing road in the direction of Ty Hyll. Where the crossing of the Llugwy was effected is doubtful, whether near Ty Hyll or near the Miners' Bridge, but it may be regarded as certain that the upland road (behind Bettws-y-Coed, through Rhiwddolion) is an integral part of the old Sarn Elen. The road ran southward to Dolwyddelan, where there are remains of paving. Further on, Sarn Elen is traceable to the east of Manod Mawr, and by Bwlch Cerrig-y-Fran, to Rhyd-Gosbalen, leaving Festiniog a mile to the west. Camden† mentions it as being paved with stones, and Pennant‡ remarks it as being "quite bare, exhibiting the rude stones of which it was made." In his time it was visible on to Tomen-y-Mur, a Roman camp, 300 yards by 200 yards, from which Sarn Elen is traceable to Trawsfynydd and Dolgelley.

The site of VARÆ is very uncertain, but its distance from Conovium is given as about 18 Roman miles, and from Chester about 32 Roman miles, the last-mentioned distance being obviously for the most part over country which, in Roman times, was "either waste, desert, or dense forest," and the traces of the road would be faint, if any might haply be found. Some of the place-names between Denbigh and Caerhun – such as Llys Aled, Rhos-y-Domen, Cefn-y-Castell, Caer Faban, Nant-y-Rhaglaw (the Proconsul's Ravine, or Pass)—might indicate the presence of the Romans, while at Hendre Ddu, to the south of Llangernyw, until about the middle of the last century, "stood a tumulus, in opening which several tombs, 'cistfeini,' sepulchral urns, and fragments of Roman pottery were discovered."§

Below the village (Llangernyw), towards Gellhelig, in the direction of Conovium, at a place called Hendre Isa,' stood (1856) a

* Arch. Camb. III., vol. xi., p 215.

† Britannia, III., 169. ‡ Tours in Wales, II.

§ "Ancient and Modern Denbigh," J. Williams, 1856, p. 268.

large unopened tumulus, almost as remarkable a one as Tomen-y-Bala.*

Archdeacon Evans† remarks that—

"the line of road from Oswestry to Corwen, Cerrig-y-Druidion, Pentre Voelas, Llanrwst, and from Caerhun by Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen to Aber, frequently formed the line of march of troops, whether for invasion or defence. It is marked by several remains of military works. Gwalchmai records an action at Maes-y-Garnedd, Capel Garmon, and another at Craig Gwydir. 'Prydydd y Moch' relates a victory for Llywelyn ap Iorwerth at Voelas. Llangwm Dinmael, near Cerrig-y-Druidion, was the scene of a bloody conflict decisive of the sovereignty of Gwynedd between Meredydd ap Owain, Prince of South Wales, and Idwal ap Meuryg, Prince of North Wales, where the former was defeated, A.D. 992. Henry II. led his last expedition this way, and at Corwen the combined Welsh chiefs mustered their forces to oppose him, A.D. 1165. He was at Llangernyw in October, 1182, and at Dolwyddelan in May, 1183."

CAERHUN.—All writers agree that Caerhun, an ancestral demesne on the River Conway, about five miles from the present town of that name, is the site of the ancient Conovium, one of the stations of the Eleventh Iter of Antonine's Itinerary. Camden supposes—

"the name "Caerhun" to be a corruption of "Caer Hen" (the Old City), but says that the common tradition of the neighbourhood was that it derived its name from Rhun ap Maelgwyn Gwynedd, who died in 586. In the Hengwrt MS., p. 104,‡ it is written "Kaer rrun—Kaer pill." "Caer pill"—a double substantive—seems to support another derivation, "Kae'r pill" (the Field of the Stronghold). In a list drawn up by the Ravenna chorographer, it is spelt "Canubium"; and, on a milestone near Llanfairfechan [*Q. V.*], "Kanovium."

It seems probable that Conovium was designed, *inter alia*, as the station to protect the pearl fishery of the Conway, and that Julius Cæsar himself was attracted to Britain by the size and beauty of the British pearls, and by the rich mineral deposits. §

The 10th Legion was sometimes called "The Antonian Augustian Legion," and was considered a foreign legion, because it was originally composed of non-citizen volunteers from tributary states, chiefly Germans and Gauls. It was under Ostorius when at Caerhun.

* "Ancient and Modern Denbigh," p. 269; Note by W. Wynne Foulkes.

† History of Pentrevoelas, MS.

‡ Notes by the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes.

§ "Multi prodiderunt Julium Cæsarem Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus."—Suetonius.

"Prægrandia flumina alternis motibus modo in pelagus, modo retro fluentia, et quædam gemmas margaritasque generantia."—Pomponius Mela, A.D. 45.

The Ancient Britons encamped on the highest eminences, whereas the Romans stationed themselves in the valleys, on the gentle slope of some river's bank, but, in this country (Wales), the latter very frequently took possession of the lofty positions of the former, as, possibly, on Pen-y-Corddyn. These elevated posts were originally called "dinau," but after their occupation by the Romans "caerau," from the Latin *castra*. The Romans likewise furnished themselves with summer and winter quarters, the former on a hill commanding a north aspect, and the latter down in warm, sheltered valleys or plains, as at Conovium.

Mr. Lysons* described the site of the camp at Conovium as

"nearly a square of 260 feet, surrounded with a slight vallum of earth, 500 feet from the river Conway, on the side next to which the ground is very steep from the edge of the station."

Within this ancient site stands the Church of Caerhun, but no dwelling-house. At a small distance north-west of the Church, two ancient sepulchres were discovered late in the eighteenth century, square, walled in, and containing human bones. On the hilly ground between the "station" and the river, called Erw'r Gaer (the "Fort's Acre"), the remains of a building were discovered, probably baths (Fig. 100). In July, 1801, Mr. Lysons, with the Rev. Hugh Davies Griffith, the then proprietor of Caerhun, excavated a part of this site, the results of which are shown on the accompanying plan (Fig. 101).

The rooms B. and C., measuring respectively 21 feet 5 inches by 20 feet 9 inches and 14 feet 9 inches by 20 feet 9 inches, were discovered previously to 1801. The floor was a coarse sort of "terras," and only the foundations of the walls between the two rooms remained, but enough to show the position of the door-way. The walls of the other rooms were, in some places, about 6 feet in height, and were built of the stones found in the fields. A room, marked A. (measuring 20 feet 9 inches by 14 feet 10 inches) was found to the south-west of B., filled with stones and rubbish, below which was black mould with burnt wood, fragments of coarse earthen vessels, bricks of various sizes, part of a wall with brick tiles laid in mortar, and many lumps of clay. At the north-east end of the room was a sort of hearth of large thin stones, placed edge-ways, and with large bricks placed flat over them, showing marks of fire; at the north-west corner were two rudely constructed piers, of hard local stone, and in the spaces between them, numerous fragments of pottery and several pieces of iron. In the room D (7 feet 10 inches by 20 feet 9 inches), there were fragments of plaster on some of the walls, but no traces of pavement. This room was also filled with fragments of mortar, bricks and tiles, and a sort of stone pillar 2 feet 7½ inches high (Fig. 102), of sandstone, similar to those

* Archæologia, vol. xvi, 1812,

used at Chester to support the Hypocaust; also part of a brick funnel, the aperture of which was 6 inches by 4¾ inches, the sides being ½ inch thick. Room E was paved with large slates, and in this room was a pier, 2 feet 10 inches square, of alternate layers of brick and stone, and 1 foot 4 inches high; at the north corner, were two steps leading into it. These steps seem to have been much worn by use.

FIG. 100. VIEW OF ROMAN BATHS, CONOVIUM. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

Previous to 1801* several portions of earthenware vases, dishes and culinary utensils were found, stamped with devices of men in armour, dogs chasing stags, some sky-blue, others red. The most perfect was a hollow dish, about 6 inches in diameter, with surface beautifully glazed and of a bright red colour, with the letters "PATRICI" (Fig. 102) stamped in the centre. There were also two small earthenware lamps (Fig. 102), one neatly constructed. Near these was also found an old Roman (?) font.

The Rev. Mr. Griffith seemed to think, and with this Mr. Lysons agreed, that there was a manufactory of Roman pottery

* "Beauties of England and Wales," by the Rev. J. Evans, London, 1812; and Llandudno Visitors' Handbook, by Gwalchmai, 1855, p. 105.

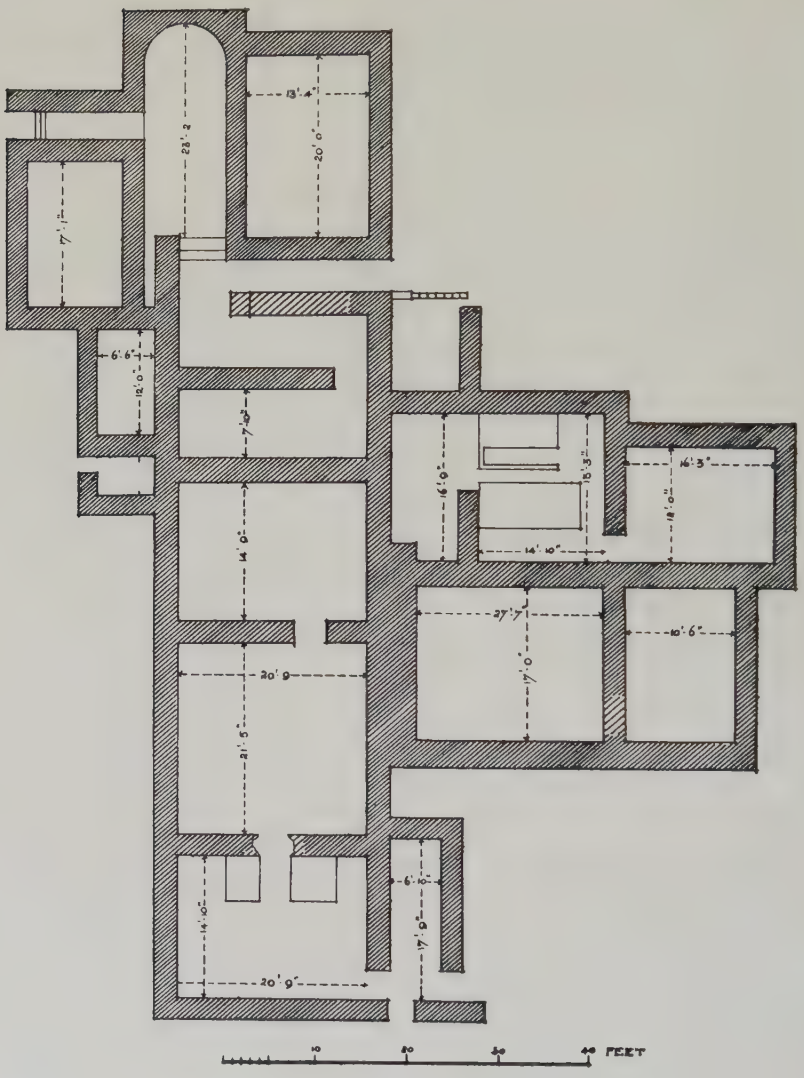
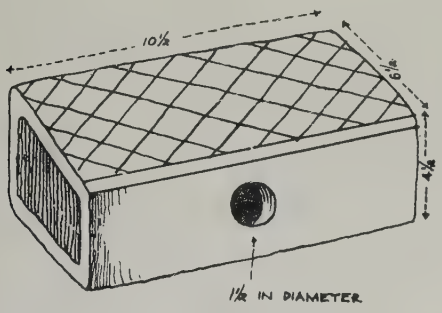


FIG 101. PLAN OF BATHS, CONOVIUM [By permission of Ed. of 'Archæologia'].

H K L
M E O
N D S
C G Q
B F P
A R

at Conovium, from the great quantity of broken clay vessels and the lumps of clay found there ; some of the fragments were imperfectly baked, and others baked together in masses.

It is very probable that the tiles and bricks used by the Romans in the construction of their camp at Caerhun were made with clay from the beds in the immediate locality.



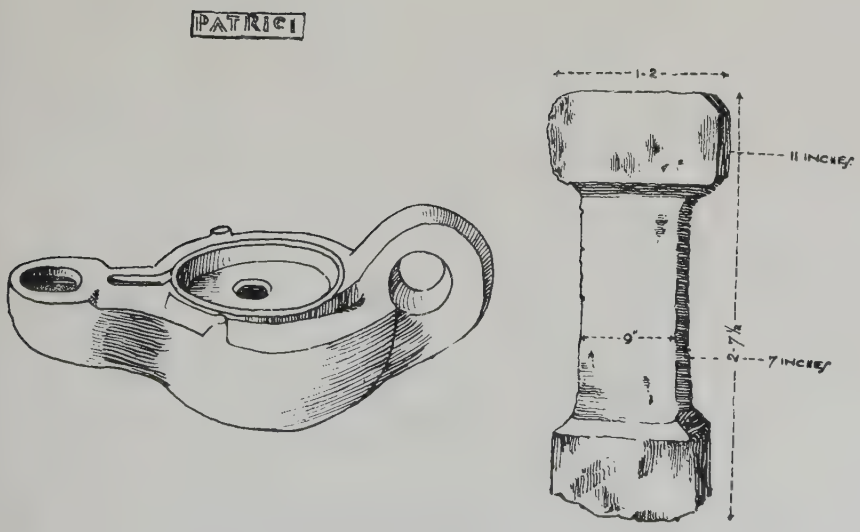


FIG. 102. ROMAN LAMP, AIR-BRICK, &c., CONOVIUM.
[By Permission of Editor of "Archæologia."]

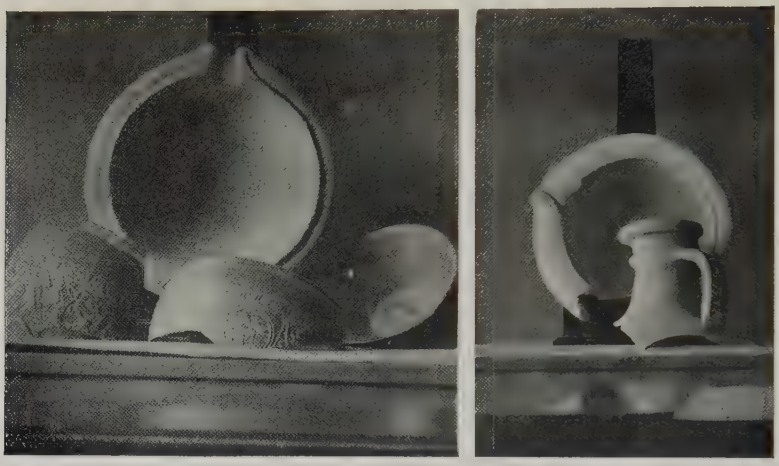


FIG. 103. ROMAN POTTERY, SEGONTIUM. *Miss Jones, Carnarvon.*

FIG. 104. ROMAN VASE, SEGONTIUM. *Photo. through Mr. Ed. Roberts, M.A.*

They are of a good red colour which matches that of the modern fireclay goods made with clay from those beds. Many tiles 8 inches by 8 inches by 2½ inches and 8 inches by 8 inches by 2¾ inches, which appear to be general sizes, have been measured. Also, until recently, there were to be seen on the site of the baths many voussoirs (wedge-shaped blocks) from the arches. These measured 10½ inches by 10½ inches on the face, with a sectional thickness of 2½ inches to 3¼ inches on the extrados of the arch and 1¾ inches to 2¼ inches on the intrados.

FIG. 105. ROMAN CUPID, SEGONTIUM.
Photo. through Mr. E. Roberts, M.A.

Among Roman remains at the Segontium end of the road may be mentioned some pottery, and a fine specimen in bronze of a Cupid. The writer is indebted to Mr. C. Jones, J.P., the owner, for the illustrations of these (Figs. 103 and 105). A Roman vase (Fig. 104) is also in the possession of Dr. R. Parry, the illustration being from a photograph kindly obtained by Mr. Edward Roberts, M.A., J.P.

It is needless to add that there are some fine examples of Roman walling in Segontium (Carnarvon).

On opening an old drain, on May 7th, 1799, the Hon. Col. Greville discovered an ancient shield* (Fig. 106), on the east side of the station at Caerhun.

It is circular and about 13 inches in diameter. The front face is of leather, with seven concentric bands of iron, embossed with round-headed studs of bronze; the outer band has 229 studs; part of the second and the whole of the third have disappeared, in the fourth are 80, in the fifth and sixth 78 each, and in the seventh 93. The central boss, or "umbo," is about 4 inches high,

* See Chester Archæological Journal, vol. v, part 1, 1893, from which this account is mainly taken.

ending in a spike. The reverse has a lining of flannel. Outside is a rim of iron clamped to the rim in front, and doubled on itself in two places to form a socket for the wooden handle stretched across. This handle was secured by short bands of iron (1½ inches to 2 inches in length), rivetted crosswise, six on either side. In the centre is a quantity of coarse reddish hair for padding, just where the back of the hand would come.

SECTION
ANCIENT ROMAN SHIELD
FOUND ABOUT 1799 AT CAERHÛN (CONOVIUM) CARNARVONSHIRE,
NOW THE ESTATE OF H.T. DAVIES GRIFFITH ESQUIRE
12 MAY 1877
0 3 6 9 12 Inches

FIG. 106. SHIELD, CAERHUN. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

This shield is particularly light, and was designed for the use of people who depended for their success in warfare upon the rapidity of their movements, a thing which seems to show that it is British and not Roman.* The ordinary Roman shield, "Scutum,"

* A helmet is said to have been found with the shield. "Trip to Conway and Five Days in North Wales," 1837.

was oblong, 4 feet by 2½ feet, and even the oval "Clipeus" used by the "principes" was much larger and heavier than the one described above, and the ordinary round shield was 3 feet in diameter. The one from Caerhun resembles more the "Cetra," used by the Oscans and the people of Spain.

Squire H. D. Griffith* willed the shield to the late Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who refused it on the ground that it was an heirloom.

The only other shield as perfect as this was discovered at Sutton St. Michael's, in Norfolk, in 1880.

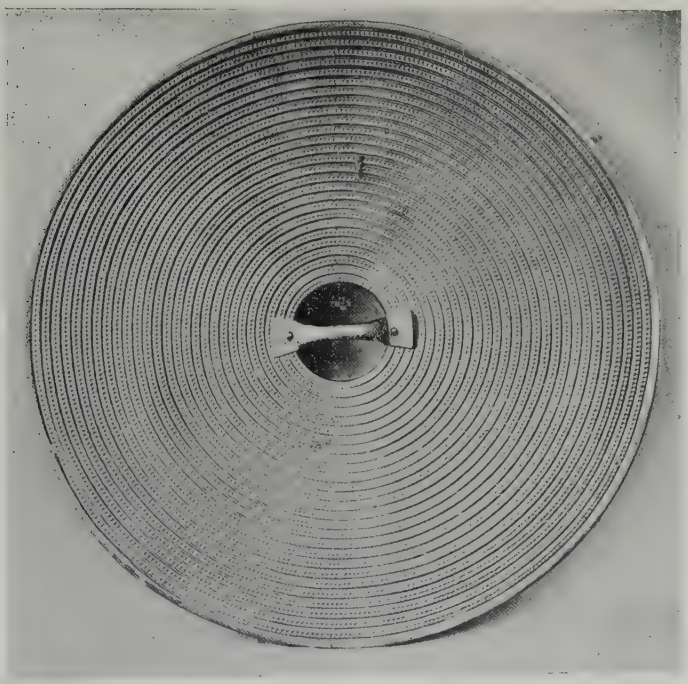


FIG. 107. ROMAN SHIELD, MOEL SIABOD. *Photo. by D. Macbeth.*
(In British Museum).

Some people consider that the ferry crossed the river to the south of Caerhun, and that traces of the road had been observed on

* The H. T. D. Griffith mentioned in the illustration was the lineal descendant of Sir Griffith (fourth in descent from Ednyfed Fychan), who, in 1360, was in possession of Caerhun (Llwyd's "Beaumaris Bay").

the other side of the river (Gwalchmai's Llandudno Handbook, 1855).

In the same locality was found an urn, one foot high, and containing small human bones and bone dust, superior in design and workmanship to those found at Penmaenmawr, and which are now in the Chester Museum. Probably it was Roman, and not Celtic. Near these was found an old Roman (?) font.

A Roman shield (Fig. 107) was found in 1784 in a peat bog on the slopes of Moel Siabod.

It is made of overlapping concentric bronze rings, and the outer rings are wider than the rest. On the inner side is a brass plate with a handle 3⅝ inches long. The diameter of the shield is 25¼ inches.

Mr. Lysons also remarks that

"there are considerable remains of a large Roman building on an estate belonging to the Duke of Ancaster, between Capel Kerrig [Curig] and Llanrwst, near a place called Bryn Gefeiliau (or the "Hill of the Smithy"). . . . I distinctly traced the walls of two rooms: the dimensions of one were 60 feet by 20 feet, and the other was 18 feet 6 inches square, in which were several pillars, like those of the Hypocaust under the Feather's Inn, Chester."

In 1820, at Ty Coch, near the farm-house of Caer Rhun, was found a stone with the following Latin inscription :—

NVMC.
IMP. CAESAR M...
AVREL' ANTONINVS
PIVS. TI. IX AVG. ARAB IX.

It is supposed to have been erected by the Ninth, or Arabic, Legion, as a record of services performed in ridding the country of the marauding Brigantes, as recorded by Pausanias.*

ROMAN MILESTONE.

A further confirmation of the presence of the Romans in this district, and of the existence of a road, was the discovery, near Llanfairfechan, on February 21st, 1883, of a complete Roman milestone. It was examined by Mr. Richard Luck and Mr. Thomas North, F.S.A., both of Llanfairfechan, and an account of it was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries. †

It was found in a field to the right of a road leading from Gor-

* Arch. Camb. 1846, p. 419, and 1847, p. 51. Journ. Arch. Assoc., II., 1847, p. 403.
† Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ix., 2nd Series.

ddinog to Rhiwiau Ucha', and about 100 yards from this farm-house. This road, or lane, leads up to what is now considered to be the Roman road from Aber to Caerhun.

Fig. 108. Roman Mile-Stone, Rhiwiau Uchaf, Llanfairfechan. (In British Museum). *Photo. by D. Macbeth.*

The stone (Fig. 108)* is of mill-stone grit, and similar in character to the two stones at Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen, is cylindrical in shape, tapering slightly towards the top. The circumference at the base is 5 feet, and at the top 4 feet 7 inches. Its extreme length is 6 feet 9 inches; diameter at the base, 19½ inches, and at the top 16½ inches—not quite circular. The incised inscription in Roman capital letters, varies from 2¼ inches to 2½ inches in height, and occupies about 16 inches of the surface of the stone, from the top downwards.

Owing to the fact that the stone was completely buried in the earth, the inscription has been well preserved. It appears that the base, for about 16 inches, had been originally sunk in the ground. The inscription is as follows :—

IMP . CAES . TRAI
ANVS . HADRIANVS
AVG . P : M . TR . P . V
P . P . COS . III
A . KANOVIO
M . P . VIII

The interpretation seems to be :

Imperator Cæsar
Trajanus Hadrianus
Augustus, Pontifex Maximus,
Tribunicia Potestate,
Pater Patriæ, Consul III.
A KANOVIO
Mille Passuum VIII.

This distance—about 7½ miles—is the true distance to the Roman Camp at Conovium, close to Caerhun Church, on the west bank of the River Conway. The date upon the stone coincides with that of the Emperor Hadrian's visit to Britain in 119 A.D., and it would be

* This stone is now preserved in the British Museum, and it is owing to the kindness of the authorities that I am able to give the accompanying illustration.

entirely in accord* with the Emperor's known ability and energy, that he should have inspected the station at Kanovium, where one of the Roman legions—the Tenth—was stationed, and it is quite possible that this milestone may indicate this visit.

The form of the word "Kanovium" shows that K*a*nwy, or C*a*nwy, was an older form than Conway.

Not far from the milestone described above, a second one was found. The inscription on which reads as follows :—

IMPP . CAES
L . SEP . SEVERVS
PP . ET . M . AVR
ANTONINVS
AVGG . ET . P . . .

Imperatores Cæsares
Lucius Septimius Severus
Pius pertinax et M. Aurelius
Antoninus
Augusti et P [Septimius Geta].

This stone is cylindrical, and of similar material to the former, but broken under the lettering : its length is 1 foot 11 inches and diameter 1 foot 4 inches. It evidently bore the name of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus and of his two sons, M. Aurelius Antoninus (the philosopher), commonly called Caracalla ; and P. Septimius Geta.

This stone was put up after Caracalla was associated with his father in the emperorship, but before Geta was. The A.V.G.G. shows that L. S. Severus and Caracalla both held the office of Augustus, but that Geta did not, as his name comes after A.V.G.G. —now Caracalla was made Augustus in 198 A.D., and Geta in 209 A.D. Therefore the date of the stone must have been prior to 209 A.D. But Severus and his two sons came to Britain in 208 A.D., hence the stone was probably erected shortly after that date.

The next question that arises is, how and when was the stone broken. It is known that after they had both become emperors the two brothers developed a mutual hatred, which ended by Caracalla killing his brother with his own hand. Caracalla afterwards issued a decree that Geta's name should be obliterated from all records. Is it not possible that his name was obliterated from this milestone, and that in doing this it was broken ?

* From Notes by the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes, F.R., Hist, S.

About fifty milestones have been discovered in England and Wales, and of these ten in Wales, and the inscription on the earlier one found near Llanfairfechan is one of the best inscriptions on all the milestones that have been found.

Mr. T. W. Wilkinson, writing in the *Autocar* (January, 1911), states that—

"a first-class Roman road, such as that excavated at Radstock in 1881, has the following structure :—(1) Foundation of fine earth, hard beaten in ; (2) the bed of the road composed of large stones, some bedded in mortar ; (3) small stones, well mixed with mortar ; (4) nucleus—a mixture of lime, chalk, and powdered brick or tile, or of gravel, sand and lime with clay ; (5) pavement. The stones at Radstock were of all sizes and shapes, the lime having probably been poured in afterwards. In this way the whole surface of the road was so firmly cemented together that, in removing it, . . the stones were more frequently split through the solid than separated at the joint."

THE ROMAN ROAD FROM CONOVIUM (CAERHUN) TO ABER.

Irrespective of the finding of the Roman milestones at Rhiwiau Uchaf, near Gorddinog, there seems to have been a general opinion, amounting almost to a tradition, that the road through Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen to Aber was of Roman origin. The main road, according to some authorities, crossed the Conway near Talycafn, and it is fairly certain that the roads from Ro-wen and Llanbedr (by way of Pont Hafoty Gwyn), meeting at a point a little west of Cromlech Maen-y-Bardd, were of Roman origin, and that they then continued as one road to Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen, but the actual road from Conovium to either of these roads is difficult to trace.

The road from Ro-wen rises rapidly to about 900 feet, and, a short distance beyond Cromlech Maen-y-Bardd, its course is between walls (Fig. 109) up to within half-a-mile of the Pass of the Two-Stones, or Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen (Fig. 41). After it reaches the open moorland, it loses in places the character of a road for at least half-a-mile on either side of the pass. Instead of the surface being fairly flat, and a little above the general level of the ground, the road takes the form of a deep trench, and, in some places, of two parallel trenches about 30 feet apart. Below the source of Afon Glan Sais (which drains into the Llanfairfechan reservoir), the road runs through swampy ground, and then rises to the point known as "The Meeting of the Tracks." It again descends, and, for some distance, takes the form of a cutting, after which it skirts the slopes of Foel Ganol and Foel Dduarth (Fig. 83), thence rapidly descending to the

Anafon valley (a little to the north of Hafod-y-Celyn), where, after passing through a gate, it continues to Pont Newydd and Aber. The highest point, at Bwlch-y-Ddeufaen, is 1,403 feet above sea-level.

FIG. 109. VIEW ON ROMAN ROAD. *Photo. by B. M. Cushing.*

Although, at three points between Afon Glan Sais and the point marked "Tumulus" on the map (Fig. 88), trenches have been made, by the writer, across the road, no traces were found of a pavement or any other characteristic feature of a Roman road, the track, in each place, seeming to be merely a notch cut on the hill-side.

The strongest presumption exists for saying that such an important road as that from Conovium to Segontium must have been at least of a second-class character, and the recent excavations (in May, 1911), seem to indicate that its route may possibly be other than that which tradition assigned to it. The presence of the milestones at Rhiwiau Uchaf, suggests a conjecture that the road may have passed that spot, and thence down the valley *via* Gorddinog to Aber. Of course it is possible that the Romans used an old British trackway from "The Meeting of the Tracks" to a point near Hafod-y-Celyn.

The account of the Romans in this district may be concluded with a description of two Romano-British finds.

CELTO-ROMAN DOMESTIC VESSELS.

In 1862, at Plas Uchaf, about 1½ miles from Abergele, were discovered quite a large number of bronze, etc., kitchen utensils, but unfortunately most of them were sold for old iron, and only a few were preserved. They were found in sets, or nests, according to their shape, and have been described by Mr. Ecroyd Smith,* and the illustration given (Fig. 110) is with the kind permission of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society.

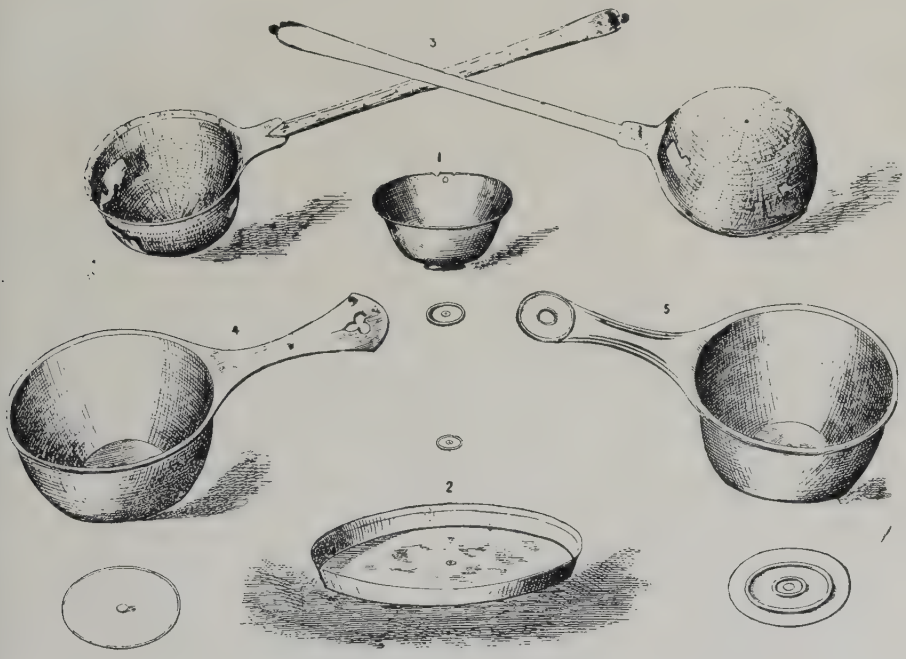


FIG. 110. CELTO-ROMAN DOMESTIC VESSELS, Near Abergele.
(By permission of Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire).

Among them may be mentioned :—

1.—A CUP, 1½ inch high and 3 inches diameter, of an elegant, classical bowl-like form, cast in bronze, and plated with tin on the inner surface.

2.—A PLATTER (tin-plated), about 1 inch high and 6¼ inches diameter

* Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, N.S., vol. ix, 1869, pp. 19–44.

across rim, and 5¼ inches at base; the rim has three narrow line mouldings, and it is a good example of a Roman *scutella* or *patera*.

3.—A COLANDER, or STRAINER, 12 inches long, of bronze, unplated.

4.—A SAUCEPAN, 2 inches high and 4½ inches broad, with a handle 4 inches long; the rim is recurved, and the flat handle is perforated with a trefoil. On the upper surface of the handle were some incised letters—

"C A . . . V
L V A M . N V S . F."

probably the maker's name—"Luaminus Fecit." The bowl is quite plain, and was originally tinned.

5.—A SAUCEPAN, the handle of which has curved line mouldings, and concentric ones at the semi-circular end, the centre of the inner one being perforated.

Parc-y-Meirch ("the Field of the Horses") was probably the site of a Roman encampment, in succession to a British one.* The finding of such a number of culinary vessels near Plas Uchaf, of such excellent quality and workmanship, seems to point to the fact that they formed part of the equipment of the commander of an expedition from Deva to Conovium, who had suddenly to retreat. It is worthy of notice that Tacitus states that his father-in-law, Julius Agricola, Governor of Britain in A.D. 78, inaugurated an expedition against the Ordovices in this year, and the Vale of Clwyd constituted the opening scene in his successful campaign.

CELTO-ROMAN FIRE-DOGS.

In cutting a ditch through a turbary in the farm of Carreg Goedog, near Capel Garmon, and near a rock called Carreg-y-Lleon ("Rock of the Legion")† was found, by a man cutting a turf, a Celto-Roman fire-dog. It lay on the clay sub-soil, flat on its side, with a large stone at each end, and at a considerable depth.‡ Carreg Goedog is four miles south-east of Bettws-y-Coed, on the north of the high road to Pentrevoelas, and six miles to the east of the Roman road from Conovium to Tomen-y-Mur. There are no remains of ancient buildings near.

The fire-dog is made entirely of iron, and the execution indicates considerable taste and skill (Fig. 111). It consists of two vertical bars 1¼ inches

* Rice Holmes ("Ancient Britain," p. 152), states that looped bronze plates found in a hoard at Abergele were supposed to be a jingling ornament, attached to harness.

Prof. W. Ridgeway ("The Thoroughbred Horse," p. 92) argues that man's use of horses in Britain could not be placed before the end of the Bronze Age.

† Archdeacon Evans' "History of Pentrevoelas," MS.

‡ Arch Camb., III., 201.

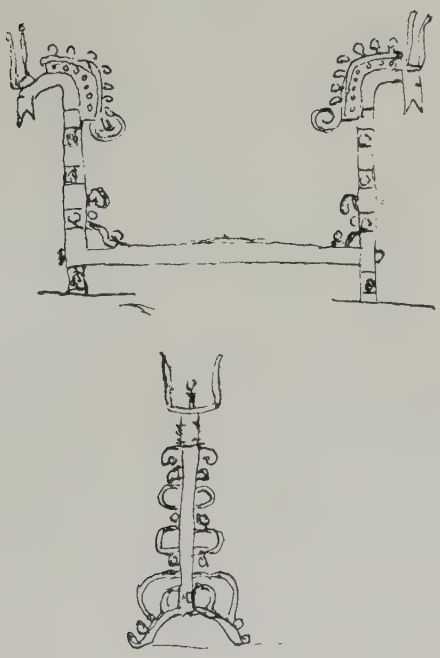


FIG. 111. CELTO-ROMAN FIRE-DOGS. *E. F. Horner, del.*

square, with an ornamental head at the top, and a horizontal bar 2¼ inches deep by 18 inches wide, joining the uprights near the foot. The total height is 2 feet 5½ inches, and the extreme length 2 feet 10 inches. The uprights are ornamented at each end by a thin plate of iron, bent into semi-circular loops, and spiral coils at the top and bottom. The heads and horns are made in separate pieces, and fixed to the uprights, which are bent over to form the neck. At the back of the neck is a crest, like the mane of a horse, consisting of a sheet of metal with nine holes, and a flange on the outside, with a row of seven holes in it.

The late Mr. Romilly Allen believed it to be more Celtic than Roman, from heads with long horns being on the top and knob-shaped rivets being used in the decoration.*

Mr. Ecroyd Smith considers that these fire-dogs were used for supporting bars, to hold chaldrons over fires.

Mr. Roach Smith (Collectanea, vol. ii.) described a pair of fire-dogs found at Colchester in 1839, and two similar ones at Shefford (Bedfordshire) in 1832. Articles of a similar character have been found at Pompeii and near Pæstum.

* Arch. Camb., January, 1901.

SOME FINDS OF ROMAN COINS IN CREUDDYN

BY

WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, F.R. Num. S.,

Cor. Member for North Wales of Brit. Num. Society.

The importance of a definite knowledge of the past is becoming more and more appreciated every day. Such knowledge is, perhaps, most easily acquired by the inspection of objects actually belonging to the different periods of which history treats. Among these objects ancient coins stand in the first rank. Handling a contemporary coin, we feel indeed more in touch with great human events of the past recorded thereby than the mere reading of books about such events can ever bring us. Of all ancient coins which have come down to us, those of the Romans are the most abundant. They are found scattered almost broadcast, one might say, in the soil of the various lands which once formed portions of the great Roman Empire. In England, therefore, as a part of that Empire, they are exceedingly plentiful. In Wales and in Scotland they are not quite so numerous, but they have, nevertheless, been unearthed from time to time in large numbers. This abundance of Roman coins at the present time is hardly surprising. For the output of the various Roman Mints, year after year and century after century, was enormous. In Rome itself, in Imperial days, there were several thousands of moneyers who were continually engaged in the making of coins. But more than this, as the Empire extended, north, east, south, and west, even this vast number of moneyers at the Capital city was unable to supply the demand for currency in the Provinces. In order to meet local wants more rapidly, therefore, subsidiary Mints were established in several of the Colonial cities. Such Mints were opened in Spain in the first century, in Gaul in the second, and in remoter Britain in the later part of the third century, A.D.

While any Roman coins once current in these islands have, wherever minted, much historic interest for us, those that were struck as well as current here have, of course, the greatest value for the student of British history. Although there have been numerous "finds" of Roman coins in North Wales, two, unearthed in the district of which this volume treats, stand out pre-eminent. This for the reason that one consists almost entirely, and the other largely, of coins which were not only current but were struck or minted in Britain. The coins of the first find were, for the most

part, issued towards the close of the third century, and those of the second at the commencement of the fourth century, A.D. Both these finds, therefore, serve to illustrate a somewhat dark period of the Roman occupation of these islands.

The first-named of these two finds of Roman coins was obtained on the Little Orme's Head on the 10th of January, 1907.

The site of the "find" was on the left-hand side of the road leading from Llandudno past Craigside Hydro to Colwyn Bay, opposite to the stable entrance of Simdda Hir, on Mrs. Holden's property. The exact spot was in the bank, 12 yards back from the road, entering the gate just east of the ruins of the old farm buildings. This bank is at the foot of the Rhiwleden cliffs, which tower 150 feet above it on the north.

The story of the discovery is as follows: —

Some workmen were excavating soil and rubble for the construction of the new Mostyn Broadway in Llandudno, when they unexpectedly unearthed them. The coins lay at a depth of about 2½ feet below the surface, which was composed of accumulated detritus from high cliffs above. The tenant of the land took possession of them, to the number of 452. The time of the discovery was late upon a dark winter afternoon, and no particular notice seems to have been taken of the probably broken receptacle. Some corroded pieces of thin bronze plate, with rivets through them hammered down on both sides, were, however, subsequently picked up, and others seen have disappeared. All the coins were, moreover, covered with a black earthy matter, distinct from the neighbouring soil. These circumstances point to the coins having been enclosed in some sort of metal, or wood and metal, box. Further, a long strip of thin copper, an inch wide, was folded round four "first brass" coins of earlier date than the rest of the hoard. The centre of one of these and a portion of the strip show signs of having been soldered, perhaps together. Two cart loads of the rubble went on to the new Mostyn Broadway directly after the discovery, and their contents were tipped in the dusk upon the site of the present footpath on the north-east side of the road, midway between the church and the theatre. Next morning's light revealed certain coins half buried in the freshly-deposited rubble here. The news spread, and soon an eager crowd of searchers were busy scratching out specimens. In the course of the day a total of at least 100 were found, though it is impossible to ascertain their exact number; possibly some still lie buried in the new roadway. This brings up the ascertained number of coins in the discovery to about 550. The coins, with the exception of the four previously referred to, were all of the description known as "third brass." Some of them were at first supposed by the finders to be of gold and silver, and the police, acting for the Treasury, accordingly took possession of the bulk of them; finding subsequently that they were not "treasure trove," they returned them to their owners. Very unfortunately for numismatics, many of the coins, especially those picked up in the Mostyn Broadway, were rapidly dispersed among visitors and others. The writer has now 350 of them in his collection, and has, thanks to the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. F. Holland, of Llandudno, in tracing them, succeeded in inspecting about one hundred more. These will shortly be described in the Journal of the British Numismatic Society. Nearly 97 per

cent. of the coins prove to be British-struck money of the Emperor Carausius, the usurper in Britain who threw off the Roman yoke (under Diocletian and Maximianus) between 287 and 293 A.D.; the remainder are of earlier Emperors. This makes the find a notable one. Although coins of Carausius are not infrequently met with in small numbers mixed with others, more especially in the South-west and West of England, only two large "finds" have previously been recorded. The first in importance was the discovery of 545 examples of Carausius in the great hoard of 29,802 Roman coins unearthed at Woolmer, in Hants, in 1873. The second was a pocket of 210 excavated near Rouen in 1846.

The coins in the "find" are interesting also from the variety of reverses shown. The great number of reverse types struck by Carausius during his brief reign is remarkable; therefore it is hardly surprising that in the present "find" there are very many types; of these types, moreover, but few are struck from the same die. Many of the coins (those marked M L) were minted in London, and a few (marked C) at Colchester; the majority, however, have no Mint letters upon them. A selection of six coins from the "find" is illustrated on Fig. 112, Nos. (1) to (6), with details of types and inscriptions opposite.

The other great local find was also obtained on the Little Orme's Head, near the same road leading from Llandudno to Colwyn Bay, but at a point about half-a-mile east from the resting-place of the Carausius coins.

It consisted of about 5,000 Roman bronze coins cemented together by a green oxide into a solid mass, and contained in a red one-handled earthenware jar some 15 inches high by 8 inches wide. The jar was unearthed by a local farmer during an alteration in the level of the road in the year 1873; but, as its existence was unfortunately kept a profound secret for some 30 years, till the death of the finder, no reliable details of the circumstances attending its discovery are available. Vague report says that the jar stood enclosed by some sort of stone walling. These 5,000 coins proved, after successful separation and treatment, to be chiefly what is known as "third brass," with a few "second brass," all in magnificent condition. They consist of some 3,000 coins of British, and some 2,000 of Gaulish, Mints; pieces struck in other parts of the Roman Empire are conspicuously rare. Of the British coins the majority are marked with London Mint letters (PLON, PLN, MLN, MSL, and MLL), while a few (marked RP, RS, RT, and RQ), were possibly struck at Richborough, though they may belong to Rome. Of the Gaulish coins, the Mint letters are those of Treves (usually PTR), of Arles (PARL, SARL, TARL, and QARL), and of Lyons (PLG). The effigies upon the coins are various; almost two-thirds of the whole bear that of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306—337) in different forms, and about one-third that of Licinius I. (A.D. 307—324); there are a few coins of Maximinus Daza (A.D. 305—313), of Maximianus Hercules (A.D. 286—305), and of Constantius Chlorus (A.D. 292—306), with two examples of Allectus (A.D. 293—296), and one of Carausius (A.D. 287—293). The collection belongs, therefore, to the time when Constantine was Emperor in the West in association with Licinius I. in the East. The Emperors at this

period stamped their colleagues' portraits alternately with their own upon the coins which they issued, hence the appearance of the effigies of Licinius I. and of Maximinus Daza upon coins struck by Constantine in Gaul and in Britain.

The reverses of the coins show many different types, of which space forbids the enumeration here. The find has, however, been described in detail by Mr. W. Sharp Ogden, in the Journal of Brit. Num. Society, Vol. iii, and also in Arch. Camb., 6th Ser., Vol. ix. It is a notable one for two reasons ; firstly on account of the large quantity of British-struck money that it contains, and secondly owing to the fine condition of the majority of the coins, large numbers of which can hardly have been in circulation. A selection of eighteen of the coins is illustrated on Figs. 113, 114, 115, with details of types and inscriptions opposite.

It is remarkable that these two important finds should have been unearthed within half-a-mile of one another. From their composition the two collections would seem to represent intercepted consignments of money from headquarters rather than the accumulated hoardings of private persons. The road near which the finds occurred is the modern representative of a very ancient one, which led from west to east over the pass between the Little Orme on the north and Mynydd Pentre on the south. It would afford direct means of communication between the Dinas on the Great Orme and that on Bryn Euryn. The great Roman road from Deva (Chester) to Segontium (Carnarvon) *via* Kanovium (Caerhun), ran inland some ten miles away from the Little Orme. Nevertheless, the old path in which the coins were discovered would seem from these two finds to have been a thoroughfare in Roman times.

Many coins of the Romans have in past years been found in association with the old copper mines on the Great Orme, but unfortunately they have been scattered, without any particulars of them being preserved. It may be worth mention, however, that the small "find" of seventeen coins made at the mouth of a cave on the Great Orme in 1888 (recorded in Arch. Camb., 5th Ser., vol. v, p. 370) included thirteen coins of Carausius of similar types to some of those recently unearthed. We know that the Romans exploited North Wales chiefly for the sake of its mineral wealth It is possible, therefore, that the two parcels of coins found in the pass over the Little Orme were consignments intended for payment of native workers in the mines in the Great Orme about the years 292 and 315* A.D. respectively. The following is a detailed description of some of the most typical coins found on the Little Orme's Head in 1873 and 1907 (from specimens in the collection of the writer).

* These dates are deduced approximately from the types, mints, and fabric of the coins in the two "finds."

ROMAN COINS

Fig. 112.

FROM "FIND," A.D. 1907, LITTLE ORME'S HEAD.

CARAUSIUS, A.D. 287—293.

(1). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in military cloak to right, wearing radiate crown. IMP[erator] CARAVSIVS P[ius] F[elix] AV(gustus.
Reverse.—Somewhat similar to 2.

(2). *Obverse.*—Almost similar to 1.
Reverse.—*Figure of Goddess of Peace, standing to left, holding olive branch right hand, and sceptre left hand. PAX AVG[usti].

(3). *Obverse.*—Almost similar to 1.
Reverse.—*Figure of Goddess of Health, standing to left, holding in right hand sacred *patera* to feed serpent coiled round pillar, and in left hand sceptre. SALVS AVG[usti].

(4). *Obverse.*—Almost similar to 1.
Reverse.—*Figure of God Mars, standing to right, holding sceptre in right hand, and left hand resting on shield. VIRTVS AVG[usti].

(5). *Obverse.*—Almost similar to 1.
Reverse.—*Figure of a woman personifying the Mint, standing to left, holding in right hand a pair of scales, and in left horn of plenty. MONETA AVG[usti].

(6). *Obverse.*—Almost similar to 1.
Reverse.—*Figure of God Neptune standing to left, holding in right hand a dolphin, and in left a trident. LEG[io] XXX VLPIA [Victrix].

Fig. 113.

FROM "FIND," A.D. 1873, LITTLE ORME'S HEAD.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULES, A.D. 286—305 and 307—310.†

(7). *Obverse.* *Bust of Emperor in cuirass to right, wearing laurel wreath. D[omino] N[ostro] MAXIMIANO P F C AVG[usto].
Reverse.—Same as 15.

MAXIMINUS DAZA, A.D. 305—313.†

(8). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in cuirass to right, wearing laurel wreath. IMP[erator] MAXIMINVS P[ius] AVG[ustus].
Reverse.—Same as 15.

LICINIUS PATER, A.D. 307—323.†

(9). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in cuirass to right, wearing laurel wreath. IMP[erator] LICINIVS P[ius] F[elix] AVG[ustus].
Reverse.—Same as 15.

CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS, A.D. 306—337.

(10). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in military cloak to right, wearing laurel wreath. FL[avius] VAL[erius] CONSTANTINVS NOB[ilis] C[æsar].
Reverse.—Same as 15.

(11). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in cuirass to right, wearing laurel wreath. IMP[erator] CONSTANTINVS P[ius] AVG[ustus].
Reverse.—Same as 15.

(12). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in cuirass to right, wearing helmet with laurel wreath. CONSTANTINVS P[ius] F[elix] AVG[ustus].
Reverse.—Same as 21.

* Illustrated.
† Struck by CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS.

FIG 112 ROMAN COINS, Little Orme's Head, 1907. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

FIG. 113. ROMAN COINS, Little Orme's Head, 1873. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd*

Fig. 114.

CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS, A.D. 306—337.—(*Continued*).

(13). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in cuirass to left, wearing laureated helmet, and holding shield and spear in front. CONSTANTINVS P[ius] F[elix] AVG[ustus].

Reverse.—Same as 21.

(14). *Obverse.*—*Bust of Emperor in cuirass to left, wearing laureated helmet and holding sword across right, and shield over left shoulder. CONSTANTINVS AVG[ustus].

Reverse.—Same as 22.

(15). *Obverse.*—Same as 11.

Reverse.—*Figure of Genius of the Roman People standing to left, holding in right hand a sacred *patera*, and in left horn of plenty. GENIO POP[uli] ROM[ani]. Mint mark at foot P[ecunia] L[o] N[dinensis].

(16) *Obverse.*—Same as 11.

Reverse.—*Figure of Prince standing to left, holding globe in right and spear in left hand. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Mint mark at foot same as in 15.

(17). *Obverse.*—Same as 13.

Reverse.—*Figure of Prince standing to right, holding spear horizontally in right and globe in left hand. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Mint mark at foot same as in 15.

(18). *Obverse.*—Same as 13.

Reverse.—*Female, symbolising Concord, standing and holding military ensign in each hand. CONCORD[ia] MILIT[um]. Mint mark at foot same as in 15.

Fig. 115.

(19). *Obverse.*—Same as 11.

Reverse.—*Figure of God Mars standing to right, holding in right hand reversed spear, and in left shield. MARTI CONSERVATORI. Mint mark at foot same as in 15.

(20). *Obverse.*—Same as 11.

Reverse.—*Bust of God Mars in cuirass to right, wearing helmet. MARTI CONSERVATORI.

(21). *Obverse.*—Same as 13.

Reverse.—*Figure of Sun God standing to left, head radiated, holding globe in right and whip in left hand. COMITI AVG G NN. Mint mark at foot same as in 15.

(22). *Obverse.*—Same as 9.

Reverse.—*Figure of Sun God standing to left, head radiated, holding globe in left hand. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Mint mark at foot same as in 15.

(23) *Obverse.*—Very similar to 11.

Reverse.—*Bust of Sun God to right, head radiated. SOLI INVICTO COMITI.

(24). *Obverse.*—Very similar to 11.

Reverse.—*Figure of Goddess Security standing with left arm resting upon pillar, and right raised over head. SECVRITAS AVGG. Mint mark at foot same as in 15.

* Illustrated.

FIG 114. ROMAN COINS, Little Orme's Head, 1873. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

FIG. 115. ROMAN COINS, Little Orme's Head, 1873. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE INCISED, OR INSCRIBED, STONES

Leaving out of consideration the stones of Roman origin, and the Cerrig Saethau (or Arrow Stones), the inscribed stones—with one exception, namely, the Tyddyn Holland, Bodafon, inscribed stone, near Llandudno—are grouped in a very small area to the south-east of Carnarvonshire and the south-west of Denbighshire. They are to be found at Penmachno, Pentrevoelas, Gwytherin, and Llangernyw. The characters are, in most cases, difficult to read, and have been a fertile source of speculation and conjecture among antiquaries from the time of Camden downwards, including, among others, Edward Lhuyd, Pennant, Archdeacon John Evans (at one time perpetual curate of Pentrevoelas), Mr. Griffith Jones (Schoolmaster, Llanrwst), Prof. Westwood (who has described and figured most of the inscribed stones in Wales in various articles in the Arch. Cambrensis, and which were published later in book form in his work known as "Lapidarium Walliæ"), Dr. Kuno Meyer, Princ. Rhys, and others. The earliest inscriptions on the Christian incised stones were written in curious Ogham characters, which were deciphered by comparison with the Latin characters, in the case where both occurred on the same stone. These were used from about 450 to 550 A.D. They were followed by debased Roman capitals—from 500 to 600 A.D., and the stones at Penmachno are examples of these. Still later, minuscule letters were used, from 597 to 1066 A.D. The earlier inscriptions contain only the name of the person, and, sometimes, of the father, as on the Gwytherin stone, while on the later ones the words *Hic jacit* (for *Hic jacet*) are used.

The pre-Norman Christian monuments can be divided into two groups, namely, those of—

(*a*) The Late Celtic period, from the introduction of Christianity into Wales to the landing of St. Augustine in England, A.D. 597. (*b*) The Hiberno-Saxon period, from A.D. 597 to the Norman Conquest, A.D. 1066.

(A.) The inscribed stones of the Late Celtic period are selected slabs of stone in their natural state, usually 2 feet to 5 feet long by from 1 foot to 1½ feet wide, by from 6 inches to 9 inches thick, without any shaping or dressing by chisel, and devoid of ornament, except the inscriptions.

The following monuments are in this class: - Penmachno (Cantorius), Gwytherin (Oria, Carausius), Brohomagli (Brochmael), and Tyddyn Holland (now in Llanrhos Church).

There are at least thirty stones in North Wales belonging to this class, all of which are sepulchral. It is noteworthy that these stones were found chiefly on the lowlands near the coast, or in the valleys. Most of the stones were associated with churches.

It may be interesting to mention a stone at Pool Park, Denbighshire, which is peculiar by reason of the two epitaph inscriptions thereon, one in the Latin language (in debased Roman capitals), and the other in the Ancient Celtic language in Oghams, but both meaning the same.

The "Carausius" stone at Penmachno is the only one in North Wales with a distinctly Christian symbol, the Chi-Rho* monogram of Christ being cut in the upper face of the stone, above the inscription.

(B.) The Christian monuments of the Hiberno-Saxon period in North Wales are about sixteen in number, among which are:— Llangernyw, Penmon (three stones, Fig. 116), Dyserth (three stones), and Maen Achwyfan,† near Mostyn.

All of these are Crosses, but two at Penmon and one at Dyserth are incomplete. With the exception of the Llangernyw crosses, which are very crude, and one of the Dyserth crosses, which has an octagonal head, they are of the "wheel-cross" or "disc-cross" type, with shafts of less width than the diameter of the head. The wheel-crosses are peculiar to Wales, Cornwall, and the Isle of Man, there being none either in Ireland or Scotland. In the Welsh and Cornish wheel-crosses, figure sculpture is made altogether subordinate to ornament, whilst in many other examples exactly the reverse is the case.

* The monogram is formed of the first two letters of the Greek word for Christ—ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ X is equivalent to Ch., and the P is the Greek R.—"Symbolism in Christian Art," p. 48, by E. Edward Hume, F.S.A.

† The Rev. Elias Owen, in "Old Stone Crosses of the Vale of Clwyd," suggests some connection between the name "Maen Achwyfan" (the old spelling, according to Romilly Allen) and the name of St. Wynan, the patron Saint of the neighbouring church of Dyserth.

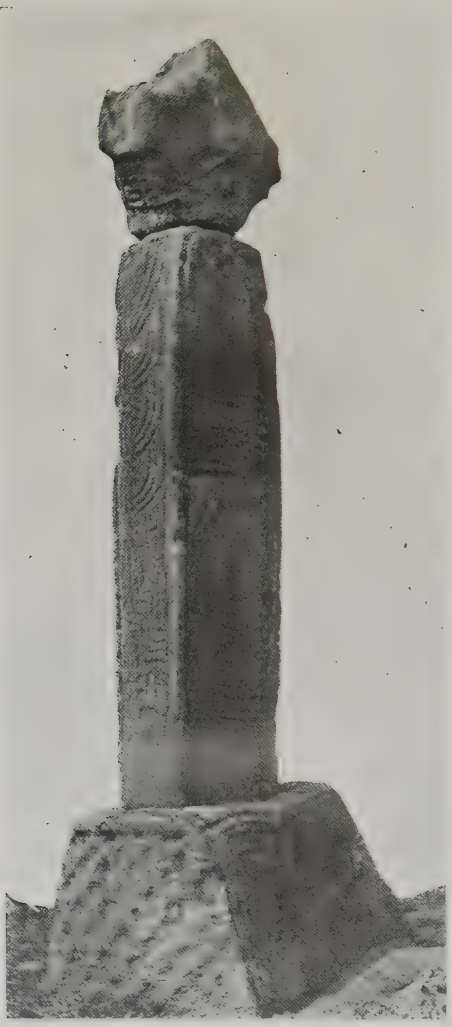


FIG. 116. PENMON CROSS, ANGLESEY. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

Apropos the Levelinus Stone, Pentrevoclas, if this stone refers to any of the three North Wales Princes of the name of Llywelyn, it may possibly be referred to the end of the Hiberno-Saxon period, but most probably it is some two centuries later.

The following is a more detailed description of individual stones :—

THE CANTORIUS STONE AT PENMACHNO.

The inscription on this stone* (Fig. 117, 2, 3) reads thus:—

CANTIORI HIC JACIT
VENEDOTIS CIVE FVIT
CONSOBRINO

and on the adjoining side of the stone—

MA . . . [F I] L I
MAGISTRATI

According to Prof. Westwood it is quite unique, both as indicating the deceased person as a citizen of Venedotia, and as introducing the word "Magistrati," the precise meaning of which, in a Welsh inscription of the 6th or 7th century, is doubtful.

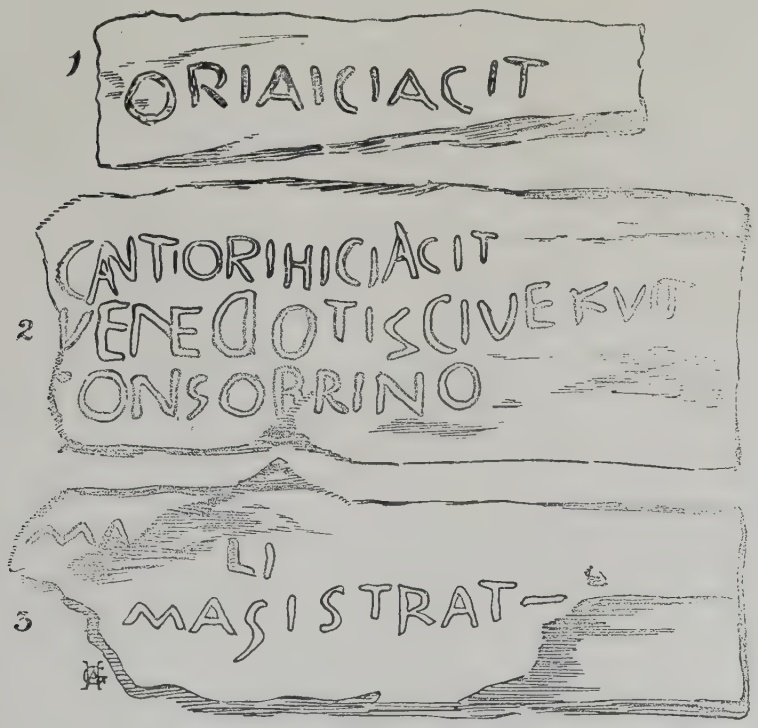


FIG. 117. 1, ORIA STONE; 2, 3, CANTORIUS STONE.
From Prof. Westwood's "Lapidarium Walliæ."

* Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1860, p. 97.

The last line but one is much defaced, and there are no traces of the letters F I which Mr. Longueville Jones introduced, making, with the two following letters, F I L I. The remaining letters are mostly Roman capitals. The first three of the first line are closely joined together ; there is a thin upright stroke between the T and the O, and it might be I. The R in the first word has a very large top loop, and a very small oblique line. The N in the second line is united with the following E, and the D in the second line is very rude, as also is the angular S in the middle of the second line. The G in the last line is rudely minuscule without a top bar, and the terminal I is recumbent.*

Hubner, Inscript., p. 48, No. 135, adds a Latin note, which, translated, reads :—"Venedotis is believed to be a citizen of Venedotia, i.e., Guenedota, or Guenedotia, the Gwynedd of to-day, for thus is that region called in Nennius, and, in the Annales Cambriæ ; but who will assert that Venedotes, or Venedotis, was not the name of some man, perhaps buried close by, just as Cantiorus, or Cautiorius, is said to have been the name of that citizen, or one contemporaneous with him. Since the two last vowels are not written on the same side of the stone, they may be a peculiar title, but Sir John Rhys, in his Notes, p. 10, suggest that they should be joined with the former."

THE ORIA STONE AT PENMACHNO.

This was one of the inscribed stones found in the taking down of the old Church of Penmachno (Fig. 117, 1), and on it were inscribed horizontally the letters

ORIA HIC JACIT,

which are of a debased form of Roman capitals. They are 2 to 3 inches in length, and are partially inclosed, above and below, by an incised line. The stone is now in the Church.†

THE CARAUSIUS STONE AT PENMACHNO.

This stone is also in the Church. It is 22 inches high and 11 inches wide, and bears at the top a representation of the Chi-Rho monogram of the name of Christ, followed by the inscription—

CARAVSIUS HIC JACIT IN HOC
CONGERIES LAPIDUM.

The whole is in fairly well-made Roman capitals, and the monogram of Christ is very unusual. Its date is probably the fifth or sixth century, but it is improbable that this Carausius was the Roman Emperor of that name.‡

THE GRAVESTONE OF BROCHMAEL.

In the parish of Pentrevoelas is a township called Tre Beddau

* Arch. Camb., 1871. p. 257 ; Lapidarium Walliæ, by Westwood, pp 176, 177, and Pl. xxxii , Figs. 2 and 3.

† Arch. Camb. 1871, p. 262 ; Westwood's Lapid. Walliæ. Pl. 82, i, p. 175.

‡ Arch. Camb., 1863, p 259 ; Westwood, Lap. Wall., Plate 79, 2.

("the township of graves"), and the origin of the name remained a mystery till January, 1820. In cutting through a bank under the farm of Tan-y-Bryn, the workmen, when making Telford's road, came across from 40 to 50 cells, covering a space about the width of the road, and 30 yards in length, rudely constructed with stones, which, from their water-worn appearance, were evidently taken from the bed of the river flowing by the spot. In the cells were found a number of bones. One cell in particular was formed of thin slabs, set somewhat in the shape of a coffin, with floor, ends, sides, and cover complete. In this was found a skeleton about 6 feet in length, with the teeth singularly even and round. On the under side of the slab which covered the skeleton, was found an inscription in large characters (Fig. 118), but which the irregularities of the stone rendered obscure in some parts. This slab, which is now preserved in the hall of New Voelas, measures 5½ feet long, 2 feet broad, and 4 inches thick.

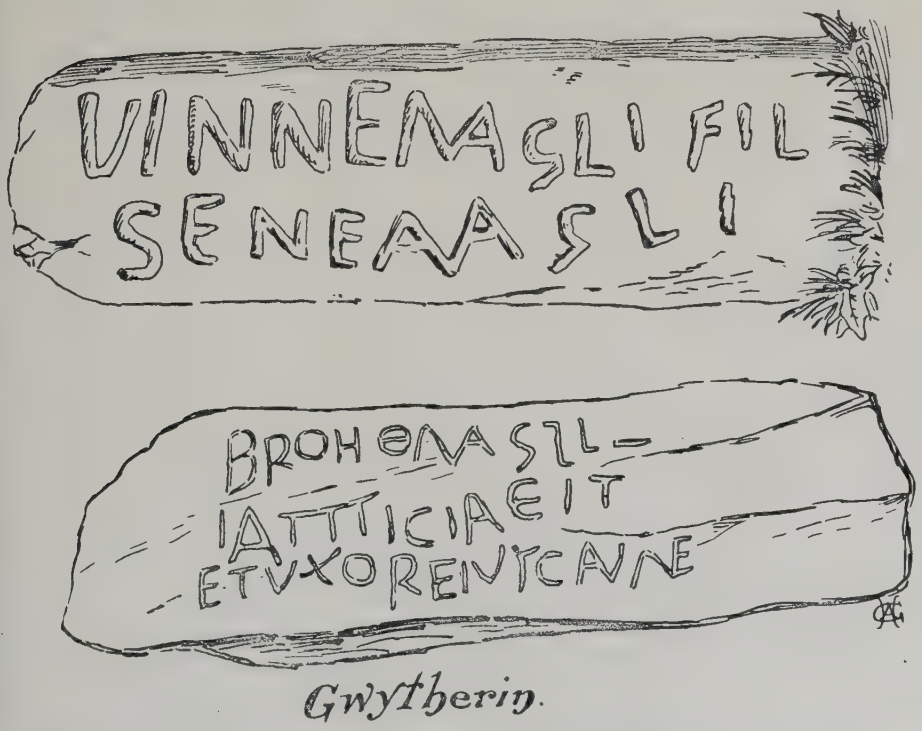


FIG. 118. THE GWYTHERIN STONE-(above). THE BROCHMAEL STONE-(below). From Prof. Westwood's "Lapidarium Walliæ."

The letters are deeply incised, and vary from 2½ inches to 5 inches in length, several of them being conjoined. Richard Llwyd reads it thus :—

BROCHMAEL LEIA HIC JACET ET
UXOR EJVS CANNE

The only skeleton in the tomb was that of a tall man. ET UXOR may refer to an adjacent tomb, and HIC may have been applied to the burial-ground in a general sense.

Professor Westwood reads the inscription as follows :—

BROHOMAGLI
IAM IC IACET
ET VXOR EJVS CAVNE

The form of the letters corresponds with those on the inscribed stone at Gwytherin, and they are quite unlike those of the old inscriptions in South Wales. The form of the letters, the junction of the M and A, and the S-shaped G, together with the corrupt Latin, seem to fix the date as post-Roman, and possibly about the sixth or seventh centuries. The burial of the female, the position of the bodies east and west, and the general regularity of the graves, suggest the idea of a general burial-place, or cemetery, while the vicinity of the military strongholds of Y Gaer and Y Voelas, the uniform size of the cells and the name Tre'r Beddau, favour the supposition of a field of battle, Thus "Adwy'r Beddau" (or "Pass of Graves") near "Crogen" (Chirk), the scene of the battle between Owain Gwynedd and Henry III., and "Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy" (or "the Graves of the Men of Ardudwy"), near Ffestiniog, denote the interment of those slain in battle. It appears from "Englynion y Beddau" that the practice of burial in Cistvaens (or "cells") was pursued in the sixth century.*

The introduction of the word "jam" in the inscription is very much out of place, and it was on the late Mr. Romilly Allen's suggestion that Mr. W. B. Halhed, of Llanrwst, with the consent of Mrs. Wynne Finch, had it photographed, and the accompanying illustration (Fig. 119) is from this photograph, kindly lent by Mr. Halhed. According to Prof. Kuno Meyer and Mr. Halhed, the first word of the second line might be IATTI, and it should be remembered that in Welsh and Manaw records, the word GWRIATS occurs, with which the word IATTOS may be cognate. Mervyn Frych, King of Gwynedd, was a son of GWRIAT, King of Ynys Manaw, (Isle of Man).†

THE GWYTHERIN STONE.

In the churchyard of Gwytherin, about seven miles south-east of Llanrwst, to the north of the Church, are four upright stones, placed in a row, the most easterly of which (Fig. 118) has the following inscription :—

VINNEMAGLI FIL SENEMAGLI.

* Archdeacon Evans' "History of the Parish of Pentrevoelas" in MS.
Arch. Camb., April, 1908.

The forms of the letters and the conjunction of the M and A, agree with the Brochmael inscription, and may therefore probably be referred to the sixth or seventh century. It is figured in Pennant's Supplementary Tables, Plate v., fig. 1; in Gibson and Gough's Camden, Plate xix., fig. 18; in Arch. Camb., 1858, page 405; and in Westwood's Lapidarium Walliæ, Plate lxxxvii., fig. 2, and also on page 203. There are also Notes by Principal Sir John Rhys in Arch. Camb., 1873, pp. 197, 285, 386.

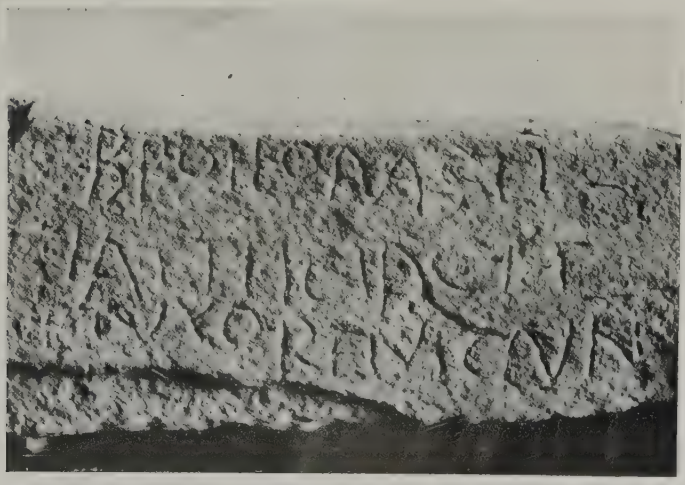


FIG. 119. THE BROCHMAEL STONE. *Photo. by Alfred Hughes.*

THE TYDDYN HOLLAND (OR BODAFON) INSCRIBED STONE.

This stone, which is an unhewn boulder, was placed on the south side of the old road that runs from the Little Orme past Bodafon Farm towards Llanrhos, and was in front of a cottage called Tyddyn Holland. It is composed of a hard gritstone, and is about 22 inches high.

It has now, fortunately, been removed to the interior of Llanrhos Church, through the efforts of the Llandudno and District Field Club, seconded by the Lady Augusta Mostyn, who also bore the expense, and with the kind permission of the Rev. John Jones, and of the Rev. J. F. Reece (vicar of Llanrhos).

The inscription, as deciphered by Lewis Morris, and quoted by Canon Robert Williams in his "History of Aberconway," reads thus (Fig. 120):—

SANCT ANVS SACRI ISIS,

but subsequently Princ. Sir John Rhys has deciphered it as follows:

SANCT FILIVS SACER,

which he completes thus—

SANCTANVS FILIVS SACERDOTIS.*

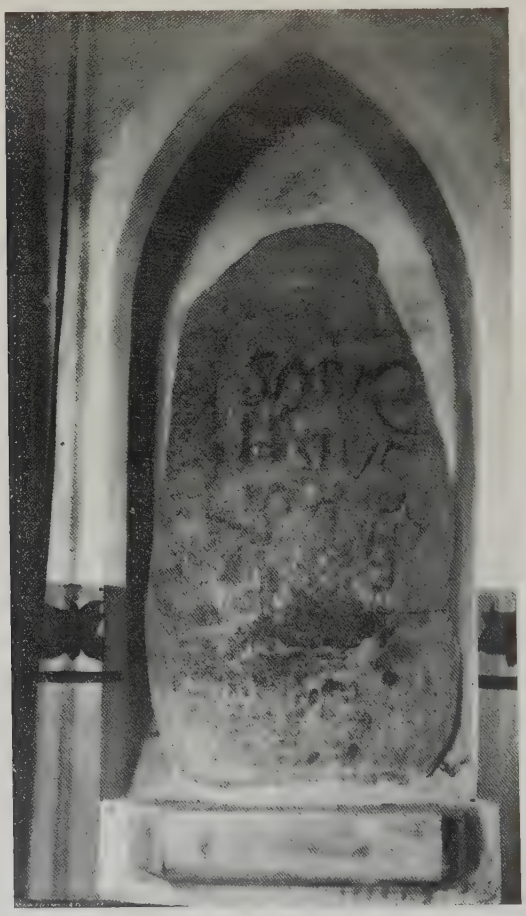


FIG. 120. TYDDYN HOLLAND (BODAFON) INSCRIBED STONE.
Photo. by A. H. Hughes

Princ. Rhys suggests that the two first words, SANCT ANUS, may be equivalent to "Sanctagnus" (or "Sannan," in Welsh), which gives the name to the parish of Llansannan, and may possibly be the same as Sanctan, a bishop,

* Arch. Camb., 1877, p 135.

one of whose hymns is preserved in the old Irish Hagiology. From the fact that the lettering is rude, and thus differs from the more elaborate inscriptions of the Romans, that it is not in the Ogham language, and that it is in debased Roman capitals and not in minuscules, Mr. Willoughby Gardner comes to the conclusion that its date is about 600 A.D. Unfortunately, this ancient relic has suffered materially from the ravages of time and from the ill-judged attempts of ignorant restorers.

Since giving the above opinion, Sir John Rhys has further dealt with the subject, and, in writing to Mr. G. A. Humphreys in 1908, stated :—

"I examined the stone again in the course of the Llandudno Eisteddfod (1896), and published what I thought then about it in the Arch. Camb. for 1897, pp. 140—4. My reading was this :—

SANCT
ANVS
SACER
. . . S

I proposed to complete the second word into SACERDVS, for classical Latin, Sacerdos. What I should advise you to do would be to give the reading as "Sanctanus . . . ," for *Sanctanus* is tolerably certain."

LLANGERNYW STONES.

These are situated in the churchyard at Llangernyw, six miles to the north-east of Llanrwst. They are not inscribed, but have incised crosses, of an early form, near the top of each. They are 9 feet 4 inches apart, and may have been the pillars of a cromlech. Taken in conjunction with another set of stones, 20 yards away, and with an altar tomb between them, they may point to a series of prehistoric remains.

THE LEVELINUS STONE, NEAR PENTREVOELAS.

This remarkable stone has been noticed by various writers, among whom may be mentioned Camden, Griffith Jones, Edward Lhuyd, Pennant, Prof. Westwood, Archdeacon John Evans, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian), Dr. Hermitage Day, and Canon Rupert Morris. It is situated in a little coppice half-a-mile from Pentrevoelas, behind the old mansion of Voelas, on a tumulus called the Voel. It is rough and unhewn, about 8 feet high, 1 foot thick, and 2 feet broad, and it bears an inscription cross-wise about half way up the stone, upon a portion that has been somewhat smoothed. Before 1790, it stood by a gate called Y Gât Werdd ("the Green Gate"), leading from the turnpike road to the old hall, and thence the late Mr. Watkin Wynne removed it to its

present position (Fig. 121). In Camden's time, other pillars were standing, but these have probably been converted into gate-posts.

FIG. 121. PENTREVOELAS (Levelinus) INSCRIBED STONE.
Photo. by R. Parry, Bettws-y-coed.

The characters (Fig. 122) are badly shaped, and are from ¾ inch to 1 inch long, several being minuscules, and there are many longitudinal fractures in the stone. The earlier writers seemed to have guessed the words of the first three lines, but all are more or less agreed as to the last line, which was supposed to read thus:—

LEVELINI PRCEPS HIC HV[MATVS]

The last two words are Pennant's version, but the word "humatus" is doubtful, as, according to Archdeacon J. Evans, it is very uncommon in sepulchral inscriptions, "sepultus" or "jacet" being the word generally used.

Numerous conjectures have been formed as to which Llywelyn it commemorates. Camden in his "Britannia," in 1593, states that it was to commemorate Llywelyn ap Sitsyllt, and this theory has been adopted by

Edward Lhuyd and by Pennant. Dr. Jones, in his "History of Wales," maintains that it commemorates the battle between Iago and the sons of Hywel Dda (A.D. 948).

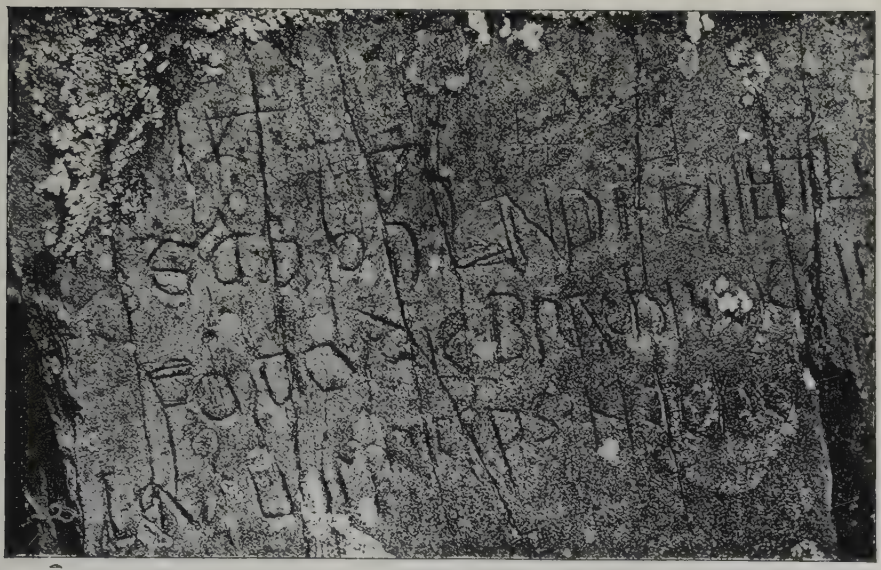


FIG. 122. PENTREVOELAS (Levelinus) INSCRIBED STONE. *Photo. by R. Parry.*

Quite recently (June 1909), Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson made several rubbings of the stones. He states that the letters are a mixture of alphabets, with many abreviations and ligatures, and he makes it read thus:—

IN XRISTO ✠
EST PRO HOC LAPIDE IN BAL EMR[YS]
FORTITUDINE BRACHII CE[LE]BR[IS]
LEWELINUS PRINCEPS NORTHW[ALLIE]

[*Translation.*]

IN CHRIST ✠
IS IN FRONT OF THIS STONE—IN THE MOUND OF EMRYS
FOR MIGHT OF ARM CELEBRATED
LLYWELYN PRINCE OF NORTH WALES.

Mr. Nicholson considers that the assonance between the second and the third line is intentional; the "Mound of Emrys" must be the name of the

adjoining mound (the "Moel"), Bal and Moel each meaning a rounded hill-top. NORTH W . . (in which the "th" is in the "thorn" character) was part of Llywelyn's title, and in the "Chronicle of the Abbey of Aberconway" (see Appendix), he is called "Princeps Northwallie," and the same title was given to his grandfather, The characters are of much later date than that of Llywelyn ap Sitsyllt (1021). Probably the stone indicates the resting-place of Llywelyn ap Griffith, who was killed, in 1282, near Builth.

According to Pennant, there was a castle on the site which was destroyed by Llywelyn the Great, who afterwards made a grant of the whole estate to the Cistercian Abbey of Conway. It is not certain whether this grant was confirmed when Edward I. removed the Abbey to Maenan; but that Llywelyn exercised lordship over the district is evident from Llywarch's poem in the Myv. Arch. I., 299. As Llywelyn ap Griffith died under excommunication, and so could not be buried in consecrated ground, it would be a fitting close to such a brave career for his headless body to find its last resting-place under the shadow of the hill (perhaps owned by the Cistercian monks), and where he might be remembered by "the religious" in their prayers, and in ground (still called Tir Abbad, the "Abbot's Land") which was once the personal estate of this luckless prince's grandfather Llywelyn the Great. If this solitary stone has served to perpetuate the memory of a great Prince, and to form in this way a link with the past, it will have served its purpose not in vain.

The Rev. E. Hermitage Day, D.D., in a paper read before the Cambrian Archæological Society in August, 1910, in support of his statement that the body of Prince Llywelyn ap Griffith was buried in the precincts of the Abbey of Cwm Hir, Radnorshire, remarked that there was a certain amount of evidence as to the burial there, and none as to the burial elsewhere.

The evidence was direct and indirect,—there were records in the Monastic Chronicles of Chester and Worcester. If the rumour of this had reached monasteries so far apart, it must have been current all through the Welsh Marches, and it probably had its foundation on fact. Moreover, according to Dr. Day, Archbishop Peckham, in an inquiry held before him, had consented to the burial of the headless body of the Prince with Christian rites; and, lastly, a register at Lambeth contained a note that the Archdeacon of Brecon "has been asked to certify whether Llywelyn had been buried at Cwm Hir."

As to indirect evidence, Dr. Day noted the failure of other places to substantiate their claims, and, in particular, Cefn-y-Bedd, which name the Rev. Edmondes-Owen had shown existed very many years prior to 1282. Another argument was that it was part of the fixed policy of the Cistercian Order to procure the burial of members of the influential families within their precincts. The Prince might have been hastily buried where he fell, and a few days later

his body could have been removed to Cwm Hir. Such then is the present state of the controversy, and it must be noted that this suggestion of Dr. Day does not of necessity militate against the idea of the body having been removed at a later date to the Cistercian Abbey property near Pentrevoelas.

Lastly, Canon Rupert Morris, F.S.A.,* thus sums up the evidence from the old Chronicles. Neither Matthew of Westminster, nor the Waverley Annals, nor William de Hemingburgh, nor the Chronicle of Oseney (Oxford), nor the Chronicle of Dunstable, nor the Chronicle of Aberconway, nor the Annals of Trivet, nor the Annales Londinienses, give any reference to the place of Llywelyn's burial.

The single exception is the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, which states that his head was sent to London, but that the Prince's body, "truncated and mangled," was buried in the Cistercian Abbey of Cunnir.†

Dr. Hermitage Day cites the Chronicle of Chester as a secoud authority (quoted in Dugdale's Monasticon, under "Cwm Hir), and adds only to the statement, under date 1143, of the founding of Cwm Hir, that Griffith, son of Llywelyn, was buried there. It makes no reference to Llywelyn ap Griffith's burial-place.

Archbishop Peckham's register, which contains a memorandum that—

> "On the fifth of the Calends of January (28th December), a letter was sent from the Archbishop to the Archdeacon of Brecon to inquire and certify if the body of Llywelyn had been buried in the Church of Cwmhyr, and he (the Archdeacon) was bound to certify by letter before the Feast of the Epiphany, because he had another mandate on this matter, and ought to have certified the Lord Archbishop before Christmas, AND HAD NOT DONE SO."

The difficulty arose out of Llywelyn's excommunication by the Archbishop, who required proof that Llywelyn had repented. The Archbishop, however, adds that, on the day Llywelyn was killed, a white monk (Cistercian) chanted a mass for him, and Roger de Mortimer supplied the vestments. The Archbishop appeals to the king not to harm the clerics! Why? Was it because he thought one of the Cistercians had, despite the excommonication, officiated?

As to the burial at Cwm Hir, the Archbishop's memorandum seems to cast doubt on the statement of the Worcester Chronicle.

* Arch. Camb., January, 1911, p. 26.

† Corpus vero principis truncum et lacerum, in Abbatia de Cunnir de ordine Cisterciensi est sepultum.

Peckham sent a second time, demanding information before Christmas Day. It had not reached him by December 28th—eighteen days after the death. The Archbishop repeats the demand that it should be sent not later than the Feast of Epiphany, January 6th. There is no entry that this demand was complied with.

The reasons for the presumption that Cwm Hir was not likely to be the burial-place are :—

1. The silence of the Churches and early historians.

2. Cwm Hir was closely associated with the Mortimers (Edmund and Roger), who were concerned in the plot against Llywelyn.

3. Glyndwr, in 1402, racked and burnt the Abbey of Cwm Hir. Is it likely that Glyndwr would have dealt so heartlessly with the last resting-place of his famous ancestor?

Canon Rupert Morris concludes with the remark that probably the headless body was hastily buried with others where the fatal skirmish took place, and that it remained there for some time. The sentence of excommunication remained in force, and Edward was relentless in his animosity against the brave Prince. By degrees, these feelings died down, and Llywelyn's loyal friends were allowed to lay the body in a grave with less painful associations than those round Cwm Llywelyn, not in consecrated ground, but in a hallowed neighbourhood belonging to a Cistercian house which owed its foundation to Llywelyn's own grandfather, the great Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.*

CERRIG SAETHAU (OR ARROW STONES).

There are several examples of these stones in the district. One good example is in the Anafon Valley, at the base of the slopes of Yr Orsedd, and about three-quarters of a mile from the lake.

The stone (Fig. 123) is roughly 4 feet by 5 feet, but it is broken into two pieces, the larger of the two, which measures 4 feet by 3 feet 3 inches, containing most of the marks. The surface is flat, and the stone (more or less circular in outline) is rounded at the edges. The grooves, which vary from 3 inches to 10 inches in length, correspond with the size of an arrow-head, the width varying from 3-16 inch to ¼ inch, and the depth being ⅜ inch. The length, in many cases, is sufficient for the play of a man's hand,

* For literature on the subject, see Camden's Britannia ; Gough's Camden, II, Pl. 2, p. 578 ; Westwood's Lapidarium Walliæ, Pl. 88, Fig. 1 ; Cambrian Quarterly, Vol. iii., p. 212 (March 3rd, 1691); Cambrian Journal [1854], p. 61 ; Paper by the Rev. Dr. Hermitage Day on the Cistercian Abbey of Cwm Hir, read before the Camb. Arch. Association, in August, 1910.

while rubbing an arrow backwards and forwards. The markings occur in groups.

FIG. 123. CARREG SAETHAU, ANAFON VALLEY. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

Another arrow-stone is to be found in Waen y Gors,* about 220 yards north of the circular encampment (marked A) in Fig. 88, and 67 yards south-west of a large square sheepfold.

It is of very fine grain, and of irregular outline, and measures 8 feet 6 inches long by 3 feet 6 inches wide (greatest width); the direction of its length is north-west to south-east. A small part of the surface, measuring 12 inches by 8 inches, and situated 8 inches from the south-west side, and 3 feet from the south-east end, has been smoothed, and on this are most of the grooves, but a few may be seen near the north-east end of the stone. The marks vary from 7 inches to $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and from $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in width; they are 3-16 inch deep.

But perhaps the finest arrow-stone is to be found about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the south-west of Camarnaint (Llanfairfechan), on the 800 feet contour-line, 35 yards to the south-east of a low wall that runs straight to Camarnaint, the nearest portion of the wall being about half-way between the two highest bushes in the line of walling.

The stone's (Fig. 124) extreme length (north-east to south-west) is 8 feet

* Waen y Gors is the local name for a strip of boggy land, extending from the south-west slopes of Carreg Fawr, Llanfairfechan, to a little beyond Carneddau (Fig. 88), and to the north-west of the Roman road, and of the slopes of Foel Ganol and of Foel Dduarth.

2 inches; its width, at the centre, 2 feet 10 inches; it is 3 feet 2 inches wide at a distance of 2 feet from the north-east end. A large portion of the surface is perfectly smooth and horizontal, the length of this being 6 feet 8 inches. The broader end has a downward slope of about 2 feet, and this diminishes to 10 inches on the north-east side.

The grooves are very numerous (about 124), and in the centre (in the direction of the length of the stone) are two exceptionally large ones, the one at the south-west end measuring 2 feet 11 inches by 1 inch wide and from ⅛inch to ½ inch deep, while that at the north-east end is 11 inches long and 3-16 inch wide and deep. On the north-west side, not far from the central part, are a group of 11 grooves, radiating from a point. The stone is of a very fine grain.

When discovered a few years ago by Mr. Richard Williams, of Hengae, this stone was almost hidden by over-growing turf; the author's attention was called to it quite recently by the Rev. Wm. Matthews, M.A., of Llanfairfechan.

The Rev. Elias Owen described one near Llaullechid, and another in a field called "Ferdroed." This last has only one group of marks (Arch. Camb., 1864, p. 315).

FIG. 124. CARREG SAETHAU, NEAR LLANFAIRFECHAN. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

CHAPTER V.

DEGANWY

"The earliest author* who makes mention of any place near the mouth of the Conway is Tacitus, whose Cangorum Civitas the antiquary Humphrey Llwyd fixed at Deganwy or Dyganwy. Every British nation had its own Cangi, whose office was to attend to the herds, and they resided in different pastures at various periods of the year. Benrèn is recorded as the chief of the herdsmen, or Cangi, who looked after the herds of Caradog and his followers about Gorwennydd in Siluria; the Triads assert the number of milch cows in these national herds to be twenty thousand. Some antiquaries place the home of the Cangi of the Ordovices near the Cangorum Promontorium, or Braich-y-Pwll, in Lleyn, or possibly extending along the coast from that point to Bangor; and, in that case, Deganwy was their winter quarters, but that it was a settlement of the Ordovices before the invasion of the Romans is corroborated by the discovery of a number of bronze celts, or battle-axe heads,† weapons peculiar to pre-Roman times."‡

The text of the above paragraph is a direct quotation from Canon Robert Williams' History of Aberconwy, but many modern writers consider much of it to be more or less imaginary. Deganwy has nothing to do with Cangi, but comes from an old form, Decanti.

There is the following note in Camden's "Britannia" (Gough's Edition, iii, p. 192):—

"Under a large stone at Deganwy Castle was found in 1720, a considerable number of celts laid in regular order, 'heads and points.'"

* Williams' Aberconwy, pp. 1, 2.

† "According to an old unpublished letter, now before me, a number of moulds used for casting these instruments were also discovered."—Family Excursions in North Wales, p.103, by J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. London, 1860.

‡ The date of the Bronze Period in this part of Europe was from 1800 to 250 B.C., but the partial use of bronze weapons persisted till about 100 A.D.—Rice Holmes' "Ancient Britain," 1907, p. 267. In Cambrian Traveller's Guide, 1813, they are described as "brass" celts.

Some years ago, a bone modelling-tool was found in the castle by Mr. G. A. Humphreys, of Llandudno, who also has in his possession a portion of a horse's bit which had been built in a wall.

The town of Deganwy, which was chiefly built of wood, covered the hollow "between* Deganwy Hill, Bryn Maelgwn, and Bod Caswallon, the residence of Caswallon Law-hir" (Caswallon of the long hand), and now called Bodysgallen.

In the early records Deganwy was called Gannoc, e.g., the taxation known as the Scutage of Gannoc.† There are various derivations; some say that it is derived from Dinas Gonwy (Fortress on the Conway), others from Tre' Gonwy (Town on the Conway), and even now the oldest inhabitants call it Tre-ganwy.

Camden supposed it to be the City Dictum of the Itinerary, "where, under the later Emperors, the Commander of the Nervii Dictenses kept guard." Canon Robert Williams gives the derivation Dy-gan-wy, from the white waves breaking on the shore. Lastly, it is frequently spelt Dyganwy, or Diganwy. The hill on which the castle is situated is called "Y Vaerdre." ‡

Deganwy Castle is mentioned in the life of an Irish Saint, —St. Modwenna, as the place near which St. Bride (Ffraid) and her companions, Luge and Athea, landed, after their adventurous voyage from Ireland. The place of landing is described as "Apud castrum Deganno nomine, juxta litus immensi maris," viz., at Llan-sant-Ffraid Glan Conway.§

Very little is known of the early history of Deganwy prior to the sixth century, as the Welsh paid but little attention to fortification against pirates. The numbers and the maritime encroachments of the Saxons, however, compelled the Welsh to fortify their towns, and, early in the sixth century, Maelgwn Gwynedd, son of Caswallon, fortified Deganwy, and built there a strong castle. After the death of his father, in A.D. 517, Maelgwn held his court here, and in some records is called "King of

* Williams' Aberconwy, p. 5.

† The Scutage of Gannoc was an assessment of 40s. levied to pay the expenses of Henry III.'s invasion of Wales on every scutum, or knight's fee in England, Gannoc being the principal scene of action. See R. W. Morgan.

‡ In the Annales Cambriæ, the following spellings are found :— Decantorum, Degannoe, Deganhin, Deganoc, Deganuu, Degannuy, Digannay, Degantro, Diganwy.

§ Woodall's Guide to Llandudno.

Deganwy."* On the death of King Arthur, in 546, Maelgwn was elected King of the Britons. It was in the year 517 that Maelgwn Gwynedd arrived in the Isle of Man,† where he successfully expelled the Scots, and annexed the island to his Welsh dominions. By Gildas he is spoken of as "Moulans Draco" (the "Dragon of the Island").

On the summit of the hill at Deganwy, a large square cell has been cut in the rock (marked M on the plan of the castle), and it is supposed that this was the keep in which Elphin, son of Gwyddno Garanhir,‡ was confined by his uncle Maelgwn as the result of a dispute between him and the bards. There are some poems extant, attributed to Taliesin, who flourished at this period, on behalf of his patron Elphin, and in one of these he is said to have succeeded in procuring the release of his patron.§ This hill is also renowned as the spot on which was held the earliest of those national gatherings called Eisteddfodau, or Bardic Festivals, and, in a poem by Iorwerth Beli, mention is made of a congress of bards and musicians held under the patronage of Maelgwn Gwynedd, on the eminence where Deganwy Castle was built. On one occasion, Maelgwn, secretly favouring the bards, took care that no boats were available to convey the competitors to the Eisteddfod, which, in this case, was held on Conway Mountain. They had to swim across the Conway before the contest, the result being that the musicians' instruments were rendered well-nigh useless, and the poets won all the prizes.

Although the Saxons were in possession of the greater part of Britain and were encroaching on the Britons in Wales, it is difficult to lay a finger on a detailed account of Maelgwn having fought with them, but that he came into contact with them may be deduced from the notice of the origin of the plague in the triads.

In 552, he endowed the see of Bangor with lands and franchises; he also erected the town of Bangor Fawr, and repaired Shrewsbury and the fortress of Harlech. He is said at Bangor to have been struck with remorse for the crimes of his past life, and to have come to a resolution of retiring from the world and devoting himself to a clois-

* Willis' St. Asaph, by Edwards, vol. ii., 6.

† Kerruish's Guide to the Isle of Man, 3rd Edition, about 1850.

‡ Gwyddno Garanhir was the unfortunate Prince of Cantref y Gwaelod, whose possessions were submerged through the intemperance of Seithenin, the person employed to look after the embankment.

§ Myvyrian Archaiology, vol. i., pp. 23, 34, 67. For further particulars regarding Elphin, see Lady Charlotte Guest's Translation of the Mabinogion.

ter, a design, however, in which he did not persist, for he returned to the affairs of government. He is subject of a violent invective by Gildas, who accused him of being a most cruel and a profligate character. He died, in the year 560, of the "Vad Velen," or Yellow Plague (which lasted from 557 to 562), in the Church of Llanrhos, where he had taken shelter in the hope of safety from all danger when shut up in the sanctuary. The British poets personified disease, and this, in the form of a woman, was to slay Maelgwn if he looked upon it, which he incautiously did through a key-hole.*

The following are the prophetic words attributed to Taliesin :—

E ddaw pryv rhyvedd
O Vorfa Rhianedd
I ddial anwiredd
Ar Vaelgwn Gwynedd;
Ai vlew ai ddanedd
Ai lygaid yn euredd,
A hyn a wna ddiwedd
Ar Vaelgwn Gwynedd.

TRANSLATION :

"A strange creature will come
From the Marsh of Rhianedd,
To punish the crimes
Of Maelgwn Gwynedd;
Its hair, its teeth,
And its eyes are yellow,
And this will destroy
Maelgwn Gwynedd."

The following free version appears in Thos. L. Peacock's historical romance "The Misfortunes of Elphin" (1829):—

"A spectre of the marsh shall rise,
With yellow teeth and hair and eyes,
From whom your king in vain aloof
Shall crouch beneath the sacred roof.
He through the half-closed door shall spy
The Yellow Spectre sweeping by;
To whom the punishment belongs
Of Maelgon's crimes and Elphin's wrongs."

The pestilence which raged in the district between Conway and the Vale of Clwyd is recorded in the following triad :—

"Tair haint echrys Ynys Prydain; Cyntav, haint o gelanedd y Gwyddyl a

* A traditionary remembrance of this circumstance is preserved in the adage "Hun Maelgwn Gwynedd yn Eglwys Llanrhos," or, as is given in the "Annales Cambriæ (published by the Record Commission), "Hir hun Maelgwyn yn llis Ros," i.e., "The long sleep of Maelgwn in the court of Ros."

laddwyd yn Manuba gwedi gormesu o honynt ugain mlynedd a naw ar wlad Wynedd. Ail, haint y vad velen o Ros, ac achos celaneddau lladdedigion y bu honno, ac od elai neb o vewn eu gwynt cwympo'n varw yn ddioed a wnelai; a'r drydydd haint, y chwys drewllyd, achos llygru yr yd gan wlybaniaeth yn amser Gormes y Normeinwyr, y gan Wiliam y Bastardd."*

"The three dreadful pestilences of the Isle of Britain. First, the pestilence from the carcasses of the Gwyddelians, who were slain in Manuba, after they had oppressed the country of Gwynedd for twenty-nine years. Second, the pestilence of the yellow plague of Rhos, and which was caused by the carcasses of the slain, and whoever went within reach of the effluvia fell dead immediately; and the third was the pestilence of the fetid sweat, in consequence of the corn having been injured by wet in the time of the Norman oppression, under William the Bastard."

The whole Roman Empire was devastated by a mortal plague in the second and third centuries, and by the Egyptian plague twice about the middle of the sixth century. A famine, followed by a pestilence, ravaged England in the sixth century (514 A.D.), and a plague followed in 558 (Guy, Public Health). Maelgwn died in 560, which seems to coincide with the English epidemic in 558.†

According to Archdeacon Thomas, Maelgwn was buried in the church of Llanrhos, but tradition has it that he was buried at the little church on Puffin Island. He was succeeded by his son Rhun.

Deganwy continued to be the residence of the kings of North Wales until A.D. 810, when it was destroyed by lightning,‡ and the town burnt, during the reign of Cynan Tindaethwy, and the town of Aber Gyffin (later, Aberconwy) was built out of the ruins.§

According to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, the castle was re-built, and, after being again destroyed,‖ another castle was built by Robert of Rhuddlan (Chester Palatinate Baron) in the reign of William I. According to Camden, Hugh Lupus (Norman Palatinate Earl of Chester) fortified Conway, and Pennant supposes that this occurred on his march into Anglesey in 1098, but it is more probable that Deganwy was the place fortified, as this formed part of the possessions of the Earl of Chester. ¶

* Myvyrian Archaiology, vol. ii., 59.

† See Paper by Dr J. Lloyd Roberts, read before the Llandudno Field Club, on November 30th, 1907.

‡ "Deganuoe ictu fulminis comburitur."—Annales Cambriæ.

§ "Nomen tamen (Dyganwy) adhuc loco permansit et ejus ruinis ædificata fuit Conovia." Humphrey Llwyd's Brit. Descript. frag., 54, Edition 1572.

‖ In the Annales Cambriæ it is said to have been destroyed by the Saxons in 822. "Arcem Decantorum a Saxonibus destruitur." Two other readings are—"Arx Deganhui a Saxonibus destruitur," and "Saxones arcem Degannoe destruxerunt,"

¶ Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, likewise did homage for Englefield and Rhuvonioc, with the country extending along the sea shore from Chester to the water of Conway."- Parry's Royal Visits, p. 75.

Pennant seems to have been mistaken, however, in supposing that the fortification took place in connection with this military expedition, for Ordericus Vitalis affords evidence that Deganwy, which he calls Diganoth, was sufficiently fortified to afford quarters for the Earl of Shrewsbury, whilst awaiting the Earl of Chester.

These various statements seem to imply that the castle said to have been built by Robert of Rhuddlan, son of Umfrid, and the Earl's nephew, and which he held as Constable for the Earl, must either have been ultimately destroyed or else have been only of small extent.

Robert, while constable of the castle, met his death here in 1088, and the circumstances connected with this are well described in the following quotation from Ordericus Vitalis (a chronicler of the early 12th century):—

> On the third of July, Gryffyth, King of Wales, came to land with three ships under a mountain called Horma-heva (i.e., Great Orme's Head), and the band of pirates, presently spread itself . . . for pillage. Meanwhile, the tide ebbed, and the ships were left dry on the beach. . . . Robert was roused from his noon-day sleep by the people's cries. . . He sprung up quickly, unarmed as he was, and, without delay, despatched messengers to summon his vassals to arms through all the district. Meanwhile he pursued the Welsh, without further preparation, at the head of a few soldiers, and, reaching the top of Mount Horma-heva, which is very lofty, saw, beneath, the pirates binding the captives and driving them to their ships with the cattle. Upon this, the noble lord-marcher, bold as a lion, shouted aloud to his small band of followers, few and unarmed as they were, calling upon them to rush on the Welsh on the dry sands before the return of the tide. They, however, excused themselves on account of their scanty numbers, and the difficulty of descending the precipitous face of the mountain. Upon this, Robert, who saw that the enemy was only waiting the return of the sea to make their escape, . . . scrambled down the mountain side to throw himself on the enemy without arms and with only one follower, a man-at-arms, whose name was Osbern d'Argeres. Seeing him coming to attack them, supported by a single soldier, the Welsh in a body hurled their spears at him, and, piercing the shield with the insupportable weight, mortally wounded the brave Osbern. But as long as Robert was able to stand and clasp his shield, no one ventured to come to close quarters and attack him sword in hand. At length, the intrepid warrior fell on his knees, pierced with darts, and, his strength failing, the shield, heavy with the weight which clung to it, dropped from his hand; and he commended his soul to the Almighty and St. Mary, Mother of God. Then the whole band rushed at him, and, cutting off his head in the sight of his people, fixed it at the mast-head as a trophy of their victory. Many witnessed this spectacle from the summit of the mountain with grief and rage, but they were unable to render their lord any succour.*

Ultimately, the head was cast into the sea, and the body was taken to

* Ordericus Vitalis—translated by Thomas Forrester, Book VIII, c 3. London, 1854.

Chester, and there buried in the Abbey of St. Werburgh the Virgin. Some years afterwards the remains were transferred to the Abbey of St. Evroult in Normandy.

The Norman vessels were clincher-built ships of comparatively small size, and no great stability. The free-board was low, and when soldiers were carried, it was usual for them to place their shields around the gunwale, so as to heighten and keep out some of the seas, which would otherwise have been shipped. The sterns and bows were somewhat raised. Each vessel had a single mast and lug-sail in addition to the oars. . . . The ships were painted in stripes of different hue, and the sails were often parti-coloured.*

The "Battle of Diganoth" is thus described by Ordericus Vitalis :—

On one occasion, A.D. 1098, the commander of King Magnus' forces appeared off the English coast ; but he hoisted a red shield, which is a sign of peace, at the mast-head. The maritime people who dwelt on the coast of the open sea towards the north of England, on seeing strange ships with fierce crews draw near the land, raised shouts of alarm and collected bands of armed men from all quarters of the province of Mercia. There were then violent hostilities between the English and Welsh, for which reason the loud outcries called the people to arms.

Two Earls who had the chief authority in Mercia, both of whom had the name of Hugh,† despatched messengers in breathless haste through the whole province, ordering all the men who carried arms, both French and English, to assemble without a moment's delay and defend the country against the foreign bands. In consequence, a large force was collected out of the counties of Chester and Shrewsbury, and stationed at Diganoth near the sea ready for battle. Hugh de Montgomery being the first who arrived at the head of his vassals, with great despatch took up his quarters there for several days, while waiting for the auxiliaries from the neighbourhood, guarding the country with great vigilance against the irruptions of the Welsh and Norwegians. However, one day, when the inhabitants rushed to the shore in great confusion to oppose the Northmen, who appeared to be preparing to attack the English from their ships, Earl Hugh, putting spurs to his horse, and getting the people together in a body by virtue of his superior authority that they might not be cut off in detail, arrayed them against the enemy. Meanwhile, a brutal Norwegian, perceiving the gallant Earl thus actively riding about, suddenly shot him, alas ! at the devil's instigation, with a whizzing arrow. The Earl fell from his horse the same instant, breathing his last in the flowing tide. A cry of grief arose, and King Magnus, hearing of this disaster, joined in the lamentations, as well as those around him, and offered peace and security to Hugh Dirgane, that is, the Stout. "My armament," he said, "is directed not against the English, but the Irish, and my object is not to invade the country belonging to others, but to colonise the islands which are part of my own dominions."

The Normans and English searched a long time for the body of Hugh,

* From an article on "The Mariners of Mediæval England," by E. Richmond Swales, in the "Literary Post," September 1910.

† Hugh Lupus, or Huw Vras, Earl of Chester ; and Hugh de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury.

and did not recover it until the ebbing tide left the strand dry. At last, seventeen days after his death, they brought it to Shrewsbury and buried it in the Abbey there with deep mourning. He fell about the month of July.*

FIG. 125. DEGANWY CASTLE. SECTION OF WALL. *Photo. by J. W. Arrowsmith.*

A century later, the castle (Fig. 125) was demolished by Llywelyn the Great, and the Crusaders Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus make mention of the fortress as they pass on their journey round North Wales in 1188, the latter calling it a noble structure. In 1210, Randle Blondevil, Earl of Chester,† rebuilt the Castle of Deganwy in about two months,‡ upon which Llywelyn entered the territories of the Earl, and, having laid them waste, returned home with great booty. The continued successes of Llywelyn at last induced King John to advance into Wales. He accordingly summoned his lords, and, with a large army, came to Chester, fully determined to execute his vengeance on the inhabitants of the country. In the meantime, Llywelyn, aware of his inability to meet the enemy in the field,

* "Ordericus Vitalis," Book X, Chap. 6.

† Llewelyn ap Iorwerth had previously demolished the castle "for fear of the king,"—Brut y Tywysogion (Rolls Series, 1860), p. 265.

‡ "Diganwy Castell, Treffynon or St. Wenefred Re-edified by the erle of Chester (Randolph de Blundeville) after yt was Rased by prins, Ll. ap Ior,"—The Vardre Book, p. 262.

commanded his subjects in the present counties of Flint and Denbigh to remove their cattle into the fortresses of the Snowdon mountains, and the king, meeting with no opposition, advanced along the coast to Rhuddlan, and thence to Deganwy Castle This was in 1211. As the only supplies upon which he could depend were those from England, and Llywelyn had possession of all the defiles and the intervening country, the forces of the English were soon reduced to great straits, and, having subsisted for some time on the flesh of their horses,* had no alternative but to retreat, about Whitsuntide, into England, leaving to Llywelyn the task of burying the great number of their dead, who had been starved in the expedition.

The following August, King John entered Wales a second time, crossed the Conway, and encamped in Arfon. He sent part of his forces to Bangor, which they burnt to the ground, and the bishop was taken prisoner. A reconciliation, however, took place, through the intercession of the Princess Joan, King John's daughter, who was married to Llywelyn. The English were thus enabled to make an honourable retreat to England

In 1213, Owen,† the son of David ap Owen Gwynedd, had a grant from King John of the three Cantrevs of Rhos, Rhuvoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd, excepting the castle of Gannock, or Deganwy, and the territory of Creuddyn, where the castle stood. But Owen, together with his father David, soon after met with the reward of his ingratitude and treason, being killed by Prince Llywelyn at Conway.‡

In 1214, King John, having inhumanly put to death twenty-eight sons of the Welsh nobility, whom he held as hostages, Llywelyn laid siege to the king's castles between the Dee and the Conway, all of which he took, including the castle of Deganwy.

The following entry, dated 1228, occurs in the Chronicle of St. Werburgh : "Also Llewelin (Prince of Wales) took his son Griffin, and imprisoned him in the castle of Deganwy, in Wales."

By letters patent of May 10th, 1238, the Earldom of Chester

* "An egg was sold for 1½d." [probably 2s 7½d. of our money] "and it was a delicious feast for them to get horseflesh."—Brut y Tywysogion, p. 267.

† Owen, son of David ap Owen Gwynedd, was the first cousin of King John, as his father married Emma Plantagenet, sister of Henry II.

‡ Sir John Wynne's Gwydir History, p. 13.

and the castles of Gannock and Dincolyn were annexed to the Crown. The translation* of this patent runs as follows :—

"The King, to the Barons, Knights, and Freemen of the City of Chester, greeting :

Know ye, that the aforesaid Earldom of Chester, together with our castles of Gannock and Dincolyn, in Wales, and all things to the same appertaining, we have commanded to be retained in our bounds, as things belonging to our Crown.

And that there may be manifest proof to you that the same are ours without separation at any time, we will retain annexed to our Crown, we have now assigned the same to our Queen.†

In testimony, &c. "

In 1241, there is an entry in Annales Cambriæ that "David, the son of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, since he could not resist Henry III., destroyed his castle of Deganwy ("*Fregit Castellum suum de Degannoe*").

In 1245, when John de Grey of Wilton was Constable, Deganwy was again visited by a Royal army. Henry III., having summoned Prince David and the Welsh Barons to do homage at Westminster, and to answer for their depredations, determined, on their refusal to appear, to carry into effect his intention of subjugating Wales. The English Parliament granted him supplies, and there was the extraordinary assessment of 40s. for every Knight's fee, called the Scutage of Gannoc. Having completed all his formidable preparations, the king advanced with a great army of English and Gascons, as far as Deganwy, but he did not venture to cross the Conway. During the ten weeks he remained there, he was greatly harassed by the incessant attacks of the Welsh, and, for the time being, was cut off from intercourse with England. The soldiers suffered greatly from being thinly clad, and from having no other covering than tents of linen. Some fierce engagements took place, but the army was so disheartened that King Henry was compelled to retreat. The miseries which they suffered at Deganwy are well described in the following letter written by a courtier in the camp to a friend in England on September 24th, 1245 :—

"His Majesty the King, with his army, is encamped at Gannock for the purpose of fortifying a castle which is now built in a most strong position there ; and we are dwelling round it in tents, employed in watching, fast-

* Parry's Royal Progresses.

† By 1422, Deganwy had ceased to be a portion of the Dower of the Queen, which still included the Castle and Vill, of Rotheland [Rhuddlan].

ings, and praying, and amidst cold and nakedness. In watchings through fear of the Welsh suddenly attacking us by night; in fastings, because of a deficiency of provisions, the half-penny loaf being now risen to five pence; in prayings, that we may soon return safe and scot free home; and we are oppressed by cold and nakedness, because our houses are of canvas, and we are without winter clothing. There is a small arm of the sea which ebbs and flows under the aforesaid castle (where we are staying), and forming a sort of harbour, into which, during our stay here, ships have often come from Ireland, and from Chester, bringing provisions. This arm of the sea lies between us and Snowdon, where the Welsh quarter themselves, and is, at high tide, about a crossbow-shot wide. On the Monday next before Michaelmas, in the afternoon, a ship from Ireland, bringing provisions to us for sale, was coming up towards the entrance of the harbour, but, being incautiously steered, as the sea receded, it remained aground under our aforesaid castle, but on the opposite bank, towards the Welsh, who immediately rushed down and made an attack on it as it lay on the dry ground. We, therefore, seeing this proceeding from the bank on this side, sent three hundred Welshmen, our borderers from Cheshire and Shropshire, across the water, in boats, together with some crossbow-men, to defend the said ship, on seeing which the Welsh hurriedly retreated to their accustomed and well-known hiding-places in the rocks and in the woods. Our knights, attended by their followers, pursued them for a distance of two leagues, and although they were on foot (for they had not brought their horses across the water with them), they wounded and slew many of the Welsh. Our people then returned, after defeating their enemies, and, like greedy and needy men, indulged in plunder, and spread fire and rapine through the country on the other side of the water, and, amongst other profane proceedings, they irreverently pillaged a convent of the Cistercians, called Aberconway, of all its property, and even of the chalices and books, and burnt the buildings belonging to it. The Welsh, in the meantime, having assembled a great host of their countrymen, suddenly rushed with noisy shouts on our men, who were laden with booty acquired by the most wicked means, and who were impeded by their sins, and put them to flight, wounding and slaying many as they retreated towards the ship; some of our people, choosing rather to trust to the mercy of the waves, and to perish by drowning, than to be slain at will by their enemies, threw themselves of their own accord into the waves, there to perish. Some of our knights they took alive, to imprison them; but, hearing that we had slain some of their nobles, and, above all, Naveth, son of Odo, a handsome and brave youth, they also hanged these knights of ours, after decapitating and mangling them dreadfully; finally, they tore their miserable corpses limb from limb, and threw them into the water, in detestation of their wicked greediness in not sparing the church, especially one belonging to religious men.

"There fell in this conflict, on our side, some knights of the retinue of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, namely, Alan Bucel, Adam de Moia, Geoffrey Sturmy, and a fourth, Raymond, a Gascon crossbow-man, of whom the king used often to make sport; and about a hundred retainers were killed, besides those drowned, and the same number of the Welsh, or more. In the

meantime, Sir Walter Bissett, who was aboard the ship with his followers, stoutly defended it, and was engaged till about midnight in continued fight with the Welsh, who fiercely attacked him on all sides, and our men, if they had not had the sides of the ship for a wall, would have altogether fallen into the hands of the enemy. At length, as the sea rose, the ship began to roll, and, it being now inaccessible, the Welsh withdrew, lamenting that our people had been snatched out of their hands. On board this ship were sixty casks of wine, besides other much-desired and seasonable provisions, of which we were at the time destitude. When morning came, and the tide receded, the Welsh returned with alacrity, thinking to seize on our people in the vessel, but, by God's providence, they had, during the night, when the tide was high, made their escape to us, by means of our boats, before the arrival of the Welsh, leaving only the ship. The Welsh, however, approached, carried off nearly all the wine and other things on board, and, leaving the ship as the tide rose, set fire to the vessel, a portion of which was consumed; the other part, however, was saved, in which were seven casks, which we dragged to the near shore.

"Whilst we continued here with the army, being in need of many things, we often sallied forth armed, and exposed ourselves to many great dangers, in order to procure necessaries, encountering many and various ambuscades and attacks from the Welsh, suffering much and often by the fortuitous chances of war, we also doing damage to them. After one conflict, we brought back in triumph to our camp the heads of nearly a hundred decapitated Welsh. At that time, there was such a scarcity of all provisions, and such want of all necessaries, that we incurred an irremediable loss both of men and horses. There was a time, indeed, when there was no wine in the king's house, and, indeed, not amongst the whole army, except one cask only; a measure of corn cost twenty shillings, a pasture ox three or four marks, and a hen was sold for eightpence. Men and horses consequently pined away, and numbers perished from want." *

The following entry in Annales Cambriæ confirms this:—

"In 1245, Henry, wishing to subjugate Wales, collected a great army, came to Deganwy, established a castle there, and returned to England,† and in such haste, that he had to leave many of the bodies of his own troops unburied.

In 1246, Nicholas de Molyns, Seneschal of Carmarthen, came with an army to Deganwy, proposing to disinherit Llywelyn ap Griffith and Owen, his brother, but they saved themselves by flight, (Annales Cambriæ).

In 1251, English overseers could not be procured for the "works at Gannoc and Dissard," and the Constable of Diserth Castle was directed to act.‡

* Matthew Paris' English History.
† "Venit usque Deganuuu et firmato ibi castello in Angliam rediit."
‡ Close Roll, 35 Henry III.

On February 21st, 1252, Deganwy was granted, by Henry III., a Charter * as a free borough, on the pattern of the Charter granted by the same king to Montgomery. It was thus about 32 years earlier than the Charter granted by Edward I. to the burgesses of Aberconway. It is of the usual type, but not so full and complete as that granted to Aberconway. It is interesting to note that the size of the burgage is fixed, in the Deganwy Charter, at half-an-acre for building and "the curtilage thereof," and two acres of arable land, outside the borough, for the half-yearly rent of one shilling.

The castle of Deganwy was a notable stronghold at the mouth of the Conway, and the Charter to the town is dated seven years after the rebuilding of the castle in 1245.

Comparing the Deganwy Charter with that of Conway, there is, in the former, no reference to a Constable or Mayor, nor to a free prison, nor to the diswarrening of lands ; there is also no mention of freedom of arrest for debt, nor from forfeiture nor confiscation of goods when a person died intestate, nor of conviction of outsiders, nor is there any reference to the Jews. Strangely enough, the "nativus clause" is practically a copy of that in the Charter of Montgomery, and has itself been copied into the later Charter of Conway. The Conway Charter resembles that of Deganwy in the clauses relating to such privileges as sok, sak, etc., and as to freedom from toll, lastage, etc., but, whereas the burgesses of Conway are—when accused of offences against the community, except as provided in the Charter—to be prosecuted according to the liberties of the City of Hereford, the burgesses of Deganwy were granted the same privileges as "our burgesses of Montgomery have," a grant which was not renewed in the Conway Charter. Both Charters have the clause relating to a Gild Merchant, and the usual privileges relating to merchants, and the Deganwy one has a special reference to a fair to be held each year for three days at the Feast of St. Martin, and a market on a Tuesday, in each week, with the usual privileges.

For the Latin of this Charter, and an English translation, see Appendix *1a.*

In 1254, an arbitrary grant of all his lands between Chester and Conway, not included in his realm and jurisdiction, was made by Henry III. as an appendage to his son, and made "to appertain to the sword and dignity of Chester," of which place his son was lately made Earl. Prince Edward farmed all his land to Adam (Alan ?)

* An Article by Miss Mary Bateson on the Creation of Boroughs in the English Historical Review, Vol. xvii . p 284f, by kind permission of the Editor. R. L. Poole, Esq., M A., Ph D. Full credit must be given to the late Miss Mary Bateson for the insight with which she worked out the derivation of many Borough Charters from the Breteuil type.

de la Zouch, an English Baron, for the small sum of 100 marks.* This Baron greatly oppressed the country.

On September 16th, 1255, Alan La Zusche, Justice of Chester, is commanded to deliver to Gilbert Zalebot (bailiff of the said Edward [the king's first-born son and heir]) all the stores in the castles of Chester, Baston (Beeston), Dissard (Dyserth) and Gannoe (Deganwy), which, together with the county of Chester and the land of North Wales, the king has given the said Edward. †

In 1256, Edward, Earl of Chester, visited his castle of Deganwy ("De Deganney et De Disserth Videndum"). Annales Cambriæ.

In 1258, King Henry advanced again to Deganwy, but his further progress was prevented by the skill of Llywelyn ap Griffith (who had now succeeded as Prince of Wales), and he was again compelled to retreat with considerable loss.

On September 28th, 1263, the castle of Deganwy, which was of so much importance to the English, and so dangerous to the safety of Wales, was taken and entirely demolished by Llywelyn. "The barons of England, and some earls, rose with the Welsh against Edward and the straugers, purposing to expel them from amongst them and out of all England" ("Brut y Tywysogion," p. 51). The castle at this time was in the hands of Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I.), and the king (his father) at once sent him to Conway, but recalled him very soon afterwards. The surrender of Deganwy Castle is thus described in the Chronicle of St. Werburgh:—‡ "In 1263, on the day before the feast of St. Michael (Sept. 28th), the chief servants of the Lord Edward, degenerate and unwarlike men, surrendered the castle of Gannoch (Deganwy) to Llewelin."§

Castell Tremlyd on Lewis Morris' Maps was situated at the spot where are now the Black Rocks, and is still called Tremlyd Point.

In 1277, the Patent Roll of Edward I. confirmed the king's order to Roger Mortimer to enfeoff in the king's name the men

* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 43, quoted in Parry's Royal Progresses.

† Extract from Record Office, by Mr. Leonard Hughes.

‡ Now in the library at Mostyn, and printed by the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society.

§ See Appendix 1b for the account [in Latin] in the Annales Cambriæ of this last destruction.

of the king's lands pertaining to his castles of Gannock, Rhuddlan, and Flint, at fee farm rents, for from one to three years, if applied to the building of houses or the tilling of lands. The grant of this Charter,* and the issues of this supplementary patent, thus fill a gap in the history of the colonisation of Wales by English burgesses.†

DEGANWY CASTLE.

Faint traces only remain of a portion of the full area of the old town,‡ in the form of two lines of great stones set some distance apart in an irregular curved line, and extending to the north and south of the castle, and of characteristic British work. The intervening space consists of similar stones, the earthen embankment having disappeared. The ditches of the castle to the north and south, enclosing a space between the two hills, are also a mode of defence, common in British works, and, as some walls of the castle deviate from their line, and leave part of the ditch within the walls, it seems probable they were adopted by the builders of the castle.

It is significant that the northern vallum (Fig. 126—GG) seems never to have carried any masonry between the two hills, and the British fortress, as far as can be judged from the present remains, only occupied the space between the two hills, with a few trenches on the lower ground.

The castle itself consists of three parts That which was probably earlier Norman work was set on the larger hill, the British entrenchments being in the hollow. The great central court-yard (B) lay between the hills. Without the possession of both hills, the court-yard was untenable.

The works on the great hill constitute a complete castle. On the highest point towards the west was the square keep (I), with two apartments (J) running eastwards, and enclosed by a separate wall, to which the great excavation (M) in the centre formed a ditch, and, at the same time, a reservoir for the supply of water. A wall, with a tower and an outer ditch and vallum (T), occupied the eastern face of the rock overlooking the court yard, and joined the chapel (Q) and its group of buildings (O.P.), looking over the northern side of the rock. The western precipitous face had also a curtain wall. Probably the masonry (except that of the keep and gateways) is later work than the entrenchments of the Norman castle ; a semi-circular bastion, on the inner side of the keep group of buildings, being certainly later.

This part of the castle was approached from the court-yard by a gate-

* See Appendix 1a. † English Historical Review, Vol. xvii.

‡ Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc. 1898, pp. 1—8.

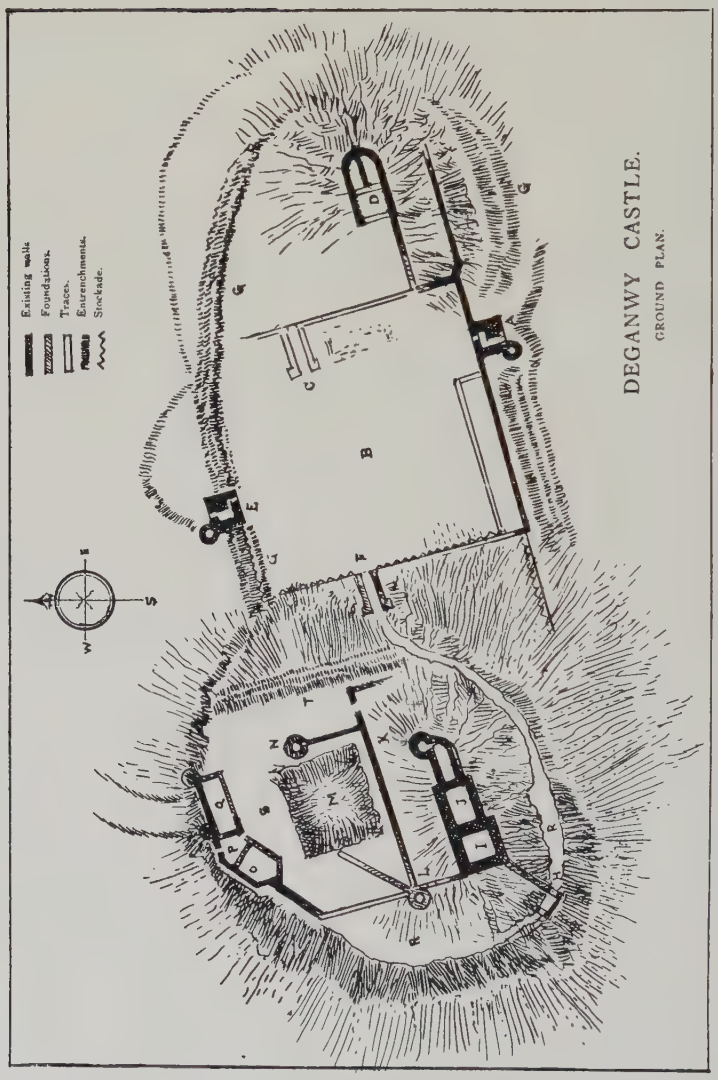


FIG. 126. DEGANWY CASTLE, PLAN OF. *G. W. Cox, del.*

[Kindly lent by Mr. G. A. Humphreys].

house (F) that defended a winding road round the southern and western flanks of the rock. The road passed another gate-house (H) on a rock below the keep (I), reaching a third gate-house (L) to the west of the keep group of buildings and leading into them.

Beyond this point the road was external to the curtain, and passed through to a gate (P) in the northerly group. This probably contained the quarters for the garrison; the easternmost room (Q) may have been the chapel.

A lofty curtain wall closes a gorge in the rock. This wall is at the present time in a splendid state of preservation. The narrow summit of the lesser hill was defended by a bastion (D) longitudinally divided--semi-circular to the east, and oblong to the west.

The northern fosse and vallum (GG) formed a second line of defence, curved to the east, and met a similar defence to the south and south-east, which was a prolongation of the curtain of the central court.

A cross-curtain wall divided this hill from the court-yard; there may have been a gate-house (C) at the north-east corner of the court yard, leading to the summit of the small hill. The central court-yard was entered on each side by a gate-house (E and A), consisting of a square tower with a circular bastion; the north side was bounded by an earlier rampart, probably stockaded.

On the south a long masonry curtain stretched between the two rocks; against this (west of the gate) has been a large building. In Fig. 127 is given an ideal representation of the castle.

The castle was built with great labour, its plan being intricate. The walls of the gate-house and keep were undermined and thrown down, the other walls being ultimately taken down to a few feet above the ground.

Many of the stones are said to have been taken to Conway, and this circumstance is corroborated by the fact that the north-east corner of the town walls of Conway was built of materials similar to those to be found at Deganwy.

The failure of Henry III.'s campaign was greatly due to the choice of inefficient military sites, while the success of Edward I. was aided by his good judgment in this respect.

Fig. 127. Deganwy Castle, Restored. *G. W. Cox, del.*
[Kindly lent by G. A. Humphreys].

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF CONWAY

CONOVIUM is the Latinized form of the British name Conwy. On the Roman milestone, the word is Kanovium, from which some maintain that the original form must have been Canwy. Modern English writers prefer the form Conway, and for the convenience of the general reader, this form is adopted herein. Subjoined is a table of the principal variations of this very mutable place-name :—

Toisobius, or Coisobius, in Ptolemy.

Toisobius, or Conovius, in Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary.

Condui and Conubio, in Mr. Baxter's Work (Anonymous MSS).

Cynwy, in Camden and in Canon Williams' History of Aberconwy.*

Conwey, in most of the Charters.

Conway, the modern name.

Conwy, in Lewis Morris' "Celtic Remains"; also by the Welsh inhabitants of the place generally, together with many poets.

While following the main outlines of Canon R. Williams' work, "The History of Aberconwy" (written in 1835), an attempt has been made to supplement it as fully as possible, and this task has been rendered easier by the generous manner in which the Conway Town Council has given the author opportunities of making full use of the various ancient records in their possession. It is proposed to treat the subject as follows :—

(1) The History of the Borough; (2) the Town-life of Conway; (3) the Castle and the Town Walls; (4) the Abbey; (5) the Church; and (6) the Ancient Buildings.

It must, however, be understood that portions of (3) and (6), dealing more particularly with Archbishop John Williams, will be found in later chapters.

* Canon Williams fancifully derives it from CYN [chief] and WY [water].

I.—THE HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH.

Although the town of Aberconway was enlarged and fortified by Edward I., it was a place of some importance previously. Edward I. found here the remains of a fortress (called Caer Gyffin, from the rivulet adjoining), supposed to have been built by Maelgwn Gwynedd* in the sixth century. The town was called Aberconway in the Charter granted by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth to the Cistercian monks, who built an abbey there in the last decade of the twelfth century, and who are therein called "Monachi de Aberconway," and, according to Matthew of Paris, the English soldiers, in a fray about 1245, "being too covetous and greedy of plunder, among other sacrilegious and profane actions, spoiled the Abbey of Aberconway, and burnt all the books and other choice utensils belonging to it."

From the middle of the thirteenth century there was a more or less continuous struggle between the Princes Llywelyn ap Griffith and David on the one side, and King Edward I. on the other. In 1277, Edward I. advanced . , to Aberconway, and Llywelyn ap Griffith was compelled to retire among the mountains of Snowdon, and soon after agreed, at Aberconway, to a humiliating treaty of peace.†

This war came to an end in 1283, and Wales as an entity began to be governed from London. To strengthen his position, Edward built castles at Rhuddlan, Flint, Beaumaris, Carnarvon and Conway, the last-named town being enclosed within massive walls, which still remain. The country, however, was in a state of wildness and disorder, and Edward's first step in its pacification and regeneration was the establishment of just laws,‡ but even in this matter he proceeded with caution, and did not attempt at once to force the laws of England on Wales. To make himself thoroughly acquainted with the laws and usages of the people, King Edward issued a Royal Commission to the Bishop of St. David's and others to investigate. Having received the report of the Commission, he held a Council (called by some historians a Parliament) at Rhuddlan, at which the "Statutes of Wales" were issued.§

* According to Canon Robert Williams.

† S. Lewis' Topog. Dictionary of Wales, 1834.

‡ The First Welsh Municipal Charters, by Henry Taylor, F.S.A., a Paper read at the Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Holywell, August 18th to 23rd, 1890; Arch. Camb, April 1892.

§ "This is not a Parliamentary Act, but a Charter of the King."—Geographical Evolution of Wales, by Rev. J. Meredith Hughes, page 23.

In these there is one very important paragraph, which relates to Welsh laws and customs. It runs thus: "We have, by the advice of the aforesaid Nobles, abolished certain of them, some thereof We have allowed, and some We have corrected: and We likewise have commanded certain others to be ordained and added thereto."*

During the year 1284, the king traversed the greater part of Denbighshire and Carnarvonshire. We find him at Rhuddlan on the 8th of March, on the 24th he left for Conway, on the 1st of April he reached Carnarvon, and during April he visited Harlech and Criccieth.

In August he visited Bardsey, held a grand tournament at Nevin, and returned again to Carnarvon, and subsequently visited Aber, Conway, Flint, and Chester. On the 8th of October he was at Conway, and remained there four days, on his way to Carnarvon. He thus made himself personally acquainted with northernmost Wales, and it was on September 8th, 1284, that he granted Municipal Charters to Flint, Rhuddlan, Conway, and Carnarvon.

Unfortunately the originals have been lost, but they had been entered on the Court Rolls, and the one relating to Conway is on the Charter Roll of the 12th year of Edward I. No. 15, and it can now be seen in the Public Record Office in London. It is written in the contracted monkish (or law) Latin of the period, and a copy of it—with a translation—is given in Appendix II*a*. It was confirmed by many subsequent kings down to Edward VI. (1547), and without any variations, so it is said. In the Appendix II*b*. is given a fairly complete list of the Charter Rolls, Confirmation Rolls, Patent Rolls, Originalia Rolls, Exchequer Depositions, etc., relating to the Town of Conway.

In this first Charter of Edward I. (12 Ed. I, No 15) granted to the Burgesses of Conway, the town is made a free borough, that is, free from the exactions of the Sheriff of the county, and the burgesses were exempt from the jurisdictions of the king's ministers and from manorial jurisdictions, but the charter preserved one link with the Crown, by providing that the Constable of the king's castle of Conway, for the time being, should be Mayor† of the town. William de Sikun was the first Constable, and was appointed on Oct. 23rd, 1284.

* Ivor Bowen's "Statutes of Wales," page 2.

† This appointment was, presumably, simultaneous with those of Flint, Rhuddlan, and Carnarvon. Earlier examples of Mayors as Chief Magistrates seem to occur only in London [1188], York [about 1190], King's Lynn [1204], Bristol [1217], Oxford [1229], and Chester [1247].

The following is a fairly complete list of the Constables down to 1848, and is gathered from various sources.*

THE CONSTABLES OF CONWAY CASTLE.

Edward I.

1284 William de Sikun. Welsh Roll, 12 Ed. I. (1284), m. 2, 23rd October. £150 granted to Wm. Sikun for keeping the Castle of Aberconway.

1292 Thomas Brickdall was "Governor" of Conway Castle.†

1297 William de Archoleghweth. Abbreviated Roll, 25 Ed. I., Roll 1.

1300 John de Havering. He was Justice of N. Wales, and Constable of all the castles except Beaumaris.

1302 John de Clykum.

1302 Sir William de Sikun. Patent Roll, 4 Ed. II. (1310), pt 2, m. 9. Fee to William Cycouns, late Constable for life. Close Roll, 3 Ed. II. (1309-1310), m. 6. Order to the Constable as to a prisoner.

Edward II.

1311 William Bagot. Patent Roll, 4 Ed. II. (1310), pt. 2, m. 9 Grant to William Bagot of the custody of the King's Castle of Aberconewey.

1316 William de Crealawe.‡

1319 Hugh Goddard.

1320 Henry de Wysshebury.

1326 William de Ercalewe.

1326 Roger de Mortuo Mari (Roger Mortimer), of Wigmore. Originalia Roll, 20 Ed. II. m. 14 (1326). The king committed to Roger de Mortimer, of Wigmore, the custody of the Castle of Conway with its appurtenances in Wales, to hold during pleasure, etc.

R. Commisit Rogero de Mortuo Mari de Wyggemore, custodiam castri de Coneweye cum pertinentibus in Wallia habendam quamdiu, etc., 20 Ed. II., Ro. 14 (from abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium, Vol I, p. 304).

Edward III.

1327 Henry de Mortuo Mari (Henry Mortimer). Originalia Roll, 1 Ed. III., m. 22 (1327). A similar grant to Henry de Mortimer.

In a Patent Roll of 4 Ed. III, p. 2, m. 4 (1328), there is mention of a Pardon to Henry de Bisshebury, Constable of Conway Castle, for escape of certain prisoners; June 5th. Possibly this may refer to Henry de Wysshebury who was Constable in 1320.

1330 John Lestrange de Mudle. 4 Ed. III. Roll 2, Originalia Roll states:—"Rex pro bono servitio et commisit John Lestrange

* Ayloffe's Rotuli Walliæ, 92; also see "Charters relating to the Town of Aberconway," a Paper by T. B. Farrington, read at the Conway Congress of the British Archaeological Association, August 20th, 1897, and printed in the Journal of that Association for 1898, Vol. iv., N. Series; also Kalendars of Gwynedd, by Edward Breese, F.S.A; and Constables of Conway, Miss Alice Hadley.

† W. H. Jones' Court Book of Conway [1886], p. 33, Note 6.

‡ Arch. Camb. [1863], p. 195.

custodiam castri R. de Coneweye cum pertinentibus habendam. Quamdiu, etc., percipiendo."

1337 Edward de St. John Le Neven. Originalia Roll, 2 Ed. III., m. 31 (1337). The King granted to Edw. de St. John Le Neven the custody of the Castle of Conway during pleasure.

1343 Thomas D. Upton (17 Ed. III.), Constable and Mayor, swore fealty and was presented to Commissioner Matthew D. Englefield at Conway, Aug. 1st, 1343.*

Richard II.

1383 John de Beauchamp.

Henry IV.

1399 Sir Henry Percy. On May 4th, Henry Percy, Jun. (Harry Hotspur), was Constable. In May, 1401, Conway Castle was in the hands of the Welsh under Will ap Tudur and his brother Rhys.

From letters of Hotspur to the Privy Council, of dates May 4th and 17th, it seems likely that he received notice of his appointment as Constable on May 4th. Later in 1401, "Hotspur was Constable of the Castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, and Carnarvon" (*Vide* Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, edited by Sir Nicholas Harris).

1403 John de Bolde (otherwise Sir John Chandos).

1405 John de Mascy. He had 15 Men-at-Arms and 60 Archers, and he was allowed to maintain the fortress £1 19s. 2d. a day, or £714 15s. 10d. per annum. (Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton. Cleop. F. III).

Henry VI.

1416 Ralph Boteler.

Edward IV

1461 Sir Henry Bolde.

1483 Henry, Duke of Buckingham.

Richard III.

1483 Thomas Tunstall. In Dean Stanley's "Westminster Abbey" is an account of Henry VI. going to the Chapel of S. Edward, and there, in company with Sir Thomas Tunstall, the Lord Abbot, and others, selecting a spot for his own burial.

Henry VII.

1488 Sir Richard Pole.

1505 Edward Salisbury. He was probably a resident, as the name Salisbury occurs very frequently in the Parish Church Registers, which begin a few years later.

Henry VIII.

1512 John Salisbury. In Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII., Vol. I., pp. 4, 5, Roger Jenkinson and others, burgesses of Aberconway, bring an action against Thomas Salisbury, the Constable, for wrongful imprisonment in the castle.

Edward VI.

1549 Griffith John, or Griffith ap John ap Robert. Probably another townsman and a Welshman.

* Roll of Fealty and Presentment, 17 Ed. III. Progress of Matthew D. Englefield; St Asaph, July 31st; Conway, August 1st; Beaumaris, August 3rd; Carnarvon, August 5th,

1551 Francis, Earl of Huntingdon.

1552—3 Maurice Williams, John Vaughan, and Robert Evans are mentioned as having held office, but their tenure is doubtful.

Queen Mary.

1553 John Herle. A long Latin document is to be found in Williams' Aberconway, being a copy of "Herle, his commission," from Queen Mary. See Appendix III*a*.

Queen Elizabeth.

1574 Robert Berry of Ludlow.

1600 Thomas Goodman.

James I.

1605 Sir Richard Herbert. Edward Herbert, gent.

Charles I.

1627 Edward, Lord Conway, Viscount Killultagh. On March 24th, 1627, grant was made to Edward, Viscount Killultagh, and his heirs of Conway Castle, rent reserved 6s. 8d, and fine paid £100. (Calendar of State Papers, 1626, p. 107).

On May 22nd, Lord Herbert is requested to yield up possession of Conway Castle to Lord Killultagh, who had purchased it from the Commission for sale of the King's Land (p. 186 supra).

1643 Archbishop John Williams. A year afterwards Sir John Owen was appointed by Prince Rupert, but dispossessed by Williams (who, with the Bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, and Chester, declared for the Parliament) with the assistance of Colonel Mitton. (Grose's Antiq., Vol. VI., new Edit., p. 26).

1645 Sir John Owen. He was Governor of the town and castle of Conway on July 20th, 1645. (Original Letters of Porkington).

Sir J. Owen of Clenneneu took possession of the stores placed there by Archbishop Williams, who in disgust handed over the town to Col. Mitton. The castle was thus saved from bombardment.

Commonwealth.

1649 Col. John Carter.

Charles II.

1661 Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. He petitioned the king for settlement on himself of the offices of Chief Forrester of Snowdon, Constable of Conway Castle, and Keeper of the Courts, &c., of the Manor of Bardsey, granted by King James to his grandfather and father; this was granted on the same date. (Calendar of State Papers, 1660—1, p. 522).

1679 William, Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

George III.

1769 John Parry. A hiatus of nearly 100 years occurs here. This Constable demanded to be sworn Mayor according to the ancient Charter, but died before gaining his point.

1809 Griffith ap Howel Vaughan of Rug. Appointed by a writ of privy seal, with a salary of £23. Colonel Vaughan of Rug remained in office during the reign of William.

Victoria

1848 The Hon. Thos. Price Lloyd.

The borough had also a "free prison" of its own, in which persons charged with minor offences, within the borough, were detained for trial by the magistrates of such borough. It was distinguishable from the Crown gaol in the castle, in which were placed those in danger of "life and limbs," and alleged offenders from the neighbouring countryside, and any burgess was entitled to be bailed out of the Crown prison.

The next privilege—a very important one considering the excessive severity of the Forest Laws—was the reducing of all lands within the borough, from the privileges of a warren and of a forest, to common ground. The declaration with respect to the Jews was only anticipatory of an Act of Parliament in 1290, by which they were banished from the kingdom, as a result of their extortionate greed at that time. The burgesses, moreover, had independent jurisdiction in their own courts of justice, the sheriffs being ordered "not to intermeddle in anything in respect of any plea, plaint, or cause," but they were not exempt from the visitations of itinerant justiciars.

Perhaps the most important grant made by this Charter was that of a gild-merchant—

"That they may have a gild-merchant (or Guild-Hall*) with 'hanse'† and other customs appertaining, so that no one who is not of that gild may do any traffic in the same town, except with the consent of the burgesses."

This gild was, according to Bishop Stubbs, an institution dating from the Conquest. It was a sign of municipal independence, and it is to these early merchants that the country owes its greatness, it being a part of the policy of Edward I. to build up the power of the towns, so as to check the lawlessness of the barons. The "hanse" was originally a league or union of merchants, arising from the dangers of travelling, and they had a common depôt for their merchandise, which eventually became the central point of the "hanse." If any "nativus,"* should dwell in such a town, hold land in it, and be in this gild, and be a ratepayer (lot and scot) for a year and a day, he could not be re-demanded by his lord. This was very important, as slavery existed under the feudal system.

In the grant of Rhos Fynach to Ednyfed Fychan, he is allowed

* The Hall for meetings of "Gilds" or "Trade Companies."

† See Glossary.

to have slaves.* The general liberties, namely, the right to sok and sak, tol and team, and infangenetheof, were of a judicial nature; toll, lastage, pontage, murage, passage, and stallage, were of the nature of tolls, and lene Danegeld and gaywite were Crown dues.† Next follows a grant to the burgesses of freedom from arrest, except for their own personal debts, and the right to administer the effects of a deceased burgess, instead of their being forfeited to the Crown. Finally, the burgesses were not to be convicted by any foreign person upon any appeals, etc., but only by *our* burgesses, excepting anything touching the commonalty of the borough between the banks of the Conway and the Dovey, and then only according to the liberties theretofore reasonably used in the city of Hereford.‡

Again, as to the witnesses. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, Robert Burnell, of Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury, then Chancellor, was the king's early, constant, and intimate friend. He had been a statesman and a legislator before he became a bishop, he was one of those who laid the foundation of our present parliamentary and judicial systems, and was the executor of the policy of Edward in the annexation and pacification of Wales. He was present at Rhuddlan when the "Statutes of Wales" were drawn up; he died in 1292, and lies buried in Wells Cathedral. Richard de Burgh, second Earl of Ulster, had been brought up by the king at Woodstock, was with him during the war, received the honour of knighthood, and was one of the principal combatants at the tournament at Nevin.§

Thomas de Clare, the second son of Richard de Clare (eighth Earl of Clare, sixth Earl of Hertford, and seventh Earl of Gloucester), was from his youth an intimate friend of the king. Richard de Brus was cousin of Robert de Brus, who was slain by Llywelyn. Reginald de Grey was the grandson of Henry de Grey of Essex and the ancestor of Reginald de Grey, Lord of Ruthin, who had disputes with Owen Glyndwr. Nicholas de Segrave was a warrior and a

* See Ednyfed Fychan.

† For an explanation of these terms, see Glossary, and also Index.

‡ The liberties of the City of Hereford included the body of customs of Breteuil, called by Ordericus Vitalis "The Law of Cormeilles," as is shown by a quotation from "Domesday." "There (at Rhuddlan) is a new bourg, and in it are xviii. burgesses between Count Hugh (Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester) and Robert (Robert de Rhuddlan); they granted the burgesses laws which are in Hereford and Breteuil." Domesday, 1.269. col. 2.

§ See Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Werburgh, the MS of which is in the possession of Lord Mostyn, and a translation of which has been printed by the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society.

statesman ; his sons were with the king at the siege of the castle of Caerlaverock, on the Solway Forth, in 1300. Peter de Chaumpvent is mentioned in the accounts for the building of Flint Castle. Possibly the name may be synonymous with the modern name Champneys.

Lastly, John de Monto Alto, whose maternal grandfather was the Earl of Arundel, was Baron of Hawarden, and his ancestor had been created—by Hugh Lupus (his kinsman), the Norman Earl of Chester—one of the barons of the Chester Palatinate, with the charge of the castles of Hawarden and Mold.

In the 18th year of the reign of Edward I., there is a Charter declaring that the Burgesses of Aberconway shall be free from toll throughout the kingdom.*

In 1290, the Welsh rose up in arms against the authority of Edward, under Madoc, a son of Prince Llywelyn ap Griffith. "The cause† of this rising was the following :—Edward was engaged in a dispute with the King of France, and he was determined to avenge himself by force of arms. To obtain supplies for the war, he made the experiment of taxation on his new subjects the Welsh. They, resenting this, hanged Roger de Pulesdon,‡ who had been appointed to collect the tax, and defeated the English forces, who first opposed them. 'Alarmed at a revolt which was now rising into importance,§ and which menaced the safety of his new dominions, Edward came into North Wales to conduct the war in person.

Having proceeded in his march to Conway, he crossed that arm of the sea with a part of his forces, and, retiring into the castle, waited for the remainder of his army to follow. In his passage he lost many waggons and other carriages loaded with victuals, which had been intercepted by the Welsh, who, in great multitudes, came down from the mountains, and invested the castle on the side of the land. A sudden rise in the Conway, which prevented his troops from passing the river, and from affording him any assistance, rendered Edward's situation exceedingly alarming. He was in great want of provisions, was cut off from his army, and was surrounded on every

* Ayloffe's Rotuli Walliæ ; also Welsh Roll 14, 18 Edward I., m. 8.

† Canon Robert Williams' History of Aberconway, p. 30.

‡ This royal favourite, the first Puleston of Emral, was hanged from the porch of his own house, Plas Puleston, at Carnarvon—Williams' "Ancient and Modern Denbigh," p. 87.

§ Warrington's History of Wales.

side by water and the enemy. The distress of the garrison was so great, with respect to provisions, that Edward, in common with the soldiers, was obliged to eat salted meat, and the coarse bread which was found in the castle, and to use water likewise for his drink, mixed with honey. In this perilous state, when any moment might have been fatal, Edward's usual good fortune attended him. The Conway, suddenly subsiding, his forces were enabled to cross the water and come to his relief. The Welsh then abandoned the siege, and retired to the mountains of Snowdon. The English King, on the enemy's retreat, passed the Christmas holidays without molestation in the castle of Conway.' ''

The scene is well described in Edward Parry's "Royal Visits and Progresses":—

> "Edward and his Queen spent their Christmas at the magnificent palace at Conway Castle. They were attended by a great part of the English nobility, who assembled round them in all the joyous festivity that a luxurious Court could boast of. The splendid hall, crowded with warriors, knights, and damsels, echoed the rude merriment of feudal days. The cup passed quickly round, and tales of feats of arms, of slaughtered foes, and strange adventures, seemed to beguile the time."

In 29 Edward I. (1301), Edward, Prince of Wales, received the homage of the freeholders of Wales, among whom are the following who belonged to this district:—Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, for the land of Rhos and Rhufoniog; Robert, Lord Mont Alto, for his lands in Wales; Madoc ap Tudor, Archdeacon of Anglesey; Llywelyn ap Ednyfed; Master Richard de Puleston, who was made Sheriff of Carnarvonshire during his lifetime, with a stipend of £40 a year; Anianus, or Einion, Bishop of Bangor; and David, Abbot of Maenan, who did homage and fealty to Edward, Apud Conwey, 28 Aprilis, An. supradicto.*

In the third year of Edward II.,† the king granted to John of London, an engineer, the Ragloute of Creuddyn and the custody of the wood of Archllechwedd Uchaf and Archllechwedd Isaf, near Conway, to hold during pleasure.

In Rotuli Scotiæ, Vol. I., p. 117, under 7 Ed. II. (1313-14), there is a reference to Conway supplying ships for the Scottish war, and on p. 125 there is a further reference (of same date) about ships.

* Humphrey Llwyd's "Historie of Cambria," 1584.

† Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium, Vol. i., p. 170, Roll 13.

The next Royal Charter is that of Edward II. in 1316 (9 Ed. II. No. 9, May 12th, 1316),* granting and confirming to the burgesses of Aberconewey the town of Aberconewey, two mills, land, etc., and a certain mill "next our castle of the town aforesaid," which they formerly held at will for £31 3s. 9¾d. yearly. To hold, with farms, rents, and all other issues, profits, and easements belonging to the said town mills, lands, and place, at a fee farm for ever, rendering 50 marks (£33 6s. 8d.) yearly, in two moieties at Michaelmas and Easter.

The burgesses were thus practically Lords of the Manor within their metes and bounds, and nothing was reserved to the Crown except the castle.

Among the witnesses to the Charter of 9 Ed. II. are:—Roger Mortimer of Wigmore; he was Lord of Wigmore, and Constable of Conway and Denbigh Castles, and in 1328 or 1329 was created, by Edward III., the first Earl of March; he was attainted and executed in 1330, for treason.

Hugh le Despenser, sen., was Earl of Winchester, and father of Hugh le Despenser, jun., Earl of Gloucester, the latter being Constable of Denbigh Castle. Father and son were executed in 1326, within one month, the former (90 years of age) being hanged in his armour.

W. R. wasWalter Raynold—Archbishop of Canterbury, 1313-27.

The burgesses do not seem to have received a confirmation of this Charter from any subsequent king, but their reply to the Quo Warranto of 44 Edward III. (1370) shows that they claimed to hold their town at fee farm under the Charter, so that they evidently considered that a confirmation was not necessary, and it may be that the town is so held at the present day.

In the Miscellaneous Roll, Chancery 17-22 of 47-49 Edward III., it is stated that a larger sum, viz., £40 11s. 8d., was payable by the "town of Coneway" in equal moieties, at Easter and Michaelmas, but it is hard to understand how the fee farm rent could have been raised.

Particulars of the town revenues before the Charter are given in the Minister's accounts of 31-33 Edward I., and it seems likely that, after the Charter, the burgesses, in consideration of a fixed

* See Appendix IIc for the Latin and English of this.

yearly rent, received all the king's local revenues, excepting only those revenues collected by coroners, which were due to the king, not as Lord of the Manor, but as Sovereign.

In these grants there is no mention of any Lordship or Manor in Conway, unless Llywelyn's hall may be considered to have been the head of one before the Conquest and the castle afterwards, but no demesnes in Conway were ever specified as belonging to the castle. If there were any originally, they must have been identical with "the lands assigned to the Borough" referred to in the reply to the Quo Warranto, the claim being allowed.

In 1343, King Edward III. created his son Edward, Prince of Wales, and granted him the Lordship of North Wales, and "the Lordship Castle and Town of Conway" with numerous liberties and royalties.

In the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. we find, on the Parliament Rolls, several grants to successive Princes of Wales of the "Lordship, Town, and Castle of Conway, with the four commotes of Issaph, Ughaph, Nantconway, and Cruthyn," in the county of Carnarvon.

The next Charter of 5 Edward III. No. 82, is an expansion and confirmation of the original Charter of Edward I., and the burgesses paid a fine of 20 shillings to the king for this confirmation. The Latin and English of this will be found in the Appendix II*d*.

Fig. 128 is a copy of the original of a Confirmation Charter of Elizabeth, from a photograph taken by the kind permission of the Conway Town Council.

Bearing on this subject is a very important MS., called the "Record of Carnarvon," which consists of a large folio volume, published in 1838, from Harleian MSS. 696 and 4776, which were drawn up in 9 Henry VIII. It consists of (1) Surveys on the extents of Townships, etc., in Carnarvon and Anglesey, in the time of 26 Edward III.; (2) Laws and Customs of Wales; (3) Pleadings in a Quo Warranto of 44 Edward III., etc.

The Quo Warranto* referred to above was issued by Edward III., calling upon the bailiffs and burgesses of Conway to show "by

* For a full account of these Quo Warranto proceedings, see Appendix IIe.

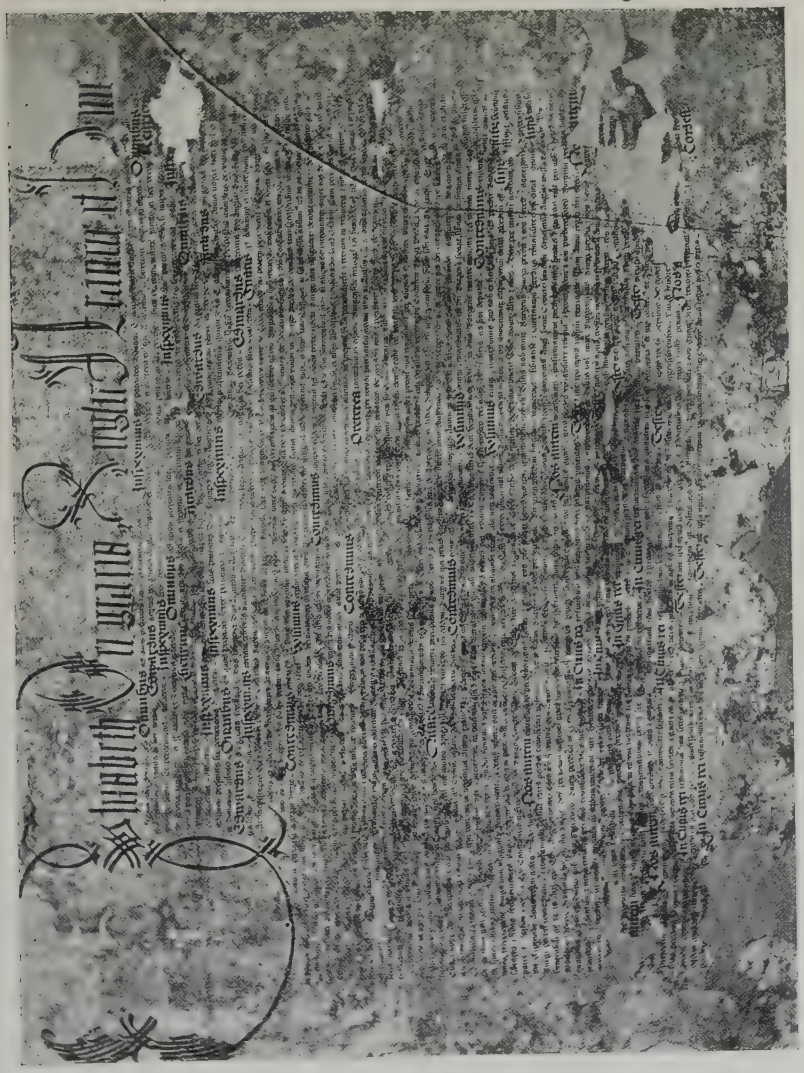


FIG. 128. CHARTER OF ELIZABETH, 28th Oct., 1561.
Photo. by A. H. Hughes.

what authority" they claimed to have the town of Aberconway; two mills, lands, and a piece near the castle, in fee farm, and to exercise the corporate privileges enumerated in the Charter of 12 Edward I. The bailiffs and burgesses pleaded the Charter of Edward I., the Charter of confirmation of 9 Edward II., and the further Charter of confirmation of 5 Edward III. They then proceeded to plead specifically each clause and word. The question at issue seemed to be, whether they had the right to take money on releasing persons out of prison, and whether in certain cases the Sheriff of the county had any right to execute writs within the borough. The King's Attorney charged them with the extortion of fines, but judgment was given in their favour, thus allowing their liberties.

In 2 Richard II., a fine was again paid, by the burgesses, for the confirmation of the Charter of their liberties.*

Twenty-one years later, the castle of Conway was the scene of one of the most sacrilegious acts in English history, for it was in the chapel here that the aged Earl of Northumberland, just before betraying King Richard II. to Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, swore upon the Host that he meditated no treachery. But these events must be treated more in detail.†

In the summer of 1399, Richard II. made an expedition to Ireland by way of Milford Haven, and was at Dublin when news arrived that the banished Bolingbroke had landed in England, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had publicly preached in his favour, and that most of the nobles had joined Bolingbroke, who had treasonably caused the beheading of the King's Treasurer (William Scroope, second son of Henry, Lord Scroope of Masham). King Richard thereupon held a council, but was afterwards persuaded by the Duke of Aumarle to postpone his own departure, and to send to Wales in his stead the Earl of Salisbury, who, upon landing at Conway, issued a proclamation, whereby he mustered forty thousand warriors within four days. When, however, the men understood that the king was not there, they were afraid that he was dead, and therefore they feared to act against Bolingbroke. Nevertheless, the earl kept them in the field (towards Chester) fourteen days, and awaited King Richard.

* Harleian MS. in the British Museum, 696, No. 99.

† For a detailed account of the events of this time in North Wales, see Parry's Royal Visits and Progresses.

At last, all except the earl's own men (numbering less than one hundred) deserted,—some returning home, and some joining Bolingbroke's forces. And, thereupon, the earl withdrew to Conway. Greatly lacking in wisdom, King Richard had stopped in Ireland eighteen days instead of six, but at last sailed to Milford Haven; thence, attended by only thirteen persons, the king set out at night for Conway, his arrival at which place some thirty odd hours later is thus described in the Metrical History :—*

> "So rode the king, without making noise,
> That at Conway, where there is much slate
> On the houses, he arrived, with scarce a pause,
> At break of day."†

At Conway, the Earl of Salisbury reported about the muster and the desertion.

A horseman from the south brought news of how the king's great army at Milford had broken up through the treachery of its chief officers, and of how the Welsh had despoiled the traitors of the treasures they had seized. The king, becoming afraid, departed to the Castle of Beaumaris,‡ which the writer of the Metrical History describes as "ten miles" distant from Conway, and as having "One side to the fields, the other to the sea." Thence the king went to Carnarvon Castle, where the poet mentions much wood, good for hunting, as coming close up* (where the Coed Helen plantations now stand). For lack of victuals and furniture, the bedding being no more than bare straw, the king, after four or six nights, returned to Conway. It was possibly on this journey that there was dropped, on the uplands near Carreg Fawr, Llanfairfechan, a

* By a French nobleman named Creton. "An Account of the Treachery of the Earl of Northumberland and the taking of His Majesty Richard II., his Progress from Conway to Rhuddlan, Flint, and Chester. By an Eye-witness." This formerly belonged to Charles of Anjou, and was translated into English prose, in 1824, by the Rev. John Webb.

† "Tant chevaucha le roy, sans faire noise, qua Cornway ou il a mainte ardoise sur les maisons, arriva . ."

‡ A beaumarey sen alerent tout droit
Qui a dix mille de Cornuay estoit
Cest un chastel que prendre on ne pourroit
Pas en deux ans. - - .
Lun des costez si est assis aux champs
Laut en la mer,
Le roy cy fut, que ny volt demourer
Pas longuement :
Ainsi luy sembla que plus seurement
A karnarvon seroit luy et sa gent
Ville et chastel il a tres bel et gent
Et forte place.
A lun des lez foison bois pour la chace
Et daut part la haulte mer y passe.

gold half-noble (Fig. 129), bearing the inscription :—" RICARD . DI . G . REX . ANGL . Z . F . DNS . HIB . Z . A."

This coin* was dug up in 1894, by Mr. Richard Williams, of Llanfairfechan, in a garden belonging to Yr Ynys, and it is supposed to have been brought down by the great flood of April 1873.

FIG. 129. HALF-NOBLE, RICHARD II., LLANFAIRFECHAN UPLANDS
Photo. by H. Foyn.

On the "obverse" is the inscription given above, and a design consisting of the king (crowned and in armour) standing in a ship, with a flag at its stern, ornamented with lions and lis, with a sword in his right hand, and in his left a shield bearing the arms of England and France quarterly. On the "reverse," which is from Edward III.'s die, with "E" in the centre, is a tressure of eight curves, with a beaded interior, and with trefoils in the outer angles, and containing a cross fleuree leaded a fleur-de-lis at the end of each limb of the cross. In each quarter is a lion under a crown, and centrally placed is a four-leaved rose, pointed with as many trefoils containing the letter "E." The "reverse" inscription reads :— " DOMINE : NE : IN : FVRORE : TVO : ARGVAS : ME."

Meanwhile Bolingbroke had advanced to Chester, and, on the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, sent to Conway the Earl of Northumberland, who undertook to bring King Richard "by reason or by craft." At Penmaenrhos, "under the rough and lofty cliffs of a rock," Northumberland placed his men in ambush, while he (with five others) went as envoy to Conway Castle. Here Northumberland represented to King Richard that Bolingbroke would sue for pardon and make peace, provided that the king should restore him (Bolingbroke) to be Chief Judge of England, and try before him, in Parliament, the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, and the priest Maudelaine. He (Northumberland) would swear that Bolingbroke would most faithfully observe

* It is now in the possession of Mr D. S. Roberts, National Provincial Bank, Carmarthen, who kindly permitted its photographic representation.

all that he had said. Northumberland, having withdrawn himself, the king told his Council that he would grant the petition, for he saw no other way, but that, whatever agreement Bolingbroke might make, "if I," said the king, "can ever get him to my advantage, I will cause him to be foully* put to death, just as he hath deserved" and to this agreed Salisbury, Carlisle, and the rest of the council. Northumberland, being then called in, was told that his "terms were accepted." "Each of them devoutly heard Mass; then the Earl, without further hesitation, made oath upon the Body of Our Lord."

A graphic account of the events that followed is given in "Stowe's Annals":—

"Masse being celebrated, the Earl of Northumberland sworne upon the hoaste that the Duke should hold all that he had told the king. The Earle hasted the king forward to horsebacke, but the king prayed the Earle to goe before into Rutland,† there to prepare dinner. The Earl rode apace untill hee came where he might see his people under the mountains, whom he much commended for observing his commandment. The king passing the water rode a foure miles before hee came to the rocke;‡ when he saw the ambushes he was sore abashed, knowing well he was betrayed by the Earle, for he was in such a place as hee could not escape. The sea beating on the one side and the rocke keeping him on the other, and if he should have fled backe, they would have caught him, ere he could have come to Conway, for hee hadde not past three and twenty of all his company. The king descending the rocke, the Earle came and kneeling downe, excused the matter, saying he had caused those people to come to guard his person, but the king told him fewer would have served and that it was contrary to his oth, for hee hadde promised to have but sixe in his company and said therefore that he would goe back to Conwey, but the Earle answered that nowe sith he hadde him, he would lead him to the Duke, as hee hadde promised tene days since, and soe hee caused bread and wine to be brought and offered to the king, who durst not refuse it and after leaping on horseback againe, they rode to Rutland to dinner and after to Flint where they lay that night."

Early in 1401, the rebels obtained possession of the castle, which was retaken prior to April 10th; between that date and May 4th William ap Tudor and Rees his brother captured the castle, and burnt the town.§ They were immediately besieged by Henry Percy

* MS Ambassades, page 185.

† Rhuddlan.

‡ "It was much nearer to return to the town than to descend the rock, which was washed by the main sea; we could not get away the other side owing to the rock, so, cost what it might, we were forced either to die or pass into the midst of the Earl's people."—Metrical History.

§ See Letters of Percy from Carnarvon to the Privy Council. A tombstone showing marks of burning, but now built into the wall of the porch of Conway Church, was dug up in 1894, while excavating, together with skeletons.

"Hotspur," who held the office of Justice of North Wales and Chester, and on May 4th, Percy writes to the Privy Council "that all North Wales was quiet and submissive, with the exception of Conway Castle, and those who were with William ap Tudor in the mountains."* Soon after this, the Welsh garrison of Conway, appeared to have entered into negotiations for conditions of surrender with Percy and the Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.), who had joined in the siege; the garrison eventually capitulated, paying 100 marks fine, as an indemnity for themselves and their dependents, and received pardon.†

Soon afterwards, Hotspur was made Constable of the castle. Later on in 1401, he is said to have been Constable of the castles of Chester, Flint, and Carnarvon. There is preserved in the British Museum a MS in old French (MS Cotton, Cleop F. III. fol. 111), written in Owen Glyndwr's time; this shows that the Welsh castles were not at this time very extensively garrisoned, and furnishes the actual state of many of them.

Carnarvon had John Bolde for its Constable, with twenty men-at-arms and eighty archers; the annual maintenance amounted to £900 6s. 8d. Crukkith Castle had Roger de Accon for Constable, with six men-at-arms and fifty archers; annual maintenance £416 14s. 2d. Hardelagh had Dycon de Mascy for Constable, with ten men-at-arms and thirty archers; yearly maintenance £389 6s. 8d. These were the castles in North Wales belonging to the prince, the total of their charges amounting to £2,421 3s. 4d. Denbigh Castle belonged to the Earl of March and had been granted to Henry Percy, Beaumaris also belonged to Henry Percy, with the Isle of Anglesey. Of these castles Monsr. de Rutland, with thirty men-at-arms and a hundred and twenty archers, kept Denbigh, at an annual expense of £1,672 18s. 4d.; John de Pulle, with fifteen men-at-arms and a hundred and forty archers, kept Beaumaris, at the yearly expense of £988 10s. 10d, The castles which belonged to the prince, as Chamberlain of Chester, were Rudhlan and Flint. Of Rudhlan Henry de Conewey was Constable, who kept it with nine men-at-arms and forty archers, at an expense of £422 15s. 10d. Of Flint, Nicholas Hauberk was Constable, with four men-at-arms and twelve archers; expenses £146 per annum. (Ellis' Original Letters, Vol. I., Second Series).

* Devon's Pell, Rolls, p. 283, as quoted in Parry's Royal Visits and Progresses, p. 225.

† Cal. Rot. Parl. 3, Page 2, Henry IV.

John de Mascy was Constable of Conway Castle, and had with him 15 men-at-arms and 60 archers; 39s. 2d. per day was allowed for maintaining this fortress, or £714 15s. 10d. per annum.* At the time of Owen Glyndwr's insurrection (1405), John de Mascy was Constable.

The following letter, probably written in 1405, gives the name of Henry de Scharisbrec, as lieutenant of Conway Castle. In it he asks for instructions as to the course he is to pursue with regard to some ships from France laden with wine and spices, which are "coming to Lleyn." It is given in the original spelling of the period.

HENRY OF SCHARISBREC, LIEUTENANT OF CONWAY CASTLE, TO WILLIAM VENABLES OF KINDERTON, CONSTABLE OF CHESTER, AND ROGER BRESCY.

"Ryght worschipful Sirs I comand me to yow lawly, dissyryng euirmore to here of youre worschipe, the whyche I pray to God euyrmore encrese. Worschepful Sirs if hit lyke yow to wete the abot of Conway has send wort to some of the godmen of the ton and to me, how that ther arne comyn vi. Schippis owte of Fraunce in the Llene, wt wyn and specery ful ladyn. Wherfore, worschepful Sirs, wold ye voche saue to send word to my lord or to his consayl therof, if thai wil ght ordayn for hom; for worschepful Sirs, vs thynke that and thay were taken hastyly hit wer grete profyt, in a gret abayschynge to oure enmyes. Worschepful Sirs, the Holy Ghost kepe yow in hon's. Wrytyn at Conwey the xxvi day of Feuyrzer.

BE HENR. OF SCHARISBREC.

(Leutenant to Sir John of Bolde at Conway).

The successes of Owen Glyndwr put the Constables of the various castles on the alert, and letters† from Reginald of Bayldon, who styles himself one of the keepers of Conway, and from Henry of Scharisbrec, to William Venables, Constable of Chester, and to Roger Brescy, dated in January and February, 1405, describe the castles of Harlech and Conway as being in great danger of falling into the hands of the Welsh. These two letters, rendered into somewhat modernised English, are given below:—

REYNALD OF BAYLDON, ONE OF THE KEEPERS OF CONWAY, TO WILLIAM VENABLES, CONSTABLE OF CHESTER, AND ROGER BRESCY.

WORSHIPFUL SIRS,

I recommend me to you with all my heart; doing you to understand that

* Williams' Aberconway, p. 34.
† Ellis's Original Letters, Vol. I. Second Series.

all Carnarvonshire are purposing themselves in all the haste, that they may for to go into the isle of Anglesey, for to have out all the men, and all the cattle there, and for to bring it with them into the mountains, lest Englishmen should be refreshed therewith. Also the Frenchmen, are making all the ordnance, that they may or can, for to assail the town of Carnarvon, in all the haste that they may, knowing well that the town is more feeble now, than it was the last time that they were before it; forasmuch as a heap of the beast, that were in Carnarvon that time, have been taken since then, and as it seemeth to me, it were needful that they had help in quick time. Furthermore, it was informed me, this same day, by a man of Criccieth, that William Hunt, constable of Hardelagh (Harlech), upon Tuesday that last was, came out of the castle for to treat with the rebels, without any hostage led in for him, and that the same time Robin of Holland and other with him, the which took Jenkin Ifor, laid hand upon the same William, and led him away, and two seamen with him,—one, Jack Mercer; and the other, Harry Baker. And what they did with them, I cannot say at this time. Also Fevian (Vyvyan) Colier is full sick, if he be on life; and many of the soldiers there are dead of the pestilence, and some driven out among the rebels, and some gone into England, and some slain on the way toward England, But Sir Lewis, and the remnant of the soldiers, are keeping the castle well enough yet. Also will ye wit, that the soldiers there, have taken the keys of the castle from the same constable, for some things that they found with him, and have taken them to Fevian (Vyvyan), and to Sir Lewis, for to have them in keeping all this quarter of a year gone. Wherefore I beseech you heartily, that ye will send warning to my lord, in all the haste that ye may well, touching the matters before said, so that my lord may be advised what is best to do thereof. Also, dear sirs, I dare say to you in council, that I durst lay my head, that there were two hundred men in Conway, and two hundred in Carnarvon, abiding there from Candlemass until the feast of saints Philip and James, that the communes (i.e., commotes) of Carnarvonshire would come to peace and pay their duties to my lord as well as ever they did; and if it be tarried till summer, it will not be so easy, for then the rebels may lie without, and so they may not know. Also, I myself have heard myself many of the gentlemen, and of the common people, of Merionethshire and of Carnarvonshire, swear that all men of the aforesaid shires, except four or five gentlemen and a few vagabonds, would fain come to peace, so that Englishmen were left in the country for to help to keep him from misdoers, and namely for to come into the country, while the weather was cold. And it seemeth to many men, it were better that such a company were in the country, for to make levy of my lord's debt, and for to take their wages of the same debt, than for to let the rebels have all. More can I not write at this time, but God that is heaven's king, have you in his holy keeping. Written in haste at the town Conowey (Conway), the Saturday next after the feast of the Epiphany.

Your poor servant,

REYNALD OF BAYLDON,

One of the Keepers of Conowey.

HENRY OF SCHARISBREC TO WILLIAM VENABLES AND ROGER BRESCY, THAT OWEN GLYNDWR WAS LIKELY TO GET POSSESSION OF HARLECH CASTLE.

WORSHIPFUL SIRS,

If it like you to wit, there is a little man with Howel Vaughan, that was taken when the constable of Hardlagh (Harlech) was taken, and is sworn to Owyn (Owen) against his will, and he has sent us word privily, how his master has word for sooth that Owyn has been at Hardlagh, and has agreed with all the men that are therein, save seven, for to have deliverance of the castle, at a certain day for a certain sum of gold, and the day is in right hasty time, but he wot not when, and bad (it is) if it be right soon ordained, for it is lost and so is all the country thereabout. Worshipful Sirs, will ye vouchsafe, when ye have overseen this, to send it to my master Sir John of Bolde, and make ordinance as you think best to do. Worshipful Sirs, the holy Trinity keep you. Written in great haste at Conway, the twenty sixth day of Feuyrzer [February]. From

HENR OF SCHARISBREC.

In 1404, John Claydon, a Lollard, of London, was confined in Conway Castle, for two years, by Baybrook, Bishop of London.*

During the Civil Wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, Conway Castle was the scene of much contention. It is recorded that the friends of one party gained possession of it, while the influential family of Griffith Gôch, and many equally powerful in the neighbourhood, were in arms for the other; it happened that his son Rhys, who had gone, either out of curiosity, or more probably for the purpose of examining the strength of the place, was standing at Tal-y-Sarn, on the opposite side of the river, when he was slain by an arrow discharged from the castle by Llywelyn of Nannau. As the distance is considerably more than half-a-mile, this is probably one of the longest shots on record. A few nights after, Robin ap Griffith Gôch o'r Graianllyn, and his brother Hywel, with their followers, crossed the river, to avenge the death of their brother Rhys; they took the castle by escalade, and beheaded the Captain.†

Sir John Wynne, in his history of the Gwydir family, observes that the whole country around was laid waste by the partisans of the Red and White Roses, and that it was utterly desolated by (William)

* Concilia iii, p. 372.

† O'r tu uchaf i Gonwy (medd yr hen hanes) y saethasai Llywelyn o Nannau y bicell hon, a llâs Rhys dros Gonwy: a llyma un o'r ergydion pellaf y llâs erioed. See Cylchgrawn, i. 255.

Herbert (the Yorkist), Earl of Pembroke."* An old Welsh rhyme, literally translated, says : —

"In Harlech and Denbigh every door flaming ; the vale of the Conway reduced to embers in the year of our Lord 1468."

Sir J. Wynne adds "the whole country was reduced to cold coals."

"In 1466,† Thomas ap Robin, of Cochwillan, was beheaded, near the castle, by Lord Pembroke's order, on account of his staunch adherence to the Lancastrians; and his wife (Gwenhwyfar) is reported to have carried away his head in her apron,"† prophesying to the Earl that his pitiless head should soon be severed in like manner. Not long after this, the earl was taken prisoner at the battle of Danesmoor, and was beheaded.

On the 9th August, 1460, King Henry VI. caused letters to be written to the Constables of Conway, Beaumaris, Flint, Hawarden, Holt, and Ruthin, commanding them to provide for the security of those places.‡

Richard III,. in the first or second year of his reign, granted to "Thomas Tunstall, Esq., the office of Constable of the castel of Conway, with the captainship of the towne of Conway, and to have under him the number of twenty-four soldiers for the time of his life with the wages and fees to the same office and captaynship due and accustomed, and to have for every of the said soldiers 4d. by the day."§

According to Dodridge,|| the ancient officers in North Wales, their names and fees, collected out of divers ancient accounts, included the following for Conway :—

"The constable of the castle of Conway, his fee was yearly, sometimes £40, and sometimes £50. The captain of the town of Conway had for his yearly fee £12 13s. 4d., and most commonly he that was constable of the castle was also captain of the town. There were also allowed, to the said constable and captain, 24 soldiers for the safe custody of the said town and castle, and every of them was allowed 4d. per diem, amounting yearly to £146. The Keeper and Porter of the Gates of Conway, his fee was 6d. per diem."

* Williams' Aberconwy, pp. 41, 42.
† Gwydir History, p. 46.
‡ Nicholas's Proc. Privy Council of England, Vol. VI, 303.
§ MS. Harl, 433.
|| Sir John Dodridge, History of Ancient and Modern Estates in Wales, p. 55 (1630).

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was the thriving burgher life of a successful free town, and this life was centred round the Parish Church. Alderman and Bailiffs were the joint heads of a united family. Every burgess had to give his penny every Sunday, and, if he neglected to do so, was to be cited by "Mr. Vicker to appeere affore" Mr. Hugh Holland.*

The great chest (or "common coffer") was kept in the church. There is now in the vestry one of date 1631.

A memorandum in the Conway Court Book of this date states that "the townes moneys was put in the new cheast the first time, by the order of the Councell of the Marches, the 12th day of March, by Sir Roger Mostyn's meanes." In it were found fragments of bills for "soap and blew" to wash the vicar's surplice or the "altar cloath"; for repairing the "Comon house," that is, the Town Hall; and a yearly stipend of 2s. to the "dog whipper."

In the reign of Henry VII. (4 Henry 7), a fine of twenty shillings was paid into the Hanaper Office for the confirmation of divers liberties and franchises granted to the burgesses by the King and his predecessors. The Charter was again confirmed by Henry VIII., 1 Edward VI., and 3 Elizabeth.

"The town† of Aberconwy had obtained the great privileges above mentioned from Edward I., in order that he might have a body of Englishmen, besides the garrisons of his castles, to maintain his power in Wales; all that held office in his towns of Aberconwy, Caernarvon, and Beaumaris, were exclusively English. In course of time, however, some Welshmen‡ crept into office, which the English burgesses looked upon as an infringement of their rights, considering Wales as a foreign country subjected to the English, and the inhabitants not entitled to have any share of the advantages of their own land. They accordingly presented the following memorial to the King and his Parliament.

It is a curious and interesting document, and shows the mutual jealousy of the two nations. The date is the commencement of Henry VII.'s reign, if not earlier:"—

* Williams' Aberconwy, p. 98; Val. Eccles, vi., 21.

† Williams' Aberconwy, p. 43.

‡ See (under list of Charters, etc.) Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt Miscellanea 68/19

To the King's Highness and to his honourable Counsel of this present Parliament.

"Grievously complaining, showeth unto your Most Honourable Good Lordships and discreet wisdom, your poor Orators [i.e., Petitioners], all the whole corporate body of the commonalty of the Burgesses of the English walled town of Conway in Northwalles, that, whereas the king's noble progenitor of most famous memory, King Edward the First, whose soul Jesus pardon, constructed and builded the Castle of Conway, in the aforesaid town, after the conquest and subduing of Wales, with other castles and towns there, and replenished the same with captains, soldiers, and burgesses English, for the surety of Englishmen, and for the perpetual peace and good rule of North Wales to be for evermore; and for the continual edification in nourishing of Englishmen, by Act of his Parliament next after the same time, by his noble Charter granted diverse liberties to the burgesses of the said town, their heirs and successors, the which now been your said Orators.

"By force whereof, and by force of diverse confirmations of the same, your said Orators, and their ancestors and predecessors, have peaceably enjoyed, and had diverse great liberties and franchises, since the time of the said King Edward the First, until now of late, that certain inhabitants within the said town of Conway but also of the Commotes adjacent by colour and misinterpretation of a Charter of liberties late craftily obtained by a certain Spanish Ambassador to the Welshry of the country of North Wales, usurped upon the liberties aforesaid of your said Orators, and occupied the same as largely as any burgess, as in brewing, baking, buying, selling, as well in gross and in retail, all manner of victuals and wines and other things vendible and changeable, and in forestalling and regrateing markets contrary to the effect of the said ancient Charter of King Edward with diverse confirmations of the same against God's peace and the King's, to the great hurt, breaking, subjection, impoverishment, oppression and most extreme undoing of your said Orators, and in short time to come to so great and utter desolation of the said town and your honourable wisdom, and other officers may not surely be received, lodged, and sued, nor shall dare boldly [to] minister the Laws according to Justice.

"And that, in short, conclusion doubtless shall be as well to the King's loss of all his prerogatives, rents and profits, in North Wales as to the final disherison [disinheritance], destruction, and vanquishing of your poor Orators, and of the three English towns in North Wales, only it may please your honourable grace and wise discretion, for the tender mercy of God, with piteous compassion, lovingly advertising and considering the premisses.

"First to order and redress at this present parliament, that your said Orators, their heirs and successors, may enjoy and have their said liberties, whole and firm, without interruption or violation of the said foreigners* as they and their ancestors have had heretofore; and to order the said foreigners, since they would have liberties within the English towns, to be contented with the eight towns, Rutland [Rhuddlan], Denbighland, Hardlegh [Harlech]

* Persons not within the benefits of the town's Charter.

and Bala [in Merionethshire], Bangor, Pwllheli, Criccieth and Nevyn [in Carnarvonshire], and Newburoh [Newborough] in Anglesey ; of which eight towns, every town is of as great liberty as any of the three English towns. And which eight towns were inhabited with Englishmen and under English captains, and since they were put out, and captains of the country put in, the said eight towns be utterly in decay and desolate of wealth or English men, and in likewise the said three English towns, Conwey, Carnarvon, and Bewmares [Beaumaris] upon the common weal of North Wales, shall also be in decay, if the rule and governance of the same shall go out of the English men's hands. Also, that the captains of the said castles be mere [i e., unmixed] Englishmen and keep English soldiers, and be of great livelihood, and not born in the country, and to be resident upon the same, according to the old Ordinance and Statute of Rhuddlan.

"Also, that no foreigner shall occupy or use any manner of craft or merchandize, within the said towns and franchises, without licence and agreement of the said burgesses. Also, that from henceforth no man be admitted as burgess of the said towns, but mere Englishmen and of good demeanour. Also, that from henceforth all and every burgess, to be made of the said towns, shall occupy the said liberties, with mere English women, for marriage with foreigners of the country of North Wales was a cause of the seduction of the said towns, as appeareth of Record, Anno Reg. Henrici VI. Also, that the said burgesses your Orators, be not from henceforth indited by any foreigners, and no inquiry to be of them, or against them, or of any land or other thing to be found for the king, within the said town of Conwey, but only by themselves, and other English Burgesses of the next town, being mere English men, as hath been used heretofore. Also that no sheriff or other officer or minister, return any Jury or panels in any cause touching your said Orators, but only of themselves, or of the next town English. Also, that every and all foreign inhabitants within the said liberties, be sworn and put under surety of their fidelity to the said castle and town, and to be peaceable and of good bearing against your said Orators, and that they wear no weapon within the said towns.

"Also, that according to the Statute of Rhuddlan, and ordinance of North Wales, Welshmen shall purchase no land within the English town or franchise of the same. So that the tenants—inhabitants of the commotes of Creuddyn, Issaph, Uchaph, and Nantconwey, in Carnarvonshire, shall come every Friday, with their victuals and corn, to the market of Conwey, as was of old time ordained for the sustentation of the said castle and town. Also, that the markets and sale of cattle of the said commotes be at the market and fairs of Conwey ; and that no sale be made in the mountains, for thereby your Orators shall be defeated of the king's toll, parcel of their fee farm, and purloining, and shelter of true men's goods. Also, that no ale nor wine be sold by retail within eight leagues of the said town, according to the old ordinance and proclamation. Also, that the Chamberlain, Sheriff, or other officers in North Wales, shall give their aid and assistance for the liberties aforesaid to be kept, and for the peace to be had to your said Beseechers, so as they may ride and go to the markets and fairs, without fear or jeopardy of their lives, and that, upon pain of a hundred marks. Also, that all such as be bound of old

ordinance to come and grind to the king's mills of Conwey, shall grind there, and in no place else. Also, that the porter of Conwey, which is now a Welshman, may be put out, and the office given to an English burgess inhabiting in the said town, for by the Welsh officers the town hath oft been destroyed, for it is no more meet for a Welshman to bear any office in Wales, or especially in any of the three English towns, than it is for a Frenchman to be officer in Calais, or a Scot in Berwick. Also, that, if any Welshman bear any weapon or make any stir-ment or fray, within the town of Conwey, upon any market or fair day, that his fine be no less than five pounds. Also, that English burgesses may inquire, upon forfeiture of main prise, for the king's profit, and for the good rule of the country. Also, that it may please the King's Highness, of his most abundant grace, by act of this present Parliament, in amending the estate of his Comburgesses at Conwey, to give and grant to his said Beseechers in fee farme the passage of the ferries of Conwey and Cavyn Gronant, with their appurtenances, in doubling the rent to be paid yearly at his exchequer of Carnarvon, by equal portions. Also, the said Beseechers may have the Sessions of Carnarvon and Merionethshires holden yearly for ever, one at your said town of Conwey, to bring the said town, which is now in decay, and doth pay yearly to the King's Grace £40 money of fee farme, into her former and prosperous wealth and estate and they shall daily pray for the prosperous state of the King's Grace, and of his realm.

"Also, to provide that no capital officer of the King's Grace, or to any other lord or lords in North Wales, shall brew ale to sell* or retail any wines in any place of North Wales, for by occasion thereof as well the King's tenants of the country be pilled and oppressed, as your Beseechers greatly hindered. Also, know that four barley corns taken out of the midst of the ear make an inch, twelve inches make a foot, sixteen feet and a half make a perch of land, and forty-two perches in length and four in breadth make an acre of land, and four acres make a yard of land, and five yards make a hide of land, and eight hides make a knight's fee."

In 1607, according to Canon Robert Williams,† "the town was almost depopulated by the plague, and numbers of people were buried in the streets. Their bones are frequently found there when making sewers, and also without the Town Walls. About 40 years ago [this was from 1835] the lower half of the High Street was repaired, and considerably lowered, when a vast number of skeletons were discovered lying side by side the whole way. Many of the bones were of very large dimensions, and some of the jaw-bones are said to have exceeded a span in the distance of the extremities. The pestilence was observed to break out here within three weeks of the time it appeared in London, and it must have reached this place so soon, owing to the connection of the inhabitants with England."

* The Englishmen did not brew good ale; "Cwrw Aberconwy gorau pei pellaf;" Aberconway ale the further off the better, says the old proverb.

† History of Aberconwy. p. 51.

At the end of the Court Book of Conway,* for the period 1592 to 1632, are some interesting remarks which show the steps taken by the Corporation to prevent the spread of the plague, which raged in North Wales at the time.

The following are extracts :—

"Memo. : That the markett of Conway was kept at Bryn y Glorie† the xvth day of Novemb', 1607, in the time of the plague, and proclamac'on on the same daie by the Bayliffs that the m'kett should be kept.

"The next m'kett was kept at the Marsches and comanded by the Bayliffes that they should come to the Towne.

"Cabans made in an orchard of Mr. Robert Wynne, Esq., by the brooke side, between the orchard of Will'm Holland, and the waye that doth come to the highe gate, and these p'sons und' named put into them the xxvjth of November, 1607, in the time of the plague, being xvj persons."

There is a memorandum to the effect that :—

"In the yeare of our Lord God, 1607, there was a froste that did continewe until the xiiij daye of Aprill, and tents was putt on the Thames in London, the like was never seen in o' age nor in the remembrance of the Alderman. Also turves could not be cut, by reason of the frost, as was reported by those who did cutt them."‡

It was not till the reign of James I. that any mention was made of the Manor, or rather "Manors," so far as the records have been inspected. In that reign there were grants to Henry and Charles, successively Princes of Wales, of the lordships, manors, commotes, etc., of Cruthyn, Nantconway, Issaph, Ughaph, Iscor, Uchor, etc., and of the "Lordships," castle, manor, and town, etc., of Conway, and also of the rents, farms, and fee-farms of the same.

This description seems to imply that the lordship was an honour, consisting of (1) the four commotes or manors ; (2) the castle ; and (3) the town or "manor" of Conway, which last belonged by royal grant to the burgesses, and here it seems suggested that the burgesses held the town by a fee-farm rent. A rental of 1629 refers to the king's rents in the town.

As to commotes, it seems that from time to time there were

* Court Book of the Town of Conway, p. 27, edited by W. H. Jones.

† Bryn Glorian is in the parish of Gyffin.

‡ Rather a contradiction ! Turves were at this time the fuel of the townsfolk, and they were cut in the Marsh [See Court Book].

sundry leases of the Crown lands therein, and that Charles I. extravagantly dissipated by sale the Crown possessions in the lordship, including the castle of Conway, and the ferry at Conway,* in parcels, to various persons, reserving certain fee-farm rents, and in the case of one estate the "manor and advowson."

These possessions are described as having formed part of the possessions of the Principality of North Wales, and there are no subsequent grants of these territories or rents to any Prince of Wales. It may be observed that the princes of Wales had no hereditary right in these lordships, but each prince required a fresh grant from the Crown. It may, however, be conjectured that the Crown granted away its rights in the lordship of Conway, by selling the different manors and estates,—having parted with the town in the first instance many centuries before.

We know that fee-farm rents were largely sold out during the Commonwealth, and in the reign of Charles II., but, so far, no such grants, in respect of Conway, have been found.

During the Great Rebellion, the importance of Conway Castle and town was duly esteemed, and they suffered many vicissitudes, some of which receive fuller treatment later, in an account of that great statesman and ecclesiastic, Archbishop John Williams.

"Besides the Archbishop of York, this town was the birth-place of another prelate, Nicholas Robinson, D.D. He was entered at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he became a Fellow, and was appointed chaplain to Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was made Dean of Bangor in 1556, and afterwards archdeacon of Meirion [Merioneth] with the sinecure rectory of Northop, in 1562. He was raised to the bishopric of Bangor in 1566. His death took place in February 1583-4, and he was buried in the cathedral. He was a man of very great learning, and, besides his knowledge of theology and the classics, he was well skilled in his own language; he translated into Latin from the Welsh "Hanes Gruffydd ab Cynan," the Life of Gruffydd ab Cynan, which was preserved in the library of Gwydir."†

During the Parliamentary troubles, Conway was the scene of insult to an Irish prelate, the Bishop of Ossory (Rt. Rev. Griffith Williams, D.D. Cantab., ex-Dean of Bangor). Sir Griffith Williams, High Sheriff of Carnarvonshire, asked the Bishop of Ossory to preach before the Judges at Conway. The Bishop, however, "was threatened" by Courtney, Governor of Beaumaris, and by

* For various references to the Ferry of Conway, see Appendix IV, A.

† Williams' Aberconwy, pp. 91, 92.

Carter, Governor of Conway, who told him they had a mind to pull him by the ears out of the pulpit, and clap him in prison, but he escaped on his horse."* This bishop, who was a native of Carnarvon, left by will his property in Llanllechid (where he had been incumbent), in Conway, in Gyffin, and in Llandegai, for the benefit of the poor of the respective parishes for ever. He was buried at Kilkenny.

In September, 1648, the five Parliamentary Commissioners for the reduction of the Isle of Anglesey, viz., Sir Thos. Myddleton, Bart, Maj.-Gen. Mytton, Thos. Myddleton, Esq., Simon Thelwall, Esq., and Col. John Jones, "rendezvouzed at Conway, where they provided boats, and got one Major Richard Chedle, an Anglesey man, to guide the said boats by sea to Bangor, the body of their party (being about 1,500 men, horse and foot) marching by land."†

"There is little to be recorded in the history of Conway Castle besides its dismantling by the Earl of Conway. A grant of the castle was made by Charles I. on March 28th, 1628, to [Edward], Lord Conway, [Baron of Ragley], by the title of Viscount Kilultagh.‡ Previously, however, to this, an indenture had been made on the tenth of January, 14 James I., between His Majesty of the one part, and Sir F. Bacon, Attorney General, Sir John Duncombe, Thomas Murry, Jamss Fullerton, John Walker, and Thomas Trevor on the other part, by which His Majesty demised, to these persons and their executors, the Castle of Conway, with its rights, members, and appointments, situate, lying, and being, within the town of Aberconway, to hold the same for 99 years.

"An indenture of assignment was subsequently [on March 4th, 1628] made between Walker, Trevor, and Fullerton, who had survived the other three, of the one part, and Viscount Kilultagh, by his name of Lord Conway, of the other part; whereby, in consideration of six shilling and eight pence a year to be paid to his Majesty, the castle, with its rights, members, and apportionment, was assigned to Viscount Kilultagh and his heirs in as ample a manner as it came into the hands of His Majesty, or any of his progenitors; except [all Knights fees, and except] all right of

* Old Karnarvon, W. H. Jones, Carnarvon; N.D.

† Parry's Royal Visits and Progresses, p. 288.

‡ Translation Patent Roll 3, Charles I.; Part 37, No. 2,443.

patronage of Churches and Chapels; to hold the same, himself, his heirs and assigns, for ever."*

A Patent Roll of 3 Charles I., part 37, No. 1, contains a grant for Richard Owen, Esq., to him and his heirs. The king, after reciting (at great length) previous dealings with sundry lands, etc., afterwards granted to Richard Owen and his heirs, hereby grants, in consideration of £200 paid down, the tenure, for the remainder of an unexpired term of 99 years, and free from all outgoings (except royal mines and mines of lead and tin), of three parcels of properties formally held at the respective rents of £8 and £6, these comprising the villa of Penlassoch, in the commote of Creuddyn, the passage of boats, called the ferry boats of Conway Craven Gronant, and sundry lands, tenements, franchises, etc., situated for the most part in Erianus in the commote of Issaph, the said properties, on the termination of the unexpired term aforesaid, to become subject to the rents above-mentioned, and to sundry other customary outgoings. [See Appendix IV., B, for Summary].

"In 1665, the Earl of Conway, under pretence of its being done for His Majesty's service, stript the Castle of all the timber, iron, and lead, and shipped it off to Ireland; his vandal orders were so vigorously carried into effect by his servants that it is difficult to find the smallest particle of iron remaining in any part of the Castle,"† but no advantage accrued from this act of vandalism, as the ships conveying the materials to Ireland were wrecked on the passage.

"Thomas Bulkeley, Esq., Colonel Wynn, and several of the leading men in the country attempted to oppose the design, but without success." The following letter‡ (given below in modernised English) was written in answer to their remonstrances: —

"Hono'ble friends,

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 20th Sept. in which you are pleased to inquire of me, whether my servant Milward doth act by my order for the taking down of the lead, timber, and iron of Conway Castle; in answer to which question, I do by this acknowledge it to be my act and deed, and that the said Milward is employed by me to dispose of the timber and iron, according to such directions as I gave him; and to

* Williams' Aberconwy, pp. 65-67.

† Williams' History of Aberconwy, p. 67.

‡ Pennant's Tour in Wales, App. xxi.

transport the lead into Ireland, where I hope it will be more serviceable to His Majesty than it was in this country. And having this opportunity of addressing myself to you, I humbly beseech you to take off the restraint which you have put upon his proceedings, and to afford him your favour in it; for I am already prejudiced by the loss of shipping, and an opportune season for transportation of the lead; yet I shall esteem this a particular obligation upon me, and be ready to express it by all the service in my power to every one of you, that you are pleased to grant this at my request; which otherwise may put me to some trouble and delay. And I doubt not of meeting occasions to testify my being,

Hono'ble Sirs,

Your affectionate and obedient Servant
Conwey and Kilulta.

Ragley in Warwickshire,
6th October, 1665.

For the hono'ble Thomas Bulkley, Esq.;
Colonel Wynn; Hugh Wynn, Esq.;
Thomas Vaughan, Esq; His Majesty's
Deputy Lieutennants in North Wales."

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1865, p. 80, a writer asserts that the disgrace of dismantling the castle belongs to the third Viscount Conway. It must be remembered that Charles I. made a grant of the castle to Lord Conway in 1628, and that Archbishop Williams in 1643 found it in a very bad state, and repaired it at his own cost, but not completely. This seems borne out by the fact that in a letter* from T. Wynne and T. Vaughan to the Earl of Suffolk, who was Treasurer from 1613-1620, they described the ruinous state of the building, and stated that it had not been occupied for 30 years, that the timber supporting the roof was rotten, and that the leads had been in part removed. Consequently, unless the Archbishop had restored it completely, Lord Conway was not so culpable as is generally thought. At the time of the Great Rebellion, it was not adapted to withstand attack, and it is not likely that after this time any repairs were carried out, so that Lord Conway was guilty only of removing the 'remains' of the lead, etc., the castle being in a ruinous condition.

The consequence of this final spoliation by Lord Conway, was that this noble structure was reduced to a bare ruin, such as it is now to be seen. It was held in 1835 by Sir David Erskine, Bart., the representative, by right of his wife, of the Plas Isa' family (the Hollands of Conway) at an annual rent of six shillings and eight

* Cambrian Register; also for copy of letter see Appendix III. B.

pence to the Crown, and a dish of fish to the Marquis of Hertford, as often as he passes through the town.*

Conway gives the title of baron to the Marquis of Hertford. In 3 Charles I., Edward, Lord Conway of Ragley. in the county of Warwick, was created Viscount Conway of Conway Castle ; almost immediately, in 1628, advantage was taken of the opportunity to issue a writ of summons in acceleration of peerage to the eldest son who was "called up" into the House of Lords, in his father's barony of Conway of Ragley.† It was Edward, 3rd Viscount Conway, who reduced Conway Castle to its present condition.

In 1676, 31 Charles II., Edward, third Viscount Conway, who had succeeded his father Edward, was created Earl of Conway, and dying without issue, his cousin (and adopted heir), Francis Seymour Conway (second son of Sir Edward Seymour, Bart, by his second wife), was created Lord Conway, Baron Conway of Ragley, 1702—3 (2 Anne) ; he died in 1731—2. His eldest son, Francis, was created Earl of Hertford in 1750, the Marquisate being created in 1793.

Conway, under its more ancient name of Aberconway, gives the title of baron to the McLaren family, the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles B. Bright McLaren, Bart. K.C., having been created the first baron at the coronation of King George V. Lord Aberconway, who is chairman of the Metrop. Railway Co., of John Brown and Co., and of other engineering companies, is the son of the late Mr. Duncan McLaren, M.P. for Edinburgh, by his marriage with Miss Priscilla Bright (sister of the late Rt. Hon. John Bright). He married in 1877 the only daughter of the late Mr. Henry Davis Pochin, J.P., of Bodnant Hall, Denbighshire. His two sons are M.P.'s for Bosworth (Leicestershire) and Spalding (Lincolnshire), respectively, and his son-in-law, Sir Henry Norman, Bart, is M. P. for Blackburn.

In 1877, the Corporation surrendered their old charter in exchange for a new charter constituting the borough afresh under the Municipal Corporations Act, and causing the new Corporation to be under a mayor, elected by themselves (Appendix II. F.), and, by a subsequent charter (in 1882), the mayor for the time being was to be Constable of the Castle and Walls (Appendix II. G.).

* Williams' History of Aberconway, p. 69. Grose's Antiquities, Vol. iii (New Edit 1773), p. 37.

† Palmer's Peerage Law in England (1907), p. 129.

Owing to an error in an old Guide Book* in which the words "Mayor of Hereford" were substituted for Marquis of Hertford, a curious mistake occurred on August 22nd, 1894. The Mayor of Hereford, who was staying at Llandudno, wrote as follows to "The Custodian, Conway Castle, Conway." "Dear Sir, I believe the Mayor of Hereford is by charter entitled to a 'Dish of Fish' upon informing the custodian or deputy-constable of the castle, of his intended visit, and . . . . I beg to inform you that having the honour of filling the office of mayor this year . . . . I purpose calling upon you to-morrow (Tuesday), between twelve and one o'clock, as an evidence to maintain the privilege, I am, Sir, yours faithfully, Edwin Edw. Bosley, Mayor."

Upon the arrival of the Mayor, accompanied by two members of the Hereford Corporation, Dr. R. Arthur Prichard (the Mayor of Conway) explained that this privilege belonged only to Lord Hertford, but that, if sparlings (the peculiar fish of the Conway) had been in season, he would personally have had much pleasure in presenting a dish of them to the Mayor of Hereford.

AN ANCIENT CRIMINAL COURT AT CONWAY.

Annually in October, there used to be held at Conway, at the Blue Bell Inn, pursuant to a Precept issued by Her Majesty's Stewards for the lordship, or manor, of the Divison of Nantconway, the Court Baron, Court Leet, and View of Frankpledge of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The word Leet signified district, and the Court Leet was originally a Criminal Court of Record, held once a year to view the frankpledge, i.e., the freemen.

A Jury had to be empanelled, consisting of persons "commorant"† in the manor, and being neither peers, clergymen, women, aliens, nor boys under 16 years of age; the jurymen must number not less than 12, nor more than 23, and the verdict of any 12 could be taken. It has been repeatedly stated that in a document, dated 1286, the Nantconway Court Leet was mentioned as ancient.

By the laws of Alfred the Great, every free-born man at 14 years of age had to find surety for his truth towards the king, which resulted in a number of neighbours becoming bound for the good behaviour of each other; this constituted frankpledge, and it

* History of Conway Castle, by David William Pugh.

† Residing in the Manor or an adjoining district.

was an ancient custom (now obsolete) to summon all the subjects to the Crown Court Leet to take the oath of allegiance, and all persons living within the district were bound to appear on the jury if required. The general business of the Leet was to present by jury and punish all crimes and misdemeanours in the district, but, by degrees, this duty has devolved on the Magistrates in the Quarter and Petty Sessions, and the Leet Jury's business now relates chiefly to matters affecting the Crown lands, such as encroachments on commons and foreshores within the manor, and not long since a fine was inflicted by this Court for an encroachment in the parish of Dwygyfylchi.

The Court Baron was never a Court of Record, and, as it came under the operation of the County Courts Act as a Court of Justice, it has become practically extinct, and its business is now concerned mainly with fines or forfeitures due to the Lord of the Manor.

The following extract from the *Manchester Guardian* of date February 23rd, 1910,* throws some light on the question of Crown Lands :—

"Touching the general question of Crown Lands in Wales, it must be remembered that both law and custom have thrown difficulties in the way of the enforcement of the Crown Rights. The existing Crown Lands are said to have been the private estates of the native Welsh Princes. The Feudal System, however, probably never really existed in the greater part of Wales, and hence a difficulty has arisen. If there were, as alleged, no manors in Wales, the question arose what was the legal position of the 'Common Lands' (so often mentioned in the Court Book of Conway)? In 1868, the Crown, as Lord of the Manor of Penllyn, in Merionethshire, obtained, *inter alia*, a legal decision that there are manors, in the English sense, in Wales, and satisfactorily vindicated the Crown's rights to the minerals under the 'waste lands' which a local landowner disputed."

"Before the passing of the Reform Bill, Conway was a contributory borough in returning a member to Parliament with Caernarvon, Pwllheli, Nevin, and Criccieth. This privilege it still retains, but the franchise is extended to all the inhabitants who are qualified according to the provision of that Act."† Bangor was subsequently added to the list of contributory boroughs, which now (1911) have the honour of being represented by the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Constable of Carnarvon Castle. "The population of the borough of Conway in 1801 was 889; in 1811, 1053; in 1821, 1105; and in 1831, 1245;"† in 1901, 4636; and in 1911, 5240.

* "Manchester Guardian," London Corr., Feb. 23, 1910.

† Williams' Aberconwy, p. 91.

II.—THE TOWN LIFE OF CONWAY.

According to Canon R. Williams, in his "History of Aberconwy" (1835),* "When Edward I. incorporated the town of Aberconwy, he ordered in his Charter that the Constable of the castle for the time being should be the Mayor of the town. But ever since the year 1570, and even for some time previously, the chief magistrate of the borough was called the Alderman, and was elected by his fellow-burgesses annually. It does not appear that the Crown took care to appoint a Constable of the castle, for, since the above year 1570, the office has only been filled five times. James I. granted by patent to Edward Herbert and Richard Herbert, and the survivor of them, the offices of Forester of Snowdon and Constable of the castle of Aberconwy. In 1649, an order was made by the Committee of State to appoint Col. (John) Carter, Constable, or Keeper, of Conwy Castle. In 1662, a grant was made of the office of Constable, or Keeper, of the castle, to Edward, Lord Herbert." None of these seem to have interfered with the government of the town, in the office of Mayor. The legality, however, of the election of an Alderman has been several times disputed.

The following document relates to a curious case on that point, in the reign of Elizabeth, when Sir Richard Bulkeley, Knight, and Thomas Mostyn, Esq., were elected burgesses, contrary to the common practice of the Corporation at that period. With modernised spelling and punctuation, it runs as follows:—

"This is a laudable custom in the town of Conway (as in other towns of Liberties in Wales) that, in the election of burgesses upon Michaelmas Day, every burgess hath a negative voice, so that if any one burgess desire any one that is to be chosen burgess of his voice, he cannot be chosen. Now on Michaelmas Day last, thus it fell out in the Town of Conway at the election of burgesses. After the election of officers as the manner is, it was openly propounded in their Council-house where all the burgesses were assembled, that Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Knight, and Thomas Mosten, Esq., desired to be burgesses of that town, therefore we were to speak their minds. There stood up hereupon three of the better sort of burgesses, and spake one after another, that they would not consent thereunto, which notwithstanding some that favoured Sir Richard and Mr. Mosten would needs know how many was against them and how many with them. Then a great number spake at once that they would not choose them nor any other at that time. Wherewith all the said favourers being miscontent would needs speak of the more part upon whose side they were (which thing was never used in any such election) and

* Pages 92—96.

so made much trouble in the house. To pacify which the Alderman and Bailiffs did break up that assembly, seeing three of the better sort were against that election; notwithstanding to show unto those favourers that they had not the more part, they called out of the Council-house all such as did not assent to the choosing of Sir Richard and Mr. Mosten, which were there numbered to be 35, and thought that the rest would have followed (by reason that the alderman and bailiffs had dissolved that assembly and were come out) but they remained there, and being 22 made an election of Sir Richard and Mr. Mosten to be burgesses. Now the question is, whether this was a lawful election, seeing three had in special words spoken against it; the ordinary officers had discharged that assembly; yea, and that the more part showed themselves to be against the same.

To justify this headless and heady election, it is said that one Richard Gwyn, and named Deputy Constable, was their officer, and so proceeded to that election by reason that the Constable is in the Charter named Mayor of that town. But it may be answered, that the Constable must be sworn by the burgesses before he be Mayor, which thing was not as yet done; secondly, that Sir Wm. Herbert, Knight, whose factor Mr. Richard Gwyn is, is not Constable, but that he hath bought another man's fee or patent. Thirdly, that Mr. Gwyn hath no deputation to be Deputy Mayor, and, last of all, that by custom of this town the Alderman and Bailiffs only intermeddle with all such elections, and neither the Constable nor his Deputy.

Another laudable custom hath continued in the town of Conway time out of mind, that, when any assembly is to be made for the swearing in of burgesses, the Alderman and Bailiffs do send the sergeant to warn all the burgesses of the place and time.

Now, contrary to this laudable custom, the 2nd day of October, Richard Gwyn, gent., assembling to himself in secret wise, without the knowledge of the Alderman and Bailiffs, nine or ten of the burgesses, did swear Sir Richard Bulkeley, Knight, and Thos. Mosten, Esq. (chosen as before is said), burgesses of the said town.

The Question is, whether this admission be lawful. Memorand.: That all the burgesses of that town are sworn to the observation of all the laudable customs of the said town at their admission."

"In December, 1769, John Parry, of Lincoln's Inn, having been appointed Constable of the castle, demanded to be sworn in to the office of Mayor, according to the Charter, and, upon the refusal of the Corporation to comply, until they had procured satisfactory directions how to proceed, pleading the long disuse of the office, he obtained a mandamus from the Court of King's Bench; but the proceedings were terminated by his death, which took place soon after. In 1810, Griffith ap Howel Vaughan, of Rug, was appointed to the constableship of the castle, by writ of Privy Seal, and with a salary of £23. An Alderman continued to be chosen annually, until the

contested election of Members of Parliament in 1830, when the office was declared to be illegal, and the mayoralty revived; it is consequently now (1835) held by the Constable of the castle."*

"It will be seen from two of the subjoined three documents, that at one time there was an Alderman as well as a Mayor; and, as they furnish some curious information of the corporate body, these are (with modernised spelling) all here inserted :—

'In festo S'ci mathei Ap' li Anno Decimo octavo, Henrici octavi.

'It is ordered by the Mayor, the Alderman, the Bailiffs, And by all the comburgesses of Conwey, that, whereas James Ffena the same day was sworn burgess of Conwey, who gave to be made freeman xiijs, iiijd. unto the hands of Hugh Hookes, Alderman: That the said James nor none other should from henceforth receive any malt or corn that shall come from Lancashire and Wiroll [Wirral] or any other place, nor keep the same within his house; but that it be at liberty for every man or woman to buy as the market goeth; and that the said James and his wife shall not hinder the town in bring[ing] of malt to have advantage thereby or rear the market thereof, upon pain of xvs, as often times so doing or offending to be levied by the Bailiffs. Item, whereas John Robins was admitted burgess there the same day, who gave to Comyn (Common) box to be free man vs. unto the hands of the said Alderman. Also, it is ordered that the first sack of wheat that cometh to the mill be first grounden, and so forth every sack in order then next coming; and the miller to be sworn upon the same, and he that breaketh this order to forfeit xijd. every time so doing. Also it is ordered, that no person henceforth send his wheat or hard corn to grind to any other millne [mill], but only to the millen [mills] of Conwey upon pain of iijs. iiijd. to be forfeited as often times so offending to be levied by the Bailiffs to their own use, except that such person cannot have grinding there by reason of drought, and for lack of water in the summer season by the space of four or five days. Also it is ordered, that neither bread nor alle [ale] to the use of Our Lady St, Mary be henceforth kept, but only to be laid down, and every burgess to give his penny every Sunday and every fforin ["foreigner"] ob. every Sunday; then, the same person to be cited by Mr. Vicker to appear before Mr. Hugh Holland and there to be corrected by the Church Law.'

'In festo Sci Mich'ilis Arch' anno decimo octavo, Henrici Octavi.

'Memorandum that the new freeth (ffridd) lying near Coytmor is set firm by the whole Comburgesses unto Thomas Brickdall weu' for the Term of xx years next ensuing the Date hereof, yielding therefor yearly to the Comein [Common] Coffer xxs. at the feast of the apostles Philip and Jacob [James], and St. Michael the Archangel by equal portions.'

'The names of the Burgesses then made,

* Williams' Aberconwy, p. 96.

Pirs Boydell, vjs. viijd., thereof to be paid at Christmas iijs. iiijd. and at Easter then next following iijs. iiijd.

Harry Acton } as much
Jankin Hookes }
Mr Edward Peicke }
Mr Humferey Brickdall }
Mr Nicholas Stodart
Robert Stodart
William maderer iiijs.'

'Apud Conwey tricesimo die Octobris Anno regni Elizab. Decimo Septimo.

'It is ordered by the Mayor, Alderman, and the Bailiffs of this Town of Conwey, by full assent of the Comoltie [Commonalty], and the Comburgesses of this said town that whatsoever person or person[s], what degree soever he be, being either burgess or a town dweller, or dwelling within the Liberties of this town, do and be ready, at all time and times hereafter at the ringing of a Bell that shall be hanged in the market-place, [to] not only come forth himself, but also carry with him a lawful weapon to maintain the officers of this town of Conwey for the maintenance of the Queen's Majesty's peace and the good order of this town, and there remain and abide as long as the said officers shall remain and abide. Every person or persons so offending shall forfeit and pay xs. of good and lawful money of England, the one half to the Bailiffs for the time being, and the other half the Bailiffs shall answer the Alderman for his time being, and the said Alderman to make a just and full account of the receipt of the said money as is aforesaid to the Comburgesses, to and for the use of the said town of Conwey. And to this order as well the Mayor, Alderman, and Bailiffs, as also all other the Comburgesses, have put to their hands the day and year above written.'

In speaking of the residents in Conway in his time (1835), Canon Robert Williams remarks (p. 85):—"Aberconwy is now greatly decayed, in regard to the opulence and number of families who formerly lived here, but whose names are now extinct. The exclusive advantages enjoyed by Englishmen from the time of the first Edward for several centuries, brought here a great number of adventurers, and the names of almost all the inhabitants were extraneous; such were Hookes, Stodart, Acton, Peicke, Brickdall, Maderer, Browne, Aldersley, Acley, Totte, Lee, Byrches, Scherman, Robinson, Salysbre, Barker, Mellers, Holland, and many others The last who bore any of these names was Owen Holland, of Plas Isav, Esq., who died in 1795. Hugh Peak, of Conwy, Esq., was Sheriff for Carnarvonshire in 1546 and 1552. Richard Peak, of Conwy, Esq., was Sheriff in 1576; William Hookes, of Conwy, Esq., in 1640, and Edward Holland, Esq., in 1701. The consequence of

their privileges was, that the town enjoyed great prosperity and opulence; and, even within the last two centuries, Sir John Wynne of Gwydir mentions that they were called the lawyers of Carnarvon, the merchands of Beaumaris, and the gentlemen of Conwy."

A more detailed account of the various branches of the Hollands is given, in a separate chapter, under the title "The Hollands of Wales."

The following particulars as to some of the most important families in Conway, are gathered from the "Court Book of Conway," edited by Mr. W. H. Jones (1886).

The HOLLAND FAMILY seem to have played an important part in the Town life of Conway, as we find that in the short period 1592—1632,* Hugh Holland was four times Coroner, once Bailiff, and once Milwarden; Edward was twice Alderman; Hugh the younger, three times Bailiff, twice Coroner, and once Milwarden; John, once Churchwarden; David, once Bailiff; William, three times Milwarden, twice Churchwarden, and once Coroner; William the elder, five times Bailiff; and William the younger, once Alderman. There are in the Church numerous inscriptions of the Hollands. Elin married Foulk Salesbury, and continued to live in Conway.

HUGH HOOKES was probably held in high esteem, as he occupied the post of Alderman for seven successive years, and died in office. He is buried in Conway Church, and on his tomb is the following inscription:—"Johannes Hookes, Arm., hunc tumulum fieri fecit in memoriam celeberrimi viri Hugonis Hookes, Arm., patris sui, qui obiit 27 die Julii, A.D. 1600." Both William and Nicholas Hookes were noted for their large families.†

There is the following interesting entry in the Court Book, dated 1602:—

"Mem. that upon Wednesday being the VIth of February, John Hookes, Esq., bought the right and title of Richard Peakes, son of Hugh Peakes, late deceased, of in or to the Chapel called St. Catherine's Chapel, also Peakes Chapel, lying in the Church of Conway, and has possession this day given him."

Mr. W. H. Jones, in a note in the Court Book, states that this is a circumstance he has not elsewhere met with. There are two transepts, and the chapel referred to was probably the South Transept. The date of the transfer is 1602, and the transfer was to John Hookes. The inscription on the tablet, in this transept, states that Hugh Hookes died in 1600, and that John Hookes [the transferee] erected the monument in memory of his father in the chapel he had

* Court Book of Conway.

† See inscriptions in Conway Church.

just obtained possession of. This is the only tablet to the Hookes family in this chapel.

From an entry in the Court Book, "William Hookes, son of Hugh Hookes, of York, was made Burgess on the XIth of August, 1613." "It may be conjectured," says Mr. W. H. Jones, "that the Hookeses were of a York family,—it would be interesting to search the York Registers."

John Hookes of Conway married Elen, daughter of Meredith ap Ievan of Gwydir, by his second wife Gwenhwyfar (daughter of Griffith ap Howel), and descended on the mother's side from the Conways of Bryn Euryn. Arms: "Argent, a chevron between three owls azure."

HUGH STODART was of "Boditha," and several of that name were resident in the town; their family house was at Deganwy. William Stodart was Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1754, and Hugh Stodart in 1774.

THE PEAKE FAMILY was one introduced into Wales in the time of Edward I., and, in 1283-1290, Henry de Lacy granted to "Thomas de Peke" and to "Raufe de Peke," certain premises at Denbigh, which they made their chief home. During the period 1592-1632, eight of the family of Peake were sworn burgesses, being described as gentlemen, glovers, and hammermen. Thomas Peake occurs in Cromwell's decree respecting Denbigh Charities, in 1656. In 1532 "Ryc Peicke" was Vicar of Conway, and Hugh Peake of Conway was Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1546 and 1552, and Richard (Sheriff in 1576) was probably the last of the Peake family in the neighbourhood of Conway.

John Bodwrda, who was sworn as a burgess on Michaelmas Day, 1624, was High Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1630. The family of Bodwrda converted the name of their abode Bodwrda (near Aberdaron) into a surname, about 1600. During the Civil Wars, John Bodwrda and William were commissioners for the raising of funds for the king's army. Catherine Bodwrda, widow, of Aberdaron, by her will dated 1704, founded a charity for the poor of the town of Conway.

JOHN BRICKDALL, who was Vicar in 1592, came of a family long settled in Conway, one of his ancestors, Thomas, being the Governor of Conway Castle in 1292. A Thomas Byrkedall was Rector of Penmachno, and in 1554 was one of the Canons of Bangor. Richard Byrkdall was Chancellor of Bangor Cathedral, collated September 20th, 1570; he was Rector of Llanddeusant, Anglesey. John was inducted Vicar of Conway in 1569, and succeeded Edward Holland. He died in 1607, and is buried in Conway Church. "John Brickdal, clerk, was vicar in Conway 38 yeres; he was interred, under this stone, the 14th day of May A.D. 1607." On the stone is a brass plate with his arms. About 1800, the Rev. W. Brickdall was Rector of Llanrwst.

Richard Robinson, who was one of the Churchwardens in 1593, was probably a son of Nicholas Robinson, S.Th.P., D.D., who was born at Conway and was raised to the Bishopric of Bangor in 1566, with leave to hold "in commendam" the Rectory of Witney (Oxon): he died in 1583. His successor was appointed in 1586. Nicholas Robinson, who was Archdeacon successively of Merioneth and of Anglesey, reported "to his contemporary Cecil upon the authenticity of extant Welsh writings."*

Gabriel Burches, Bailiff in 1614, was one of a large family settled in Conway, of which many members obtained places in the Corporation, Gabriel and Nicholas being the most prominent, while John and Hugh are less often mentioned. A Hugh Burches was instituted Canon of Bangor, 11th May, 1582, and he was successively Rector of Llanelian (Anglesey), Llanllechid (Carnarvonshire), and Llandinam (Mont.).

Richard Bulkeley, milit.—eldest son of Thomas, Viscount Bulkeley, of Baron Hill, Anglesey—was a Colonel in the Army of Charles I., and an active supporter of the king. He was opposed to Col. Mytton in 1646, and was of great assistance in the king's cause in this neighbourhood. On February 19th, 1649, he fought a duel, on the Lavan Sands, with Thomas Cheadle, in which he was killed. Cheadle was executed later on at Conway, for his share in the event.

John Bulkeley, mentioned as Bailiff (in the Court Book) in 1609, was probably of the same family as the Sir Richard Bulkeley, Bart., whose election as burgess was petitioned against in the reign of Elizabeth.†

Sir Richard Bulkeley was one of the largest owners of property in Conway.

Most of the families mentioned by Canon Robert Williams as living in Conway, occupied real property in that town, interesting particulars of which are given in the Court Book (above referred to), They are quaintly described as "certain parcells of the Town's Common Ground."

One "Lewis Owen, of Twickenham, in the County of Middlesex, Esq.,"‡ appears to have owned half the rectorial tithes of Conway, and these by his Will, dated 1623 (see Appendix V), he gave to trustees to be divided equally between the four parishes of Conway, Eglwysrhos, Llangwstenin, and Llandudno, and to be distributed, in clothing, amongst the aged poor, on All Hallows' Day yearly for ever. Of late years, the distributions (now in money) have taken

* The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan, by Arthur Jones, M.A., Manch. Univ. Press, 1910.

† Williams' Aberconwy, p. 93.

‡ Endowed Charities, County of Carnarvon, 1900, p. 129.

place on St. Thomas' Day, and they are commonly known, in the several parishes, as "Digwyl Domas."

A John Wynn, who was Alderman in 1615, was probably the personage who was commemorated thus on a mural tablet in the Chancel of Conway Church :—"John Wynn, Esq., was buried the 19 Daye of November, Anno Domini, 1637," and whom Canon Robert Williams states to have been Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1635.

In the Court Book of Conway are some interesting particulars as to the administration of justice by the Mayor, Alderman, etc., about 1613.

If there were any affray, the "Bayliffes" could summon the offenders, and, in the case of riot, after making three "ayes," the following proclamation was made :—"The King's Majesty our Sovereign chargeth and commandeth all persons assembled at this time immediately to disperse themselves and peaceably depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, upon pain of the statute made against unlawful and riotous assembly. God save the King."

It seems also about this time that the Justices of the Great Sessions of the counties of Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth, had attempted to infringe the rights of the Corporation of Conway. As a result of this, the Mayor, Alderman, etc., made a petition to the said Justices. They recited the Charter of Edward I., in which the Mayor, Alderman, etc., were authorised as Justices of the Peace to punish all offenders within their franchises. This they claimed they had done in the past, and no foreign officers had up to this time interfered. But now they complained that their Lordships, in their care for the government of the Common Estates of the County of Carnarvon, had given instructions with regard to certain abuses touching Ale-houses, in virtue of which the County Justices threatened to enter on the franchises of the petitioners, contrary to the terms of the Charter. They, therefore, petitioned their Lordships to countermand the said Justices' authority, and to grant the petitioners (the Mayor, Alderman, etc.) a peculiar charge and authority, themselves to deal with the reformation of abuses.

On September 22nd, 1613, they received a reply to the effect that the Justices of the Peace of the County of Carnarvon suffered the petitioners "to use their own particular authority within their Liberties, touching the suppressing of Ale-houses and reformation

of other disorders, ... and that the said petitioners do suppress so many Ale-houses and reform rude disorders within their Liberties, as they shall find cause."

The following interesting particulars (except where otherwise stated) with regard to the various officers, etc., of the borough of Conway, are taken from the "Blue Book on Municipal Corporations; reports of certain boroughs, by J. T. Hogg, 1838," and these extracted particulars apply approximately up to that date.

The Town Seal is ancient and of brass, with the words — "LY PROVESTRIE DE CONEWEY." Possibly, the word "provestrie" may have been the name of the Mayor, or propositus, or provost, the word "provestrie" denoting the office.

The Corporation are lords of the manor, possess the Marsh (200 acres), and the shepherd of the marsh receives £14 9s. a year from the Corporation. They own the Town Mountain (Mynydd y Dre'), and also the mill at Gyffin.

The borough comprehends the parish of Conway and parts of the parishes of Gyffin, Llangelynin, Dwygyfylchi, and Eglwys Rhos. The boundaries are perambulated every three years by the Bailiffs, the Recorder, the Constable, and some of the Burgesses.

The following particulars are from Canon Robert Williams' "History of Aberconwy" (1835), pp. 100, 101:—"The Liberties of the Corporation include the land in the neighbourhood, which was formerly in the possession of the Abbey, and the boundaries at present [1835] agree with those named in Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's Charter of 1198. The Corporation had, by the king's grant, a large territory, which by leases, and other modes, has dwindled to a very inconsiderable portion, and most of it totally alienated from the town. The Town Mountain, the "morva," "morva bach," "twthil," one or two farms, a few gardens, and some plots of ground about the town, are still in their possession, but the leases of some of them have not yet expired. The mill at Gyffin is also their property. They had formerly two mills on this stream, which are now destroyed; the lower mill, called the "Velin Heli" (or Salt Water Mill), was built immediately under the castle, where the Sarn bridge is at present, and portions of the piles are still visible. This had a malt mill attached to it. The upper mill was considerably higher up, above the modern mill at Gyffin, at a place called "Pen y Velin," below Hendre. Two officers were duly appointed and sworn to keep the

accounts of the mills, who were called mill-wardens, or stewards of the mills."*

In the Court Book of Conway (1592—1632), two mill-wardens are included in the list of officers from 1593—1614, 1621 to 1623, 1625 to 1627, and 1631 to 1632. Among the names given are :—

Hugh Holland, the younger (1593).
John Brickdall (1596).
Nicholas Hookes (1599, 1602, 1603).
Henry Robinson, Cler' (1600, 1614, 1622).
Harrye Hookes (1606).
Robert Hookes and William Holland (1608, 1611, 1613, 1624).
Hugh Holland (1609).
John Williams, glover (1610).
John Bulkeley (1613).
John ap Will'm, D.D. (1622).

The Oath of the Stewards of the Mills runs as follows :—

You shall well and truely use yo'r endeav'rs to oversee ye mill of this towne for one whole year (to be ended at ye feaste of St. Edw. ye Confessor next ensueing) and that you shall make true acc't of the proffits and issue of ye same, and, if need be, to see that the sayd mills be sufficiently repaired. So help you God.

The Oath of the Miller reads thus :—

You shall truely and justly keep and serve the salt and upper malt mill of this town of Conway, as a true miller ought to do, in grinding every person as their corne comes according to the old custom, and that you shall not be absent in time of grinding, but that you shall be there then, or one for you, and that you shall see that every sack and bag be truely tolled, and immediately put into the arcke, and that you grind truely to every person without fraud or guile, and without let or tarring.
So help you God.

To prevent corn being taken to other mills than the Town Mills, the following order† was passed by the Alderman and Burgesses at the Guildhall on December 13th, 1696 :—

It was then and there further ordered consented and agreed unto by the whole House aforesd that no burgess or any other person or persons whatsoever liveing and resideing within the said Town and Liberties shall keep to their own use or the use of any other person or persons whatsoever any Hand Mill to grind any corn or mault but to bring or send their sd corn or mault to be ground in the King's Mills belonging to the sd Town and Liberties upon pain of being disfranchised and made incapable to use any trade art or calling within the Town and Libertyes aforesd and also lyable of a ffine of twenty shillings by the month to be raised and leavied by the Bayliffes as above mentioned.

* See Appendix, for stewards' accounts for 1531.
† Town Book of Conway [MS.], by special permission of the Conway Corporation.

Sometimes, however, it seems to have been the custom to lease the mills for a term of years, as appears from the Town Book of Conway, under date Oct. 9th, 1704, when the three mills were leased for twenty-one years to Mr. Hugh Burgess, of Conway, gent., for an annual rent of £20, payable at May-day and Michaelmas in equal moieties, the lessee to be allowed the first year's rent and tithe towards repairing the mills, which he was to give up in tenantable repair at the expiration of his lease. The lessors were Roger Mostyn, Alderman, and John Lloyd and Ben Jones, Bailiffs.

It was further ordered (Dec. 13th, 1696) that all leaseholders from the town, or their tenants, "shall bring their corn and mault to be ground to the Town Mills, or pay due toll for the same, if wind and weather permitts," upon pain of forfeiting their leases.

It seems also, from an Order dated June 16th, 1699,* that an allowance was made from the mills to aged persons:—

> It was then and there ordered that Richard George of ye aforesaid Town, Burgess, being poor and abt the age of seventy, is to have monthly from ye mills of Conway for one year fm ye Date hereof ye Quarter part of a Winchester of wheat and to Robt. Edmunds who lyes ill with his whole family one quarter of a Winchester in this month of July 1699 and no more to ye sd. Robt. Edmunds till further order.

The officers are:—a Mayor, two Bailiffs, a Recorder, a Coroner, a Treasurer, two Sergeants-at-Mace, a Water Bailiff, a Gamekeeper, four borough Constables, and two Churchwardens.

The Mayor is appointed by the Crown during pleasure, and is empowered by the Charter to do all things "quæ ad officium majoriae pertinent in eodem burgo." He has an annual salary from the Crown, and the right to turn a horse into the marsh, or to receive 15s. in lieu thereof.

When the Alderman was sworn in, he used to give a guinea to the burgesses to drink his health, and the same when he went out of office.

For 200 years there was one Alderman, but in May, 1831, the office was found not to be conformable to the Charter, and it ceased.

An inscription on a beam† above the fire-place in the Town Hall (now demolished) reads:—"N. Hookes, Alder., 1613." This date refers to the time of James I., and it is probable that the office

* Town Book of Conway.

† Halliwell's Family Excursions [1860], p. 109.

was given by a Charter now lost, but the contents of which might be recovered, rather than that it was a mere usurpation.

The following is the Alderman's Oath :—

You shall swear that you well and truely shall serve our Sovereign Lord the King and his Liege people in the office of an Alderman of this Town and Borough of Conway, and during the space of one whole year now next ensuing. And you shall minister equall justice as well to the poor as to the rich to the best of your cunning, Witt and power, and you shall deligently procure such things to be done as may honestly and justly be to the proffit and commodity of the Corporation of this Towne and also endeavr yourself to the uttermost of your power to see all Heresidy, Treasons, Felonies and all other Trespasses, Misdemeanours and offences whatsoever to be committed within this Towne and Borough during the time of y'r office to be repressed, reformed and amended, and the offenders duely punished according to the Law. And finally you shall support uphold and maintain the common Wealth within this Towne, prescribed customs Rights, Libertyes, Jurisdictions, Franchises, Compositions and all lawful ordinances of this Towne and Borough and as concerning all other things appertaining to your office you shall therein faithfully and uprightly behave yourself for the most quietness, benefit, worship, honesty and credit of this Towne and of the Inhabitants thereof.

So help you God.

In the Ministers' Accounts Nos. 1170-3 there are several references to the Bailiffs of the freed town of Conway, including 12-14 and 31-34, Edward I. ; 1 Edward II., and 5-8 Edward II.

The following are a few interesting particulars from 31—33 Edward I. :—

"Account of Thomas the Cook, and Robert Russel, bailiffs of the town of Conewey, of the issues of the same town, from Michaelmas in the 3rd year of Prince Edward to Michaelmas following :

"£13 7s. o¼d. of rent of burgages and lands of the town of Conewey and Crudyn as appears by the rental of the town.

"£1 10s. o¼d. of toll, customs and other issues of the fair of the town at the feast of St. Bartholomew.

"5s. 6d. of tolls and customs, etc., of the fair of Gannok.

"9s. 1¾d. of toll and customs, etc., of the market of the town of Conewey 'every day' from goods for sale.

"9s. 6¾d. of toll, etc., of the market of Gannok every Monday.

"2s. 8d. of customs of ships and boats arriving at the port of the town,

"106s. 8d. of the Farm of the Ferry Conewey.

"13s. of pleas and perquisites of the court of the town from three weeks to three weeks.

"3s. of the court of view of Frankpledge at Michaelmas, and 2s. at Easter.

"6s. 10d. of pleas and perquisites of the Court of Piepowder."*

The Bailiffs of Aberconeweye, John de London and Reginald W., answer for £16 13s. 4d. of the farm of the same town, two mills, lands and one place of a certain mill next the castle of the same town which the burgesses held at fee farm; with all the rents, farms and all other issues, profits and easements for ever by the charter of the Lord the King dated at Westminster May 12th, 1281, for £33 6s. 8d. yearly to be rendered to the King at his exchequer at Carnarvon.

[1319—1320] $\frac{1170}{2}$

This is a similar roll from Mich. 13 Ed. II. to the following Easter. Instead of two mills, this account says "the mill of Gyffin."

The two coroners of the town of Aberconweye answer for 8s. 9d. of the goods and chattels of three persons drowned by the violence of the sea in the water of Aberconeweye.

In the "State Papers," 1547-1580, are two references to the Bailiffs of the town.

The BAILIFFS are chosen out of the Burgesses at a meeting of the Burgesses, on the 29th of September, or on any succeeding day, if Michaelmas Day fall on a Sunday. Any Burgess may propose any other Burgess, and he is then voted for; if elected, he serves for one year. The Bailiffs preside over the Court Baron and Court Leet, and act as Lords of the Manor. Each Bailiff may turn a horse on the Marsh, and they have £6 each for collecting the Crown rents, the King's rent; the Treasurer collects the Town rents.

Their Oath on taking office was as follows:—

You shall swear that you well and truely serve our Sovereign Lord the King in the office of Bayliffe for the corporation of Conway for the year ensueing, and shall well and truely collect all Rents, Revenues, and other annual Proffitts and of the same a true and lawfull account give at the end of the said yeare, and of all other matters appertaining to your office.

So help you God.

The RECORDER is appointed for life by the Burgesses. He keeps the Court and the Court Book, and swears the constables; his salary is £2 6s. 6d. a year, paid by the Corporation. John Jones was Recorder in 1824, and his occupation was that of a mariner; his predecessor was a weaver. The Recorder holds a Court Leet, with a "View of Frankpledge" and Court Baron twice in the year.

The Oath of the Recorder, who also filled the office of Town Clerk, was as follows:—

You shall swear that you will well and truely serve our Sovereign Lord the King and the Alderman and Bayliffes of this Towne and Borough of

* A special Court deriving its name from the Dusty Foot [pied powdre], for the instant trial of offences at a Fair.

Conway in the office of Recorder and Town Clerk, and as the Recorder and Town Clerk of this Towne and Borough of Conway you shall be faithful and just and give good advice and counsel unto the Alderman and Bayliffes and Burgesses of this Towne for and concerning any matter or cause that shall concern or touch the franchises, liberties and good order of this Town whensoever they shall require or desire you so to do, you shall not utter or disclose any of their secrets or Counsel touching the Fellowship or Corporation of this Towne, whereby any prejudice loss or hindrance or slander shall or may arise, grow or be to the same Corporation, and by you or your sufficient Deputy according to the custom and liberties of this Town to be entered and recorded as they ought to be after the best of your cunning Witt or power taking for the same your due ffees and the perquisites, issues and profitts and amerciaments of the same Courts, you shall justly and truely write and extract yearly for the levying and gathering thereof and you shall truely and diligently do and accomplish all other things appertaining to your office after the best of your knowledge as near as God shall give you grace.

So help you God.

A Court of Requests,* the jurisdiction of which is co-extensive with the Borough, and at which the Recorder presides, is held every third week, for the recovery of debts under 40s.; Courts Leet and Baron (for the Manor of Conway) are also held (1834).

The general Quarter Sessions* for the County were formerly held at Conway by adjournment, but for many years past they have been held at Carnarvon (1834).

The county magistrates hold a Petty Sessions* for the Division, in the Town-hall, on the first Friday in every month (1834).

According to Canon Robert Williams (1835) — "The great sessions for the county, and formerly for Merionethshire also, were held here alternately with Caernarvon; but, as Aberconwy is at the extremity of the county, the more central situation of Caernarvon has now obtained the privilege exclusively."

The Coroner is nominated by one burgess in the presence of 15 to 20 burgesses, and the question put by the proposer as to whether there is any objection; there is no division, no voting, no polling at the election of corporate officers; he is paid £1 10s. 6d. for every inquest, he cannot turn a horse into the Marsh, and he is re-appointed every year. Thos. Roberts, tavern keeper, schoolmaster, and bard, was Coroner in 1830, and he wrote his name on the title page of E. Umfreville's Lex Coronatoria, published in 1761.

* Lewis' Topog. Dict. of Wales [1834], under Aberconway.

The Coroner's Oath is as follows :—

You shall swear that you well and truely shall serve our Sovereign Lord the King and his liege people in the office of Coroner, as Coroner of this Town and Borough of Conway and you shall diligently and truely do and accomplish all and every thing and things appertaining to your office after the best of your cunning Witt and power for the most quietness ease and proffitt and credit of this towne and the inhabitants thereof taking such ffees as you ought to take by the Laws and Statutes of this realme.

So help you God.

The SERGEANT-AT-MACE must be a burgess, is nominated by a burgess, attends the Bailiffs, receives £1 from the Corporation, 10s. at the Marsh Gate, gets toll in the market, and every other market day one half a phiolaid of corn ; 12 phiolaids make one hobbett, and 3 hobbetts are 8 bushels. He takes toll of all the corn that is exposed for sale in the street ; no maces are displayed. The market is on Friday.

His Oath is as follows :—

You and either of you shall swear that you well and truely shall serve the Alderman and Burgesses of this Towne in the office of a Serjeantship and as Serjeants of this Towne for and during the space of one whole year now next coming and you shall well and truely serve do and execute all and all names of precepts Warrants and comandments to you and either of you to be lawfully given and directed touching or concerning any matter cause or proofs to be moved had or depending in the King's Majesty's Court to be holden within this Town according to the Liberties thereof or at Large and shall make due returns and answers thereunto and make certificate thereof according to the effect of such precepts, Warrants and Comandments taking therefore your ordinary ffees and none other. And also you shall diligently give attendance unto the Alderman and wait on as hath been accustomed and as you ought to do, and his commandments and messages truely do and say and not alter the same so that it may be prejudicial or hurtful unto the said Alderman or any other and likewise you shall give attendance and be aiding and assisting unto the Bayliff's of this Towne in any thing that they or either of them shall reasonably and lawfully comand or will you to do and you shall diligently and truely do all other things appertaining to your sd. office to the uttermost of your power.

So help you God.

The Water-Bailiff is appointed every year, collects the anchorage money from every vessel coming from sea-wards, but not from those coming (from above) down the river,—4s. for 20 tons, he receives for his own use, as his allowance, with a small quantity of coals from vessels discharging coals ; also £1 a year from the Corporation. He is also the Gamekeeper of the Manor (of Conway).

His Oath is as follows :—

You shall swear that you well and truely shall serve the Alderman and Bayliffes of this Town and Borough of Conway in the office of Water-Bayliffe. You shall well and truely execute your office as the Customary manner of the place used to be, clearing or causing to be cleared all such nuisances as may be within the bounds of your Liberty, and you shall well and truely do and accomplish all and everything and things appertaining to your office, taking such ffees as you ought to take.

So help you God.

The CHURCH-WARDENS are elected, like the Bailiffs, but for two years, one chosen each year ; 15s. each for the privilege of turning a horse into the Marsh, and £1 as salary.

The Oath of a Church-warden is as follows :—

You shall execute the office of Church Warden in the Parish of Conway when you are chosen for the ensueing year according to your skill and discretion in His Majesty's Laws Ecclesiastical now in force.

So help you God.

Though Church Officials, they seem to have been compelled to take their orders from the Officers of the Corporation, for we find a minute in the Town Book of Conway to the following effect :—

Aug. 20th, 1704. It is now ordered that the Church Wardens shall begin no work about the church or put the town to any expense without having first acquainted the Alderman or his Debutyes (Deputies) the Bayliffes and Burgesses in Counsell and haveing their consent to go about such work except in case of any accident to the church occasioned by any storm of weather, and it is further ordered that the present Church Wardens shall bring in their accounts to be examined in Counsell and the money that shall then appear to be in their hands shall be layd up in the chest and that for the future there shall be a monthly meeting in the Counsell House to receive all officers accounts and to issue moneys for the defraying of necessary expenses.

R. Mostyn, Alderman.
Benjamin Jones, } Bayliffes
Henry Howard, }

As further showing the close connection between the Corporation and the Church, from an entry of date July 30th, 1699, there was a definite agreement made

"With David Owen for repairing and keeping in repaire the rooffs of the Church of Conway for the term of one and twenty years from ye date hereof, which was accordingly done and writeing signed between ye Alderman, Bayliffes and Church Wardens on the part of the town, and Hugh David Owen and his Suretyes of the other part, upon the term and conditions therein mentioned, one part of the said agreement with the bond of performance being deposited in the chest.

Cad'r. Wynne, Alderman.
Hugh Williams, } Bayliffes."
John Williams, }

A further reference to this may be seen in a minute of date June 28th, 1705, to the effect that

"The money that was received by these fines [that is, fines imposed for the renewal of leases] being lodged in the hands of Edward Holland, Esq., it is ordered whatsoever part of them can be saved from ye repair of the Church and other necessary charges, shall be lay'd out in preserving the Marsh and this shall be his authority for so disbursing.

R. Mostyn, Alderman.
Benjamin Jones, } Bayliffes."
Henry Howard, }

The Minutes of the Corporation show that down to the middle of the nineteenth century, £50 was paid yearly towards the repairs of the Parish Church, in lieu of paying a large number of small accounts. This payment, however, ceased about 1860.*

The members of the Corporation seem also to have had control of the School and its master, for a resolution was passed, on September 29th, 1753, to this effect :—

"It is agreed and consented by the full consent of us the Burgesses to nominate and elect the Rev. John Pugh, Curate of Llangelynin, to be schoolmaster in the said Corporation, and to be allowed the sum of five pounds yearly for teaching sixteen Burgesses' boys.

Owen Holland, Alderman.
Richard Hughes, } Bayliffes.
Griffith Evans, }

A previous entry, on September 29th, 1698, is "concerning the Keepers of School and Reading Morning Prayer."

"Ordered that Edward Samuel Cley should keep school and read morning prayer within the said Town this ensuing year and that he should be paid 10s. salerie by the Bayliffes thereof.

Subscribed in Counsell ye 10th of Ffeb'ry, 1698. The order above written.

Cadr. Wynne, Alderman.
Hugh Williams, } Bayliffes."
John Williams, }

The Corporation also gave £50 a year towards the Schools down to the middle of last century.†

The BURGESSES are elected by the burgesses. They are free from tolls at Conway, but do not claim exemption in other places, but in the Calendar of ancient Charters of the Welsh Rolls in the Tower of London, 4to London, 1772, there is a reference to a general

* Charities of Carnarvonshire, Blue Book (1900), p. 134.
† Blue Book, Carnarvonshire Charities (1900), p. 134.

exemption (18 Edward I.). "Quod Burgenses de Aberconewey sint per totum regnum de Thelonio quieti; apud Westmr. 8th February." Every burgess with a house or land in the borough may turn as many cattle as he will at 10s. a horse, and 5s. for any other beast, into the Marsh.

The Oath of a Burgess is as follows:—

You shall swear that you well and truly serve our Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs and Lawful successors, and the Inhabitants of this Towne, and shall minister equal justice to poor and rich after the best of your cunning witt and power and also shall well and truly observe, perform, fulfill, and keep all such good orders, rules, and compositions, as are or shall be made, ordered, or established by the Common Councel of this Towne for the good government thereof in all things to you appertaining, and you shall not utter or disclose any Councel or secret thing or matter touching the Fellowship or Corporation of this Towne whereby any prejudice, Loss, Hindrance, or Slander shall or may arise, grow or be to the same Corporation, but you shall in all things belonging to the fellowship and Corporation of this Towne, faithfully, honestly, and indifferently behave yourself for the most Benefit, Worship and Honesty of this Towne and the Inhabitants thereof.

So help you God.

In addition to the Oaths taken by the several officers of the Corporation, there seem to have been two others, viz., the Oath of Allegiance and the Oath of Supremacy, each of which are given below.

Oath of Allegiance.—I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King George.

So help me God.

Oath of Supremacy.—I do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine that Princes excommunicate or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever, and I do declare that no foreign Prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm.

So help me God.

The Town Book of Conway contains an order (December 13th, 1696) by the Alderman and Burgesses, enacting that every inhabiting burgess under seventy shall not refuse to serve any office within the Corporation, under penalty of a fine (not exceeding £20), enforceable by distress.

On the same date the following order was passed "concerning burgesses' appearance":—

"Ordered, consented and agreed unto that all the Burgesses residing

within the said Town, shall from time and at all times hereafter, appear at the Guild Hall of the sd Corporation upon the tolling of the Burgesses' Bell if they be within the hearing thereof to meet the officers of the sd Town upon payment of two shillings sixpence ffine, the which ffine the Bayliffe's then being, shall have full power and authority to Leavy the same as above mentioned.

Richard Ld. Visc't. Bulkley, Alderman.
Hugh Stodard, } Bayliffes."
Benjamin Jones, }

That the burgesses were still alive* to the infringement of their right is shown by the following order, which was passed on June 9th, 1699 :—

"Ordered yt any person or persons exercising any trade or faculty within the Town or Libertyes of Conway and not a Burgess of the said Town shall be prosecuted at Law for so doing at the proper cost and charges of the sd Corporate Town, and in case any Burgess of the sd Corporation shall at any time hereafter, buy off or employ any such to work for him within the sd Town or Libertyes, there being a freeman of the same trade to resort to that he or they so offending shall forfeite (upon oath made thereof before the Bayliffes for the time being) twenty shillings to the poor of the sd Town and Libertyes.

Cadd'r. Wynue, Alderman.
Hugh Williams, } Bayliffes."
John Williams, }

It seems, however, that certain trades were sometimes exempted from these restrictions, as we find, in a minute (dated May 5th, 1752), a memorandum to the effect that—

"We the Alderman, Bayliffes and Burgesses, do give leave to all Tanners and Skinners to buy hides and skins in our markets at Conway and this leave is during our pleasure."

Peirw Wynne, Alderman.
Edward Evans, } Bayliffes.
Hugh Williams, }
Thomas Williams, Recorder.

On the same date, there is the following quaint order with regard to sheep :—

"It is agreed by the Alderman, Bayliffes and Burgesses at the said General Meeting at the Guild-hall in Conway, that whoever milks or encourages any sheep anywhere but on the other side of the Town Mountain wall shall be fined agreeable to the Alderman mentioned in the old book which is 3s. 6d. for every such sheep milked anywhere else unless in close pastures."

All persons living in the borough could (on May 19th) turn

* See petition of English burgesses to King Henry VII. in the early part of his reign (page 210).

animals into the Marsh, paying to the Corporation 4s. for a horse, and 2s. for "every horned cattle (sheep and goats excepted)," and to the keeper 3d. for every horse and 2d. for every horned beast, but all persons living—or renting lands—outside the borough, could not do so unless their rent was 20s. a year, when they could turn in one head of cattle. On July 5th, all cattle were to be turned out of the Marsh until the 17th July, when the same cattle, which had been admitted on the previous 10th day of May, could be turned in again, on payment of 1s. for every horse and 6d. for every cow, and to the keeper 1d. for every animal. The keeper was also to be paid by the Corporation 1s. 6d. a week for 6 weeks from July 5th, but every one had to turn their cattle out of the Marsh on Michaelmas Day until May 19th. This order was signed by "Owen Holland, Alderman; W. Evans, Abel Roberts, Bayliffes."

The Marsh seems to have been closed in with a wall at that time, and a gate, as we find that there is an order of date May 4th, 1705,

Concerning the repairing of the Marsh Wall :—

"And we do hereby order that the Bayliffes shall agree with such persons as they think fitt for repairing the wall of the Marsh both above and below ye gate, so as to make it two yards high under the upper stone and not to give above eighteen pence per rood for the said work which sd money is to be paid out of the proffitts of the Marsh, to be received the sixth day of May next ensuing the usual day falling upon Sunday.

Cad'r. Wynne,
Edw. Holland,
Griffith Williams, } Debutyes to ye Alderman.

Henry Howard,
Jno Draper, } Bayliffes.

It seems that strange cattle were driven into a pin-fold, or pound, as we find a memorandum of date May 20th, 1749, in which it is ordered—

"That Rinallt Edwards the Marsh Shepherd is likewise appointed Driver of the said Marsh for this year and to receive the proffitts thereby and if he calls any of the Burgesses to assist him in driveing strange cattle into the fold, it is agreed between the said Burgesses not to refuse their assistance.

[Signed] Robt. Wynn, Alderman.
Owen Holland,
Edward Evans, } Bayliffes.

The Corporation seem to have been very strict as to their rights on the Marsh, and, in fact, in other parts of the town, as we find

that on January 26th, 1698, a resolution to the following effect was passed "Concerning Cottages":—

"It was then ordered that the Bayliffes, Sergeants, Constables, and such other of the Burgesses as should be called upon to assist, shall pull down the Cottages built in the Marsh and by the Smithy at a place called ye Cross in Conway Town, being upon Town Lands without leave given, provided that after three days' notice first given the partyes who caused the same to be erected do not do it themselves."

The Conway Races were annually held on the Marsh, and a King's Plate was granted to be run for, which continued until 1794. Dr. Johnson (Aug. 16th, 1774), on the occasion of his visit to Conway, makes these quaint remarks: "It is now the day of the races at Conway, and the town is so full of company, that no money could procure lodgings."

"There was also a considerable trade carried on in Conwy, and some tradesmen struck their own tokens. I have one of them, a penny, which is about the size of a modern sixpence, but much thinner, having on one side a Coat-of-Arms—HENRY HUGHES, 1663. Rev. I. N. ABERCONWAY, 1d.

"A difficult entrance* to the harbour and the greater eligibility of the other places have considerably reduced the export trade. Until the opening of the new line [of road] through Capel Curig, the road from Shrewsbury to Holyhead passed through Conway, and was a source of advantage to the town, ...

"The town, however, will again obtain importance; since the opening of the bridge in 1826, there is an evident improvement in the market, and occasionally great quantities of corn are sold. The opening of the slate quarries in the Carnarvonshire hills is also of great advantage, and this branch of commerce is gradually increasing; a few great capitalists are all that are wanted to ensure important benefits to the town. The slates are brought from Trefriw in carts, and thence to Aberconwy in sailing boats, where they are put into larger vessels and exported to different parts of the kingdom. The harbour is now made commodious by a very fine quay of excellent masonry and great extent, which was undertaken by the Corporation, and completed, at a cost of thirteen hundred pounds, in 1833. The entrance to the harbour (Fig. 130) is directed by three black buoys and a red one, and a perch. There is water all over

* Williams' Aberconwy (1835), pp. 86, 87.

the banks for small sloops at four hours' flood ; but vessels that draw 10 feet of water must keep the channel. Several excellent houses have been lately built in the town, and the general appearance within is considerably changed, and materially improved, within the last few years.

FIG. 130, CONWAY HARBOUR. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

"Before 1830, four fairs were annually held, on April 6th, September 4th, October 10th, and November 8th ; as trade is now increasing, it has been thought requisite to have them more frequently ; they are accordingly held seven times a year ; on March 26th, April 30th, June 20th, August 19th, September 16th, October 20th, and November 5th. The weekly market is held on Friday, when no one ought to sell before the bell is rung by one of the Serjeants-at-Mace. The fairs are opened by the members of the Corporation, who proceed with their wands to the top of the street, and read the proclamation, which agrees with the subjoined . . . from a MS. written in 1590."

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE FAIR OF CONWEY.

"The Mayor, the Alderman, and the Bailiffs, in the King's name do charge and command every man that is come here this day to the fair of

Conwey, that they keep the King's peace, and that no man bear any manner [of] weapons or harness upon him, under pain of £100 to be forfeited to the King's Grace, and their bodies to prison there to remain till the King's pleasure be therein further known, but only burgesses, soldiers, and other such as are appointed to wait upon the King's officers here for that intent to order and maintain the good rule of the King's town of Conwey. And that every person and persons be at free liberty, both to come, and to go, to buy and sell, for this two days without any perturbation or grievance for any manner [of] cause, or occasion that may be objected against them, or any of them, for this time (except it be for the King's causes), and every man and woman are welcome to buy and sell freely, these two days, without any custom or stallage asking of them,

God save the King."

The above extract from Canon Robert Williams' "History of Aberconwy" has been quoted in full, as it gives an account of the state of the town just previous to 1835.

At the present time (1911) there are ten fairs held every year, on February 10th, March 26th, April 14th, May 15th, June 9th, August 11th, September 13th, October 13th, November 15th, and December 23rd. If the date falls on a Sunday, the fair is held on the following Monday. There is no Market now, but the Corporation have granted the free use of the Market on every Friday, and also on Fair Days, to sell farm produce. With a view to attracting the country people to the fair, the Conway Corporation offer prizes of £2 2s. and £1 1s. respectively to those who bring the most regular supply of the best butter and eggs.

Until quite recently a Pig Market used to be held every Monday morning at the Black Lion Inn yard. There is, however, now no Pig Market, but (young) pigs are sold on Fair Days and weighed in the Black Lion yard.

On March 26th is the Seed and Horse Fair. The annual Conway Horse Show was started about 1888 in a small way, and by offering prizes for certain classes of horses shown on the Fair-day. It rapidly became of importance, and it was an exceptional success in a year when March 26th happened to be Easter Monday. This eventually led to a separation in normal years of the Fair and Show, the latter, an important event in North Wales, being now invariably held on Easter Monday.

Formerly, on Easter Monday there used to be rustic games in the castle, which was largely frequented by the young people of the town and from neighbouring farms, the charge for admission being reduced from 3d. to 1d.

The Conway Honey Fair is held on September 13th, when (according to Canon Williams) "large quantities of very excellent honey are sold; the superiority of its flavour is probably owing to its being extracted from the heath blossoms, and other wild flowers, on the neighbouring mountains. Its average price for the last years [about 1835] has been two shillings a quart or about 8d. a pound. That Conwy has been famed for its honey for several centuries will be seen by an item among the following extracts, made from a roll of the expenses of Edward I. at Rhuddlan Castle, in the 10th and 11th years of his reign (1281 and 1282). These are classed under the head of 'Necessaries.'

'For six carts, each with three horses, hired to carry the hay from the meadows to the Castle of Rothelan, for one day, 6s. 10d.

'For the carriage of turf, with which the house was covered in which the hay was placed, 1s. 5d.

'For an iron fork bought to turn the hay, 3d.

'For making a ditch about the house where the said hay was put, 1s. 8d.

'For putting and piling up one rick of hay in the house, 1s. 8d.

'Wages of two turf cutters, seven days, at 5d. per day, 5s. 10d.

'For the carriage of turves to cover the King's kitchen, 7s. 6d.

'For twenty-two empty casks, bought to make paling for the Queen's court-yard, 18s. 4d.

'To Wildbor, the fisherman, receiving 10d. per day, and his six companions, the Queen's fishermen, at 3d. per day each, fishing in the sea forty-two days, £4 18s.

'Repairing a cart of the King's, conveying a pipe of honey from Aberconwy to Rothelan, 1s. 4d.

'To six men carrying shingles to cover the hall of the Castle, at 2½d. each per day, seven days, 8s. 9d.'"

There are also the following interesting items of expenditure from Records in the White Tower, p. 153 :—

"Expenses of 9 carpenters going from Macclesfield to Aberconway by the King's order, 6s.

"Wages : 28 days at 4d. per day for all the nine, 9s. 4d.

"Thurs. 1st April, paid for carriage of figs and raisins from Rothelan to Aberconway, 8d.

"King's fruit from Rothelan to Aberconway, 1s.

"Cheese, Tues. 11th May, 4d."

On November 15th is held the Butter Fair, where very many large pots of Welsh butter, salted so as to keep until late in the Spring, are sold by the neighbouring farmers.

Canon Robert Williams further gives some interesting particulars about a curious custom in the town, which was in vogue in his time (1835), under the name of "stocsio."

"On Easter Sunday crowds of boys and men proceed with wands of gorse to proclaim on Pen Twthil the laws and regulations, which are to be observed on the following morning. The bride-groom who has been last married is always sought for to perform the office of crier; mounted on a heap of stones, he calls the attention of his audience, who listen respectfully with their hats off, and he proclaims notices to the following import: that all men under sixty years of age are to appear in the street before six o'clock on the following morning, and all under forty before four, and all under twenty are not to go to bed at all, under penalty of being put in the stocks. After proclaiming these and following notices, loud cheers are given, and the audience separate, the younger part to form plans for their amusement during the night, and those who own any carts or vehicles, to secure them with chains and locks, as they well know that they will be in requisition on the following day. At an early hour on the morrow, the stocks are placed at the bottom of the street, and a party headed by a fife and drum proceed with a cart to convey delinquents to the place of punishment; when they come to a house where a proper object resides, the storming party try by all means in their power to gain access into the house, and by climbing to the windows with ladders, or by forcing back-doors, they generally succeed.

The culprit being arrested, and having time allowed him to dress, if caught in bed, is placed in the cart, and triumphantly hurried to the stocks, where one of the party, having secured his feet, gives him a lecture on the heinousness of idleness and breaking an old-established custom; then taking hold of his right hand, he asks him a few questions such as these: whether he like better the mistress or the maid, ale or butter-milk; whether he would go through the gate of a field if open, or over the stile, etc. If in his answers he fixes upon what is obviously preferable, his hand is the more thickly covered with some dirty mud, and he is then released with cheers. This sport, which would be impracticable in a larger and less intimate community, is continued with the greatest good humour until eight, when the rest of the day is spent in playing at ball in the castle. The same custom used not long ago (i.e. before 1835) to be observed also on Whit-Monday. It is also customary on 'nos Calanmai,' or the eve of the first of May, for the young men to fix, on the house of their beloved, some rosemary tied with ribbons; while the prude is greeted with a 'penglog,' or part of a horse's skeleton, or a 'gwr gwellt.'"

Before 1852, there were quaint May-Day celebrations at Conway. Twelve men took part in them. They consisted of fiddlers, fifers, and dancers, and one, dressed up as a woman, collected the money. Leaving Conway, they visited Bangor, Carnarvon, Beaumaris, and other places, and returned to Conway in a fortnight, after a festive round of merriment.

In 1811, Mr. Edwards (the Minstrel of Conway), the noted harpist, who was born blind, was living in Conway; "from the respectability of his circumstances, he was not called upon to exercise his talents with any view to renumeration, ... he played to delight himself and other . . . ."*

* Vide "Life of Mrs. Hemans"; also Roscoe's Wanderings, p. 181.

CONWAY FERRY.

Up to about 1820, the main channel (Fig. 131) of the river Conway kept close to the right bank of the river from Glanconway to Deganwy, and at the latter place it was joined by the Gyffin river,

FIG. 131. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

which skirted Conway Castle. As a result, boats could cross at all states of the tide. This was important, as the passage was on the main route from Chester to Holyhead. The coaches used to stay at the Ferry Farm Hotel, and the passengers and mails were transferred to boats.

The "Old Ferry" where the ferryman lived, was 50 yards higher up the river, and remained in existence till 1896, when it was removed by the Railway Company to make room for the new large signal-box west of the Junction Station. The landing-place at Conway was a slip near the quay. According to Canon Robert Williams,* "the ferry was retained as royal property, and an order was issued by Edward II. for either repairing the boat or building a new one for the use of which the inhabitants were to pay eight marks."† There was another ferry at Tal-y-cafn, and both the ferries were rented by the [Conway] Corporation. The ferry at Aberconwy latterly belonged to the proprietor of the Marl estates, who was indemnified for the loss sustained by the erection of the bridge."

The Ferry Farm Hotel was demolished about 1898, and a coin was found there, rather larger and thicker than a penny, dated 1788, with the initials "P.M.Co." and the words "We promise to pay the bearer one penny." It was probably one of the Anglesey tokens issued by the Parys Mine Co.

A little over a century ago, any vehicle that could not cross in the boat, had to cross by Inigo Jones's bridge at Llanrwst. At high tides and in rough weather, the crossing at Conway was risky. "On Christmas Day, 1806, owing to a heavy swell in the river, the boat conveying the Irish mail with eight passengers, the coach man, guard, and a boy, in all fifteen in number, including the boatmen, was upset, and only two escaped with their lives."‡

Pennant§ tells us how, about the middle of the 17th century, over eighty persons were drowned by the upsetting of the ferry-boat, and in connection with this event he relates how the only survivor was Anne Thomas of Creuddyn, who was crossing the river to meet, at the fair at Conway, her lover, Sion Humphries of Llanfairfechan. He had also fallen over the cliff at Penmaenmawr. They were afterwards married, and they were both buried in the parish churchyard of Llanfairfechan, she dying on April 14th, 1744, at the age of 116 years, and he, five years later, on December 10th, 1749.

* History of Aberconwy, p. 110. ‡ p. 111. † Pennant's Tours in Wales, iii., 126. § iii., p. 115.

‡ The bodies recovered were buried in Llanrhos Church-yard, on the south side of the Church, where the inscribed grave-stone may still be seen.

Before 1897, the Conway river was crossed at Tal-y-cafn, by the old ferry, which was worked by a chain and wheel. This, situated at a narrow part of the Conway, had been in existence since very early times. According to Pennant, a large mound, called "Bryn-y-Castell," defended the crossing of what in Roman times may have been the ferry from Deva [Chester] to Conovium [Caerhun].

It was on October 9th, 1897, that the new iron bridge over the Conway at Tal-y-cafn was opened.

The entire length of the bridge is 354 feet, each side span is 90 feet, and the centre 150 feet; there is a shore span of 24 feet, and the width of the bridge is 24 feet. Underneath the bridge are water mains (from Llyn Dulyn) supplying Llandudno.

The following inscription is on a polished slab, fixed in one of the pillars on the Carnarvonshire side of the bridge: —

"This Bridge, opened on October 9th, 1897, in the 60th year of the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, was erected by, and is the property of the Tal-y-cafn Bridge Company, to whose chairman, Griffith Griffith, Esq., of Llican Isa, Ty'nygroes, near Conway, is due the credit of thus supplying a long-felt want of the counties of Carnarvon and Denbigh."

In excavating for the foundations, a token was found, which commemorated the first iron bridge built in England over the Severn at Coalbrooke-Dale in 1779, thus forming a link between the oldest and the newest iron bridges built in England up to 1897.*

At the same time, when sinking the caissons of the bridge, several Irish tokens were found, probably dropped by drovers who were in the habit of using the ferry.

Before the building of this bridge, carts sometimes had to cross the Conway much higher up the river, by Inigo Jones's bridge at Llanrwst (Fig. 132).

In the estuary, immediately opposite Conway Castle, was the rocky islet "Yr Ynys" (Fig. 133), which, covered with brushwood, was the haunt of wild-fowl. It was the property of the Mostyn family, and, as part of the consideration for giving it to the Government, the owners and occupiers of Mostyn, Bodysgallen, and Gloddaeth, and their servants, have the right to use the bridge without paying toll for all time.

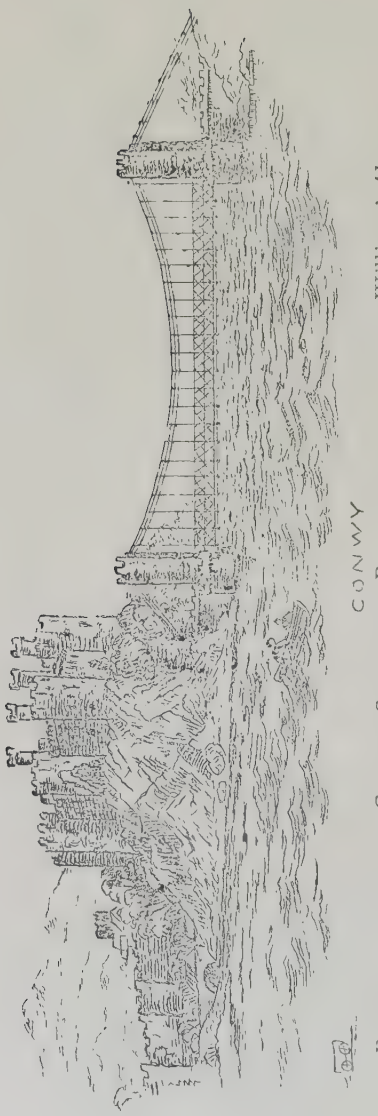
It was during the Mayoralty of Councillor Thomas Abram (1888-9), that the rock known as "Yr Ynys" (i.e., the island), was converted into a miniature parklet, with walks and seats.

* See Daily Graphic, October 12th, 1897.

FIG. 132. INIGO JONES' BRIDGE AND TUHWNT-Y-BONT, LLANRWST.
Photo. by A. H. Hughes.

Near this rocky islet was placed one tower of the Suspension Bridge, while the other was placed on the western shore. Between the mainland and "Yr Ynys," the great embankment was formed; it

FIG. 133. "YR YNYS" AND CONWAY CASTLE. *Drawing by Capt. Batty.*



CONWAY

CONWAY SUSPENSION BRIDGE. *Williams' Aberconwy.*

FIG. 134.

was pitched with rubble stone, and it had the effect of diverting the Conway to the left bank, the old Ferry Farm Hotel being thus left inland. The work was completed in 1826, and since then there has been a great accumulation of drift on either side of the breakwater, and Glanconway, which in the beginning of the 18th century was a fishing and shipping village, is now on the river only at high tides. The embankment was further widened to carry the railway for the Tubular Bridge built by Stephenson.*

THE BRIDGES AT CONWAY.

It was owing to the drowning, by the capsizing of the mailboat, of twelve persons on Christmas Day, 1806, that the Government began to consider the question of connecting the two shores by a bridge, but no active steps were taken till about 14 years later.

THE SUSPENSION BRIDGE.

The first stone of the Suspension Bridge (Fig. 134) was laid on April 3rd, 1822, and the bridge was completed by July, 1826, at a total cost of £58,001 14s. 5d., of which £40,000 was in 1826 voted by the Government.

The engineer was Thos. Telford, who also built the famous

* Weekly News, October 20th, 1899

Suspension Bridge over the Menai Straits near Bangor. The supporting pillars (42 feet high) are judiciously made to correspond with the castle towers, each pillar consisting of two towers of solid masonry, with an arched entrance between; there is a suitable lodge at either end. The length of the bridge between the towers is 326 feet, its breadth 32 feet, and its height over high water 18 feet. The roadway is made of layers of plank, affixed by vertical bars to two sets of suspending chains, each of which contains four chains, and each chain five bars.* The chains are extended from the pillars over the roadway, and on the Carnarvonshire side are fastened into the rock under the Queen's Terrace of the castle, and on the opposite side into the solid rock of what was formerly the island "Yr Ynys."

The embankment which connects this island with the opposite shore is 571 yards long, and the approach at the other end—175 yards long—was cut through the rock on which the castle stands.†

The bridge was acquired by the Corporation, in 1878, at a cost of £20,000 secured as a mortgage on the bridge, its tollage, and the corporate property. Foot passengers have lately been freed from toll.

THE TUBULAR BRIDGE.

This bridge, one of the greatest achievements of the last century, was designed by Robert Stephenson. The first stone was laid in June, 1846, the first tube finally adjusted on Monday, April 17th, 1848, and the second on November 15th, 1848. The entire cost was £110,000. This tubular viaduct (Fig. 135) consists of two tubes placed side by side, and each weighing 1,300 tons. The strength of the tubes depends chiefly upon the roofs and bases. Both are cellular, the roof of each tube containing eight cells, and the base six, both sets of cells running longitudinally. At one end, the tubes are firmly fixed in the masonry of the towers, and at the other they rest on rollers, to allow for expansion. Each tube is 412 feet long and 14 feet wide; the height increases from 22 feet 6 inches at either end to 25 feet 6 inches in the middle. The weight of each tube caused a deflection of 7⅞ inches, instead of 7 inches, a fact of which the Menai Bridge tubes reaped the benefit, that extra amount of camber being given to the floors.‡

* A Trip to Conway, 1837.

† Many of these particulars are taken (by permission) from the Official Guide Book of the Conway Corporation.

‡ Conway Official Guide.

FIG. 135. CONWAY CASTLE AND BRIDGES. *Photo. by H. Foyn.*

It was found, in 1899, that the increased weight of the traffic was, little by little, diminishing the camber, and increasing the deflection of the bridge, so that safe transit would be menaced within a few years. To lengthen, then, the life of the bridge, it became necessary to lessen the span, and this was done by erecting a huge cylindrical support near each extremity of each tube, whose span was thus shortened by about 90 feet. The extended life of the bridge was thus lengthened by some forty years or more, at a cost of about £20,000.

In 1894, another bridge, designed by Mr. T. B. Farrington, C.E., was built (between the Suspension and Tubular bridges) to carry the pipes conveying water from Cowlyd Lake to Deganwy and Colwyn Bay.

It is a wire-rope suspension bridge, 18 feet wide at each end, and drawn in at the centre to 9 feet, to ensure rigidity. It has three steel cables on each side, to which the suspension rods are attached by steel clips, the steel rods passing through the ends of the cross girders. On each side, a hand-rail is attached, which adds to the graceful effect; the anchorages are in solid rock. The stone piers support steel piers of lattice-work (31 feet high), the distance between the centres of these piers being 335 feet, whilst the clear span between the stone piers is 317 feet. The floor is formed of creosoted timber, which carries two nine-inch steel pipes, encased in felting to preserve them from frost.

A subsidiary foot-bridge was erected, during the mayoralty of

Councillor A. J. Oldman (1903-4), adjoining the north side of Telford's Suspension Bridge, but without substantially interfering with the original bridge; this improvement, by providing for foot passengers, has greatly facilitated the wheeled traffic across the river.

In the summer of 1837, the anonymous writer of "A Trip to Conway" records how the cabin and deck fares respectively from Liverpool to Conway Quay were 5s. and 2s. 6d. by the steamship "Conway Castle," the master (Captain Jones) being also part proprietor and landlord of the "Liverpool Arms," Conway, where it was then possible to have an "excellent dinner on trout." For many years past a well-appointed fleet of pleasure-steamers takes summer visitors from Conway Harbour (Fig. 130), up the picturesque river Conway, as far as Trefriw.

THE PEARL FISHERY OF CONWAY.

Pearls are obtained from two kinds of mussels, Mya Margaritifera ("Cragen y Diluw"), and Mytilus Edulis, ("Cragen Lâs"). The former are obtained higher up the river, above Trefriw, and it was a pearl from this species which Sir Richard Wynne of Gwydir, Chamberlain to Catherine, Queen of Charles II., presented to Her Majesty, and which is said to have adorned the regal crown. The shell of the Mya is about 5½ inches long and 2½ inches broad. The other variety, the "Cragen Lâs," is found in abundance at the mouth of the river. In days gone by,—for the pearl-fishing industry has now died out,—the fishers (men, women, and children) might have been observed at ebb-tide, collecting the mussels. They then carried them to the Cevnvro, the north extremity of the Morfa, where a pearling kitchen was made as described below. A small room, about 5 feet square and 6 feet to 7 feet high, was constructed of wattle and gorse, with a roof of the same material, a hole being left in the top through which the smoke could pass out. A few bricks were placed on the floor, and a fire was lighted. On these bricks was placed a large tin or iron pot, called a "crochan," and in this the mussels were placed and boiled. The fish were then picked out, and were put in a tub, and bare-footed children jumped on them so as to crush them; in some cases, water was put in, and the animal matter, which was called "solach," and was used as food for ducks, floated, while the sand, particles of stone, and pearls, sank to the bottom. In other cases, the pounded fish was put in bags and carried home. The bagful was dipped into water several times, and

thus the dirty liquid was removed, and then the whole was put into water, and the animal matter floated, after several washings, the sediment was carefully collected, dried on a cloth, and then put on a tray, the pearls being separated by a goose-wing feather. The pearls were then put into little bags, in which they were taken to Chester, where they were sold, the price being from 6s. to 12s. an ounce. The size varied from very small up to a little ball about ⅓ inch in diameter.

In a letter from Meredith Owen to Dr. Plott, dated from "Nant Phrankon," May 20th, 1690, the writer remarked that:—

> "The pearls found in these mountain rivers are plentiful and commonly large, though few of them are well coloured; several ladies of Denbighshire have collections of good pearls found in the river Conway. One Mr. Wynne of Bodyskalhen hath a stoole-pearl out of the river as big as a pea, much of the colour of a common blew agat, but with two white circles, one at the basis and the other about the midst of it."*

According to Camden, this fishery probably dates back to the Roman Conquest, as we read in Pliny (Natural History) that Julius Cæsar dedicated a breast-plate to Venus Genitrix, placing it in her temple at Rome, all covered with British pearls. It is quite possible that the site of the Roman camp at Caerhun was chosen owing to its proximity to the pearl fishery of the river Conway.

The Rev. M. C. Watkins† states that "those rivers with us which flow from mountains generally contain pearl shells; the Esk and the Conway are noted for them."

Mr. T. J. Hogg, in the Blue Book containing the reports of Municipal Corporations, published in 1838, states:—"They pay £1 a year for the land where they boil the mussels."

As much as £300 to £400 a year has been paid for pearls. Lewis, in his "Topographical Dictionary of Wales" (1834), states:—"At present about 40 persons are employed in the fishery, which produces an average of about 160 ozs. per week: the pearls are equal to those found in any part of the British Isles, and are sold at 2s. 6d. per oz."

Occasionally "purple" pearls are found in "Anomia cepa." at the mouth of the Conway.‡

* Pearls are occasionally found at the present time.

† Gleanings from the Natural History of the Ancients: Eliot Stock, London, 1885, p. 254.

‡ Alexander Shaw, Scotsman, October 23rd, 1909.

SALMON, ETC.

The salmon caught in the Conway, has a fine flavour, and is not inferior to that caught in the Dee and Severn, and in the Llandrillo Weir. The Conway is also noted for its "brwyniaid" or sparlings,* which pay their visit in January and February; they spawn in March or April, after which they depart. They vary in size, but rarely exceed a foot in length or half-a-pound in weight. The sparling is a fish of beautiful form and colour, the head being transparent and the skin so thin that the circulation of the blood can be observed. It has a peculiar scent, which is compared by some to cucumber or violet, but more properly to rushes, and hence their Welsh name "Brwyniaid."

In the spring, great quantities of sand-eels are obtained.

Mr. Griffith Jones, Caellwyngrydd, Llanllechid, in the "Bygones" of the *Oswestry Advertiser*, gives the following legend of St. Ffraid, still current in the neighbourhood of the River Conway.—

"In the days of Ffraid there was a dire famine in the land, and even fish could not be got in sufficient abundance to allay the hunger of the people. The Saint went down to the river and gathered a quantity of rushes, and these she threw into the Conway, and no sooner had the rushes touched the water than they were changed into full-grown fish. The people, on seeing the miracle performed, believed that it was done for the purpose of supplying them with food, so they caught the fish, cooked, and ate them, and by this means escaped starvation. The fish so-made tasted of the rushes out of which they were formed, and were called "Brwyniaid," a name which they still retain."

It is strange that Canon Williams does not mention this legend, more especially as in his Appendix is a piece of poetry, in praise of St. Ffraid, entitled 'Cowydd i Sant Ffraid,' in which occurs the following passage:—

Gwnaethost o'r brwyn yngwynedd,
Pysgod glan, pasg gyda gwledd,
Bwriaist ymrig y berwr
Brwynied yn obru yn y dwr.

'Gwnaethost'—'Thou madest of rushes fair fish', and 'Bwriaist' . . . 'thou didst cast rushes on the edge of the water-cress into the water.'

This agrees with the legend.

* Sparling—Eperlan [French], and was introduced by the Normans.

THE CASTLE AND TOWN WALLS.

The following description of the castle (Fig. 136), subject to the few alterations and additions, is taken from Canon Robert Williams' "History of Aberconwy":—

FIG. 136. CONWAY CASTLE. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

"The beauty and magnificence of Conway Castle is probably unrivalled, and it makes a noble picture from every point of view,

backed as it is by varied scenery. It might justly be deemed impregnable, by reason of its natural and artificial strength, during the mode of warfare prevalent at the time of its erection. The architect employed was Henry de Elreton, who was also responsible for the building of Carnarvon Castle. The work, commenced in 1284, was carried out under the personal inspection of Edward I., whose travels in eastern lands had evidently moulded his architectural taste. Owing to the good quality of the building stones of this district, the skilled masons could produce excellent work. The first hall was completed in 1286, and the 'Corpus Comitatus' shows that before this time the Sheriff was allowed his expenses for carpentering work.* After a few years, the original hall gave place to the Hall of Llywelyn, or the Banqueting Hall (Fig. 137); this took four years in erecting, and, with the adjoining chapel, cost £48 13s. 11d.

Fig. 137. Banqueting Hall, Conway Castle. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

"In 31 Edward I. (1302-03), the works of this new structure were completed. The existing remains exhibit the unusual feature

* See Appendix VI. for "Ordinance of the Charges of the Castles of North Wales, in 2 Edward III., and 5, 6, Henry IV." [Arch. Camb. 1862, p. 123].

of a round-headed window with Gothic tracery; this window was the work of Elias de Burton and William de Walton.

"The form of the castle is oblong, and it is erected on a high rock at one corner of the triangle inclosing the town. One side is bounded by the river, another by a creek filled with water at every tide, and into which the river Gyffin flows; the other two sides are within the Town Walls. On the outside, eight massive towers, forty feet in diameter, project; there are four on each side, and there was a winding staircase to the summit in a smaller tower contained in each massive tower, and in each of the four towers nearest the river, a staircase turret issues out to the height of several feet, and so forms an exceedingly-beautiful addition (Fig. 138). The walls and towers are embattled, and vary from twelve to fifteen feet in thickness.

FIG. 138. TURRET STAIRCASES, CONWAY CASTLE. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

"The principal entrance to the castle was from the town, at the west end, by a drawbridge, over a very deep moat. This entrance leads, by the ascent of a few steps, to a spacious terrace, protected by walls and five small towers therein, thence through a

FIG. 139. GATEWAY, CONWAY CASTLE. *B. M. Guest, del.*

gateway (Fig. 139), defended by a portcullis, to the larger court, containing on the south side the noble hall, which is 130 feet long, 32 feet wide, and 30 feet high. Out of this was partitioned off, at the east end, a chapel with a large window. The roof was supported by eight fine gothic arches, four of which still remain (1835);* one fell about 1805. There is a large fire-place at the west end, and two others, one on each side; there are six windows facing the country, and three larger ones overlooking the court. Underneath this hall were spacious vaults for the ammunition, and also cellars for provisions. At the east end of the court was the reservoir, fifteen feet in diameter, and twenty feet deep; the water which supplied it is

* At the present time there are two.

traditionally reported to have been conveyed in pipes from a well above Ty Gwyn.

"Portions of these pipes are said to have been found when ploughing the neighbouring fields, and tradition also records that the enemy, by discovering these pipes, at one time forced the garrison to surrender. This reservoir had on the south side two apertures by which the water was admitted, and opposite these is now to be seen (1835) a stove pipe, which, when the water rose too high, conveyed it into the moat.

"The entrance from the larger court into the inner court was by a passage through a strong wall, 10½ feet in thickness, which on the outside has a lodge for a sentinel, who could see through a loophole every one entering the chief gateway already mentioned (Fig. 139). On the right, in this inner court, is one of the State rooms, 29 feet by 22 feet, the windows of which look into the court; a beautiful arch supporting the roof remains perfect, but a second arch has long ago been destroyed. Between this room and 'Twr y Brenin,' or the King's Tower, was the King's chamber, which communicated with that of the Queen on the opposite side by a private passage leading to the Queen's garden. In the Queen's chamber (bedroom and boudoir in one) was laid down the first floor carpet ever used in this country. 'The Spanish Queen was distressingly conscious of the cold draughts which rose through the boarded floor, and laid down [over the rushes with which the floor was strewn] a piece of superfluous tapestry to keep them out, to the surprise and scandal of the English Court. In all these old castles, the garrison occupied the ground floors; the family, royal or otherwise, the middle floors; and servants and state attendants, the upper floors.'*

"The north tower is called 'Twr y Vrenines,' or the Queen's Tower. The room on the first storey contains a recess built within the thickness of the tower wall, which is the only place in the castle with any appearance of ornament (Fig. 140). It is formed by seven pointed and groined arches uniting with each other at the roof, and under them are more arches. This recess, which, with the adjoining room, was the Queen's private chapel, contained the altar-table, and on both sides are small apertures communicating with two sacristies, made also in the wall. Queen Eleanor's Oratory is a fine example of thirteenth-century architecture, when the Early English

* The English Churchman, October 1st, 1891.

FIG. 140. QUEEN ELEANER'S CHAPEL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

was merging into the Decorated Style. That such was the use of this place is corroborated by the circumstance that this is the only room in any of the towers above the ground floor which does not contain a fire-place. In 1897, the Conway Town Council resolved to restore this tower, to form the nucleus of a museum, and later an exquisite stained-glass window, subscribed for by the public, was placed here as a memorial to the late Queen Victoria.

"The diameter of the inside of the towers is about 18 feet: these towers consist generally of two storeys and a ground floor, the last-named used chiefly for keeping stores. The King's Tower has a strong-room below, which was accessible only by a trap door; but the Keep, or 'Twr y Carcharorion,' is the second tower on the south side, adjoining the hall, from which there is a passage through it to the top of the walls.

"At the east end of the castle, there is a terrace* (protected by three towers and walls), where there was a second entrance to the castle; this entrance was from the river, by ascending a steep rock, where once had been a narrow flight of winding stairs, protected by a wall (with a small covered hanging tower), which went a considerable way into the river, and which had at its extremity another round tower to prevent the approach of an enemy at ebb-tide,—the portion in the river had been for a long period destroyed, but the narrow wall with the hanging tower was taken down when making the approach to the Suspension Bridge.

"The next tower to the King's, 'Twr Darn,' or the 'Broken Tower,' was necessarily repaired by the Railway Co., for the safety of the line, and very artistically the work was done. The tower acquired its popular name owing to the breaking away of an enormous piece, due to the foundation rock being quarried for building purposes. This is also called the Controller's Tower.

"It may be convenient to give here in order the names of the towers. Commencing with the King's, the towers on the south side are King's, Controller's, Keep, and Sutler's; those on the north side are Queen's, Constable's, Captain's, and Guards'."

On June 8th, 1900, Mr. F. A. Delamotte (borough engineer) discovered, after a fall of masonry, an original bolt-hole, six centuries old; it was lined with four pieces of oak, each 4 feet 6 inches by 5 inches by 1½ inches, and the mortar contained the shells of an oyster, two cockles, and a periwinkle. Mr. Delamotte has also found the following: in one of the towers, two leaden balls, fired from blunder-busses; in a passage, a piece of old iron work; and, deep in the debris in the Queen's Tower, two pieces of ancient green-tinted glass, possibly used for glazing the Oratory window in Queen Eleanor's time.

* It was on this terrace that, in August 1832, the then Vicar [Rev. John Owen] presented, on behalf of the inhabitants, an address to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent and her illustrious daughter [the Princess Victoria, afterwards Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria], who were received by the Bishop of St. Asaph and others.

The walls which surround the town were built at the same time as the castle, and are in the shape of a Welsh harp (Fig. 141). Those which still remain are very lofty and embattled (Fig. 142), and in circuit they are 1¼ mile, with 21 semi-circular towers, which rise considerably above the walls. There are three principal entrances, with two strong towers to each. In the wall which runs along the river are seven towers, with a gateway called 'Porth Isav,' or the Lower Gate. Between this and the castle, there is a portal in the wall called 'Porth Bach,' but without towers. From the northern extremity of this wall, a curtain, with battlements on each side, ran nearly 70 yards into the river, and this had at its extremity a large tower, long since destroyed, but the ruins of which are visible (1835). This corresponded with a similar tower under the castle. The gateway through the curtain is called 'Porth yr Aden,'

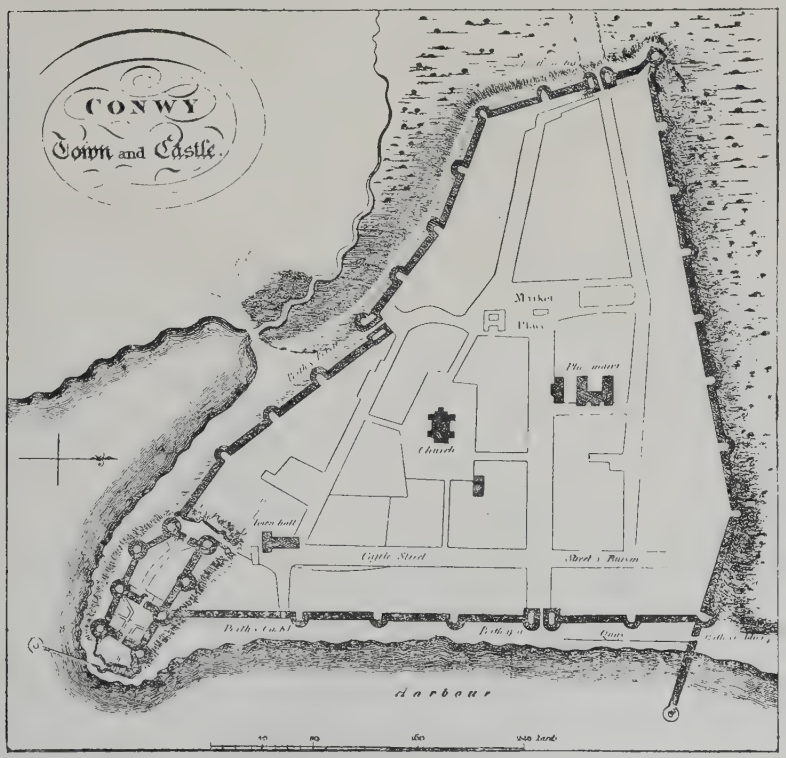


FIG. 141. PLAN OF CONWAY, 1810. *Pennant's Tours in Wales.*

FIG. 142. CONWAY TOWN WALLS. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

A second entrance, nearly opposite Porth Isav, is called 'Porth Uchav,' or the Upper Gate (Fig. 143), and was furnished with a drawbridge. The third gate is on the south side, and led to the Velin Heli, or salt water mill. It is called 'Porth y Felin,' or the gate of the mill.*

"One of the most interesting features is that the upper portions of the towers and walls retain in a very perfect state the merlons and embrasures and the variously-shaped loopholes for defence; in very few other cases are such minute details preserved."

The Rev. John Wesley has some interesting remarks on his visit to Conway:—"It [the town] is walled round, and the walls are in tolerably good repair; the Castle is the noblest ruin I ever saw." He went to Plas Bagh [Bach], and was kindly received by "William Roberts, none of whose family could speak English, nor join in prayers after supper."

"Except on the river side, the whole town was surrounded by a deep and wide moat. One of the towers on the south has a wall built on the town side, and contained some spacious apartments. It is called 'Twr Llywelyn.' The Town Wall immediately adjoining has also three windows; there probably was a house here, which,

* Pennant's Wales.

FIG. 143. PORTH UCHA'. *Williams' Aberconwy.*

being principally made of wood, left no remains."

Within the last century or so, two breaches have been made in the north-west wall, as gates to accommodate respectively the Bangor road and the road to Bodlondeb (Fig. 144).

On Thursday, August 11th, 1898, through the exertions of the then Mayor (Councillor Charles J. Wallace, M.A., J.P.), a large section of the Town Walls, closed since the time of the Great Rebellion, was opened to the public. The opening ceremony was performed by Lord Mostyn, in the presence of the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Rt. Hon. Daniel Tallon) and a number of the Welsh Mayors, with other distinguished company. The Conway Corporation wore robes of office, and each Mayor wore robes, golden chain, and jewelled badge. On this occasion at a reception in the castle, effigies of the Constables of the past were shown (by the late Miss Hadley) in the costumes of their respective periods.*

* These effigies are now on view in cases in the Conway Free Library.

FIG. 144. BERRY STREET GATE. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

THE ABBEY OF ABERCONWAY.

The date of the foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of Aberconway, by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (or Llywelyn the Great), is somewhat doubtful. This Prince, according to most historians, reigned from 1194 to 1240, but the date in Llywelyn's Charter to the Abbot of Aberconway is (according to Dugdale in his "Monasticon") January 7th, 1198. At the same time, this Charter is stated as being given at Aberconway "in the tenth year of my Princeship" ("Et principatus mei anno decimo"), which would fix the Prince's succession in the year 1188. Possibly this date may refer to the commencement of his struggle for the sovereignty wtih his usurping uncle, the other to its successful close, and yet his title in the Charter is "Llewelinus Gervasii filius totius Norwalliæ Princeps," *i.e.*, Llywelyn the son of Gervase, Prince of the whole of North Wales. It is a curious fact that most topographers like Pennant, Richard Llwyd, and Dr. Jones, assign the date of Llywelyn's en-

dowment of Conway Abbey to the year 1185 (15th March), long before his ascent of the throne of Gwynedd, a discrepancy that seems to require explanation. D. Peter says it was after his mounting the throne that Llywelyn built and endowed Conway Abbey, and he gives 1195 A.D. as the date.* Further, Dr. Gray Birch, in a "Register of the dates of the foundations of all the Cistercian Abbeys of England (from the Cottonian Collection)," gives 15th March, 1186, as the date.†

The original Charter to the Abbey, which, together with a translation, is given in Appendix VII., is dated January 7th, 1198, "Datum apud Aberconwy anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo septimo Idus Januarii et principatus mei anno decimo," *i.e.*, Given at Aberconway, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1198, on the 7th of January, and in the tenth year of my Princeship. This Charter is witnessed by Iorwerth Gam, Gwyn ap Ednewein Ydon, the Prince's Chaplain, and Madoc ap Cador.

On July 24th, 1186, ‡according to the "Gwentian Chronicle," a Society from Strata Florida went to Rhedynog Felen in Gwynedd. This seems to be confirmed in the "Brut y Tywysogion" (Rolls Edit., p. 233), where a passage occurs to the effect that "the convent of Strata Florida removed to Rhedynog Felen in Gwynedd." From this place, which was in the parish of Llanwnda, near Carnarvon,§ the monks soon removed to a more suitable location, near the mouth of the river Conway, for Giraldus‖ refers to their presence at Aberconway in the spring of 1188. Some ten years later, by the Charter of 1198, Llywelyn the Great purported to grant these monks the lands of which they were in possession, having received them from himself and other benefactors. Thus, the foundation Charter of the Abbey really confirmed them in quiet possession from thenceforth, and Llywelyn, as he claimed to have reigned *de jure* from 1188, was put forward by the grateful monks as the original founder of the Abbey of Aberconway, and as the original grantor of their possessions. ¶

* Hanes Crefydd yn Nghymru, p. 314. † Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc., Vol. xxvi., p. 282.

‡ Register and Chronicle of Aberconway (Appendix VIII).

§ Prof. J. E. Lloyd's History of Wales, Vol. ii., p. 601. ‖ Gir. Camb. Itinerarium Cambriæ.

¶ Except Kelliniog (Llangeinwen, Anglesey), given to Gruffydd ap Cynan ap Owain (buried in Aberconway Abbey in 1200).

That the monks of this Abbey aspired to high positions in the Church, is shown by reference to the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis. About 1199, which was the year Giraldus went to Rome, we find that the Sub-Prior of Aberconway was consecrated Bishop of Bangor by Archbishop Hubert [Fitz-Walter] of Canterbury (1193-1207), but before any election had been made to the See of Bangor. This was irregular, and Archbishop Hubert thereupon rejected Robert, who, with the assistance of Giraldus Cambrensis, appealed to Pope Innocent III. at Rome, where he was procurator for Giraldus in another appeal.

By the Charter of 1198 (really a Confirmation Charter, though not in name), Llywelyn endowed the Abbey with a very great extent of land in Carnarvonshire, Denbighshire, and Anglesey. The boundaries of the different estates are given in full in the Latin Charter; many of the names are on the present-day ordnance maps, and show the enormous extent of the properties belonging to the monastery, but the greater number of the names are not now to be found. The following is a brief summary of the lands conveyed: —

A considerable extent of land around the Abbey and Town of Conway, the present Conway Council's property being probably identical with the Abbey lands within the borough, a part of Creuddyn, Bodysgallen, and Eglwys-Rhos, being mentioned; the rates and ferry of the Conway river; the fishery of Aber Gyffin; land in Llanfairfechan reaching as far as the Cambwll river, which runs through land belonging to Bryn-y-Neuadd; the Friwlwyd estate in Eifionydd, with the mill and fishery; Kwin and Rhedynog Felen estates, near Llanwnda; Naukall, in Eifionydd, near the river Dwyfach, between Dolbenmaen and Llanllyfni; Kelliniog on the Menai, near Trefarthen; Talybont and its appurtenances, near Caerhun; in South Carnarvonshire, Nanhoenan, near Beddgelert; Ardeu (Ardda?) and Darlas, extending from Llyn Dinas to the top of Snowdon, and along the ridge of Crib Coch down to the river Mymbyr, including Cwmnyth, and containing the land between the lakes Cowlyd and Eigiau, and the streams flowing therefrom to the river Conway.* Among the lands are mentioned Snowdon, which is called Caput Wedwa fawr, Caput Grybgoch, and Morfa Dinllin. In Anglesey, the land was near the Braint river, together with Trefarthen, Henllys, Trefdraeth, Llanfaer Bodgedwyd near Aberffraw, and many other places which have since disappeared. Near Pentrevoelas also there was land known as Tir yr Abbat, and near Cerrigydrudion the land about Llyn Cymmer and Llechwedd Crynllewyn, called in an old document Tir yr Abbat Isa.

All these lands were granted for ever, and in addition Llywelyn gave the monks great privileges and immunities. They had per-

* This would seem to show that the Monastery of Beddgelert was a branch of the Abbey of Aberconway.

petual exemption from keeping for the Prince's service, men, horses, dogs, or hawks, and for giving entertainment to himself or "any other lay person on pretence of custom;" they had liberty to choose their own Abbots without the interference of himself or any layman; all wrecks upon their lands belonged to them, and they recovered any of their vessels wrecked on the Prince's lands; they were likewise to be free from tolls, and were entitled to a free passage over the ferries of Menai, Conway, Abermawddach, and Dyfi; they were not to be tried in the Prince's courts, but according to their own rules; they were not to be molested for receiving any person into their monastery; and the monastery was not answerable for money borrowed without the consent of the Abbot.

The monastery also had extensive fisheries up the estuary of the Conway, and also at Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, where a weir still exists. Near this weir is a small cell with a well, or spring, where a monk is said to have prayed daily for the success of the fishery,* but it is doubtful whether this was a cell or a chapel.

In Wales, the most important monasteries were the Abbeys of Aberconway, Ystradfflur (Strata Florida), and Ystrad Farchell (Strata Marcella). There is very little information to be obtained about the abbeys and convents of the Conway district, though Dugdale, Tanner, and Speed have thrown some light upon the subject, but the Abbey of Aberconway was the most important, and in it and in that of Strata Florida were conserved the Chronicle of the Acts of the British Princes after Cadwaladr up to the year 1156, collected by Caradoc of Lancarvan, whereof copies remained until 1270, which was a little before the death of the last Llywelyn. These records were yearly augmented, and were compared and surveyed every third year by the "beirdd" (or bards) belonging to the two houses, at the time of their "clera," being their ordinary visitation so-called.† They were rendered into English by Humphrey Llwyd, and Sir Philip Sidney had a copy of them.‡ Unfortunately, many valuable documents were destroyed during the siege of Deganwy Castle by Henry III. (See chapter on Deganwy).

In 1288, Pope Nicholas IV. granted the "tenths" to King Edward I. for six years, towards defraying the expenses of an ex-

* See Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., March 1898, p. 49, and paper by Mr. Thos. Elias.

† Duke of Beaufort's Progress through Wales, by Dineley, New Edition, p. 118; also D. Powell's History of Wales, p. 206 (1584 Edition).

‡ In Harleian MS. 3275, is the "Register and Chronicle of the Abbey of Aberconway," a translation of which is given in Appendix VIII.

pedition to the Holy Land, and, that they might be collected to their full value, a taxation, by the King's precept, was begun in 1288, and was finished (as to the Province of Canterbury) in 1291. In 1802, the Record Commission printed a copy of this taxation, full particulars of which are given in Appendix IX. In 1291, the temporal possessions of the Abbot of Conway amounted (in the Diocese of St. Asaph) to £26 2s. 4d., and in the Diocese of Bangor to £37 6s. 8d., besides spiritualities (in the latter) amounting to £13 6s. 8d., thus making a total of £76 15s. 8d.

Edward I., after the conquest of Wales, not wishing to have the Abbey in his new English town of Aberconway, removed it (in 1283) to Maenan, about 10 miles higher up the river. He acted very honourably and kindly to the monks, leaving them all their lands and privileges, and granting them the township of Maenan, with several other parcels of land in lieu of what they had in Conway ; they enjoyed in addition several new immunities, and they were exempted from all taxes, tolls, and duties whatsoever, and the presentation of their conventual Church, which he now made parochial,* was granted them on condition that they appointed two Englishmen as Chaplains, the third to be a Welshman. One of the Englishmen was to be a perpetual Vicar, to be named by the convent on every vacancy, and to be presented by the Diocesan. These privileges were secured by two Charters (dated from Carnarvon) of Edward I., viz., 12 Edward I. No. 18, and 12 Edward I. No. 3, numbered in the Appendix Xa, Xb. A translation of No. Xb has not been thought necessary, as, with merely slight verbal differences, it already appears in the translation of the Register and Chronicle of the Abbey of Aberconway. A Bull of Pope Nicholas (1289) also authorised the Translation of the Abbey to Maenan (see Appendix Xc).

In 1244, the Abbots of Cymmer and Aberconway, having been constituted by the Pope a court of inquiry as to whether David ap Llywelyn, Prince of North Wales, had been under the influence of terror or force, in concluding an unfavourable treaty with Henry III., summoned the King to appear before them in the church of Caerwys to answer to the complaints of David, they having been given power to absolve their prince from his allegiance to the king of England ; but he, incensed at the indignity offered to his authority, applied to the Pope to annul the commission, which was accordingly done.†

* Ayloffe's Rotuli Walliæ, 91.

† Williams' Aberconway, p. 73 ; and Lewis' Topographical Dict. of Wales, under "Caerwys."

The list of the Abbots of Conway Abbey is very incomplete.

A certain David is mentioned as being Abbot of Maenan about 1301, when (about April 28th) Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II., came to Conway, and received the homage* of Eineon (Anian), Bishop of Bangor; and David, Abbot of Maenan.†

Abbot Tudor, in 1303, having first sought and obtained a license to express the goodwill in Christ of the Prince (Edward I.) and Sir Caducanes, then Bishop of Bangor, made a settlement for the separate maintenence of a vicar for the Parish Church. The words of the old deed are as follows :—

"This composition made and indented between the Venerable Sir Tudor, Abbot of the Monastery and Convent of Conway, and Sir Rowland Bradchey (or Bradeley), Chaplain, and first vicar of the parochial church of the Blessed Virgin, in the town of Conway, of the other part . . . " witnesses " that the said Vicar and his successors in time to come shall have a half, or a second part, of the tithes of the said parish of Conway."

Then follows a list of other sources of income, similarly to be divided, and a provision made that certain lands on the north-east side of the church shall belong to the Vicar. Tradition places the original Vicarage-house in this position. All this "on condition that the said Vicar shall bear and support half the burden, ordinary and extraordinary, belonging to the said church."‡

One of the earlier Abbots was Madog§ ap Tudur ap Gronw ap Ednyfed Fychan. He took holy orders, and became the first Archdeacon of Anglesey, and was afterwards a renowned Abbot of Conway; he left his lands to his own monastery at Conway,‖ and died about 1330 [?].

In 1333 (6 Ed. III.), David Lloyd was Abbot.

Again a later Abbot, as mentioned in the Myvyrian Archæology (Gee's Edition, p. 283),¶ is Ieuan, whose eulogy was pronouuced by Casnodyn (1290-1340) in a poem of 56 lines.

In 1357 (30 Ed. III.), Cynric is mentioned as being Abbot.††

* Among others who paid homage at this time were Llywelyn ap Ednyfed, Griffith Fychan, Ithel ap Bleddyn ; see also Llwyd's Historie of Cambria, 1584.

† Record of Carnarvon ; Williams' Aberconway, p. 32.

‡ Registers of Conway Church, by Miss Hadley. § Arch. Camb. I. 4, 267.

‖ It retained the name of Conway, when removed to Maenan, and was also called Arllechog.

¶ History of Powys Fadog, VI., 300. †† Arch. Camb., 1846, Vol. III., 98.

In 1427-8, John ap Rees was Abbot of Conway, and it was then that he laid claim to and ousted John from the Abbey of Strata Florida, but he did not retain it long, for in 1442-3, William Morys was Abbot of Strata Florida, and John ap Rees seems then to have again taken forcible possession of the Abbey, and to have imprisoned his rival.* In a Parliamentary petition from John, Abbot of Strata Florida (No. 2498, P.R.O.—Norman French), the said Abbot complains that John ap Rees, Abbot of Conway in North Wales, with a great band of armed men and archers, came to the Abbey of Strata Florida, in the sixth year of the reign of our said Lord the King, and by force and in the manner of war, for 40 days, imprisoned many, and carried away vestments, clothes, etc., ... drove away horses, oxen, sheep to the value of 2,000 marks . . . . . and caused many obligations to be made of the granges, farms . . . . to the impoverishment of the said house . . . . and prays the King to ordain a remedy therein, because the Abbot of Conway has nothing in South Wales from whence to be justified for this horrible trespass. In Harleian Charter 75, A11 of 21 Henry VI. (1442-3), John ap Rees is described as plotting craftily to remove and expel William Morys, and to have held forcible possession.

The Abbot of Margam, with the other Cistercian Abbots of Neath, Tintern, Whitland, and Conway, acted as arbitrators in a settlement of disputes between the Abbot of Dore, Co. Hereford, and the Abbot of Strata Florida, Co. Cardigan.†

In 1447, according to a marriage settlement of Thomas Holland, the Abbot of Conway presented Richard Porter to the Vicarage.

In 1450, Geoffrey Kyffin was Abbot.

In 1484, there was a competition between David Winchcombe and David Lloyd for the office of Abbot (1 Rich. III.).‡

"To the beloved Richard in Christ.— David Lloyd, Abbot, and the Convent of Aberconway, give 26s. 8d., paid into the Hanaper for confirmation of the Letters Patent of the Lord Richard now for the display of the Letters Patent of the Lord Edward, lately King of England. Witness, Richard at Westminster, on the 20th day of November (Orig. Roll., 5 Henry VII., m. 74)."

In 1506, David Owen was the Abbot of the Monastery of our Blessed Lady, St. Mary of Conway.

* History of the Abbey of Strata Florida, pp. 165-167.

† Calendar of Ancient Deeds. Vol. I., p. 282, No. B. 727 in the History of Margam Abbey, by W. de Grey Birch. LL.D., British Museum, London, 1897.

‡ Harleian MS., fo. 175, contains a warrant to the farmers belonging to this monastery to pay their rents to Griffin Gogh, the Prior, during this controversy. See Appendix Xd.

The Right Rev. David ap Owen was first Abbot of Strata Marcella, and later of Conway. He was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in 1503, and died February, 1513.

Hugh Price (Prys, or ap Rhys), called Hugh Abad, was Abbot in the early part of the 16th century, and was buried at Saffron Walden, Essex, in 1528.* He was brother of Richard Price, the last Abbot, and the 13th son of Sir Robert ap Rhys Fawr ap Meredydd (the 12th son is called Hugh ap Robert). On his monument of stone, about the middle of the south aisle, is a full length effigy in brass, in his cope, with his crozier in his right hand, and the inscription—"Orate (pro anima) Hugonis Price Abbatis Monasterii de Conway, Cisterc. Ordinis Assavens. Dioces., qui ab hâc vita migravit ad Christum, viii. Julii, 1528."†

In 1528, according to the Will of Humphrey Holland, and according to Williams' "Aberconwy," the Abbot of Conway presented Richard Peicke to the Vicarage.

In 1532, on the 20th April (23 Henry VIII.), the name of the Abbot of Conway is given as Jeffrey, in a lease of that date.‡

In 1535, according to the Institutions at Bangor, the Abbot of Conway presented Hugh Holland to the Vicarage.

The last Abbot was Richard ap Robert ap Rhys, or Richard Price, wrongly called Kyffin by Pennant, brother of Dr. Ellis Price ("Doctor Coch"), member of the Council of the Marches. Richard was son of Sir Robert, M.A., ap Rhys ap Meredydd ap Tydyr ap Howel ap Kynfrig Fychan ap Kynfrig ap Llowarch ap Heilin (this Heilin was fifth in descent from Marchweithian). Richard Price was in 1540 known as "Y Person Gwyn," and was, on the dissolution of the monasteries, made Rector of Cerrigdrudion.§ In "Powys Fadog," it is stated that some of the Welsh (Western) Monks bribed Edward IV., who allowed them to marry. Should that be true, the King must have obtained the concession from the Pope for the time being.

* Hist. Powys Fadog, IV. 104; VII. 299.

† Hist. Powys Fadog VI. 299; Harleian MS. 696, fo. 89. Also Narr. Placiti de Quo Warranto super libertatibus Abbotis de Conway temp. R. Edw. III., Harleian MS. 6068 fos. 10, 11.

‡ Harleian Coll. Catal. 3699, fo. 160, b.

§ In the Add. MS. 15017, there is this note; "Richard y Person Gwyn was Abbot of Aberconway, and in his time the faith was changed; at the Reformation, he lost his office, was married, and was afterwards parson of Cerrig y Drudion. He married Janet, daughter of Elis ap Harry - - - - ap Ithel Fychan, of Ysgeifiog, by whom he had a son and heir, Thos. Wynn of Plas Newydd, Llanrwst."

Miss Lenthall, a descendant of the Kyffins of Maenan, now living at Bessels Leigh Abbey, Berks, has in her possession three heavy oak boards (Fig. 145) with some interesting carving, denoting an Abbot in a cowl (possibly one of the last Abbots of Maenan), a Priest, two wreaths of acorns, and the heads of a dolphin and a unicorn.

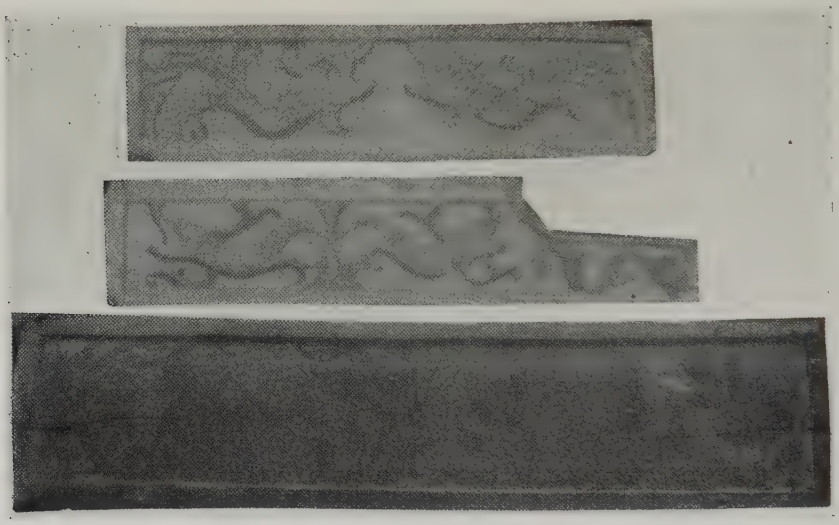


FIG. 145. OAK CARVING, MAENAN HALL. *Photo. by Miss Lenthall.*

THE CISTERCIAN MONKS.

The fact that the various Benedictine establishments were independent led to the constitution of a new order outside the Benedictine rule. That of Cluny, A.D. 912, was the first. St. Berno and St. Benedict of Aniane, to whom the Cluniac reform was due, tried to make the superiors of the Cluniac houses subject to the Abbey of Cluny; but, when laxity spread to Cluny,* this system broke down, and for the dependence on one house was substituted the interdependence of all the houses. This interdependence was provided by the constitution of the Cistercian Order, which was founded in 1098 by St. Robert of Molesme, the Abbot of a Benedictine Monastery in Burgundy, and by St. Stephen Harding,† an Englishman, who was responsible for the peculiar system of this new Order, which aimed at absolute uniformity in all things and everywhere.

They wished to reform the Order of St. Benedict, and to make it stricter.

* Arch. Camb., Jan. 1911, "The Cistercian Abbey of Cwm Hir," by Dr. Hermitage Day.

† "Roche Abbey and the Cistercian Order," in a report of the Association of Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, etc., Vol. xviii, Part I., pp. 36-38.

St. Robert left his Monastery at Molesme, and, with twenty followers, started a house at Citeaux (Latin, Cistercium), from which the Order took its name, and every Abbot had to visit Citeaux once a year to attend the Chapter of the Order.

The Cistercians were remarkably popular in Wales, because they identified themselves with the poor; they were found far away from the castles of the great conquerors, and they loved the solitude of remote valleys.

The first Cistercian Monastery founded in Britain was that of Furness, in 1127; and in Wales, Neath in 1129, followed two years later by Tintern, and afterwards by Conway in 1186. Other Cistercian Houses in North Wales were Bassingwerk Abbey in Flintshire, and Valle Crucis Abbey in Denbighshire, while Penmon Priory in Anglesey was a Benidictine Religious House.

The dress of the monks varied according to the climate; the ordinary dress (Fig. 146)* consisted of a white tunic with a black scapular, and in the church, or house, was to be worn a white cowl, or cloak, with a hood, which covered nearly the whole person; out of doors they wore a black cloak. "They wore neither trousers, nor robes of fur, nor garments which had been dyed."†

FIG. 146. CISTERCIAN MONK.

Powell, in his History of Wales (1774, p. 220), says "In A.D. 1200, Griffith ap Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd died, and was buried in a monk's cowl,‡ at Conway, which way of burying was very much practised in those days, for the monks had deluded the people into a strong conceit of the merits of it, and that it was highly conducive to their future happiness."

The diet of the monks was primitive simplicity, they abstained from

* Ordericus Vitalis, Bk viii, 126.

† Monks and Monasteries, by Rev. Samuel Fox, M.A., F.S.A., London, 1845.

‡ Llywelyn ap Iorwerth was buried [1240] at Aberconway, after taking the habit of religion [Brut y Tywysogion, p. 327]. In Annales Cambriæ, under date 1240, there is the note "recepto habitu monachili."

flesh-meat, and they had all things in common. From the ides (13th) of September to Easter, they fasted every day except Sunday; they lived under a rule of silence, and in strict seclusion. "They fulfilled the obligation of prayers by seven services every day:—Matins, 2-0 a.m. (1-0 a.m. on Sunday); prime, 5-0 a.m.; tierce, 7-15 a.m.; sixte, 11-0 a.m. Nones Vespers, 5-0 p.m.; and Compline, 7-0 p.m." *

The Cistercian monks might hold what was necessary, such as lands, monasteries, farm buildings, workshops and live-stock, but no large domains, only land which they could cultivate with their own hands. Out-of-door labour was a distinctive feature; they were to till their lands themselves, hence their name, "farmer-like Cistercians." The professed monks were helped by the Conversi, or Lay Brethren, who wore black cowls. In the "Carta Caritatis" (A.D. 1119), or "Body of Statutes," the whole Order is looked upon as one family, and the Abbot of Citeaux as "Pater universalis ordinis." The Order was under the immediate protection of the Pope, but was free from episcopal supervision, papal subsidies, and the payment of tithes.† They were also free from the disabilities of an interdict, and so could even during an interdict bury the dead with religious rites.

The Cistercian buildings were on a uniform plan, their quarters were in the building adjoining the cloister, and their workshops were within the enclosure. In their precincts were mill, well, and bakehouses; the stream provided their motive power, and, diverted into fish-stews, provided them with fish; they grew corn for bread, flax for linen, hay for their cattle, and they made the cloth for their habits from the wool they wove in their own looms.

Of the original Abbey in Aberconway, there are but few remains. Pennant records that he saw a long vaulted room of good masonry and worked with clay, but plastered with lime, and a Saxon door. In the Castle Hotel yard, which is a part of the site of the Abbey, when making improvements in 1832, was found a tomb-stone with a plain cross carved on it, and under it a skull only; in 1870, a stone font was discovered at the back of a house, just below the Castle Hotel; and, at the same time, the foundation walls of different parts of the Abbey were also exposed. The wall which divides the castle yard from that of the house built by the late Alderman John Williams (born at Ty Uchaf, Conway), is also a part of the Abbey wall; the stones are massive, and it is well built. In this yard were also dug up one or two skeletons of men of great stature, when the new house was built (1885).‡

* Walter White, "All around the Wrekin," p. 326, London, 1860.

† The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida, G. S. Williams.

‡ In Appendix Xe will be found a list of the most important Charters relating to the Abbey.

Richard Llwyd ("Beaumaris Bay," New Ed., 1832), in speaking of Conway Abbey, says: "The ancient Abbey is here, the site of which is now called 'The Spittle.'"

In the south-west and north-west angles of the 1690 addition to the old house known as "Cymryd," near Conway, are several stones of a fine reddish grit, one measuring 12 feet by 2 feet 6 inches with a 4 feet bevel at one side, and another stone, 3 feet long, also with a bevel. These, and others, closely resemble the stone of which the Abbey was built, and it seems quite likely that the Abbey stone, being a good one, was frequently used for buildings in the neighbourhood.

The Abbey was honoured by being the burial-place of several illustrious persons, among whom may be mentioned: Griffith ap Cynan ap Owain Gwynedd, who died in 1200, and was buried in a monk's cowl; Howel, his son, who died in 1216; Llywelyn, son of Maelgwn, who died in 1230;* and Llywelyn the Great, whose coffin (Fig. 147) was removed to Maenan, and thence (after the Dissolution) to Llanrwst Church. This coffin (now lidless) is made of stone, and the sides are curiously carved in quatre-foils.

"The sides were coats-of-arms of brass gilt and enamelled, but these [for a little gain] escaped not the profane hands of the sacriligeous late rebels (1684)."†

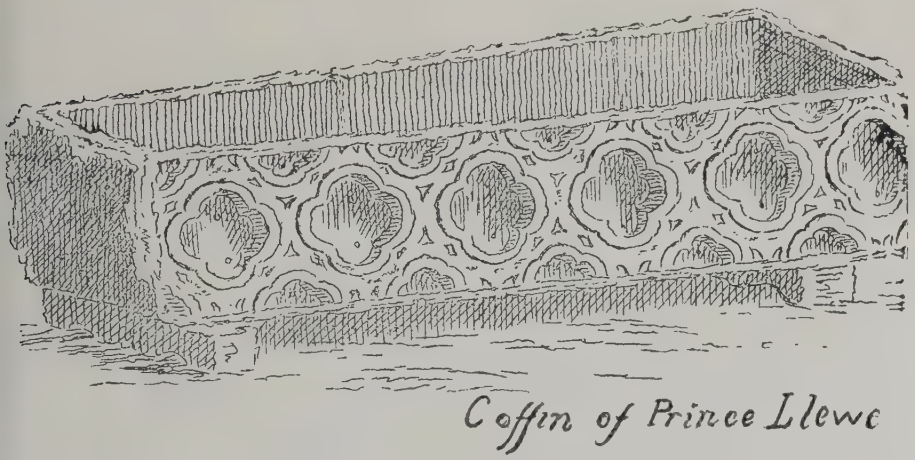


FIG 147. STONE COFFIN, LLYWELYN THE GREAT. *Williams' Aberconwy.*

* Powell's Wales.

† Duke of Beaufort's Progress through Wales, by Dinely.

There were also buried here David (son of Llywelyn the Great), who died in his palace at Aber in March, 1246,* and Griffith, (another son), who was kept prisoner in the Tower of London by Henry III., and who, in endeavouring to escape, fell from a great height, and was killed (1244). His body was recovered (in 1248) from the King of England by the earnest solicitations of the Abbots of Conway and Ystradfflur, who conveyed it here, and buried it with great pomp and honour.†

With regard to the Abbey at Maenan, there is nothing to show the extent of it. According to the late Mr. Thos. Elias,‡ there is nothing left of the monastery except an arch of sandstone about 9 feet high, the stones of which were re-dressed when the old house was pulled down. It was inserted in a wall at the back of the house, and one "gargoyle" may now be seen on the south side of the present house, which was built in 1848. Mr. Elias stated that he remembered in the old house, which stood between the present house and the small river, a long vaulted brick cellar with the Gothic arch, above mentioned, at the end, bricked up. This may possibly have been a passage or a portion of a crypt, in any case it must have formed a part of the old Abbey. In building the modern house, this cellar was pulled down, as well as the old manorial mansion. At present there are, under an old building at the back of the modern house, two large underground rooms about 10 feet high; it is probable that these formed a part of the old Abbey.

About eighty years ago, in digging the foundations of a greenhouse near where the present tower stands, a great number of skeletons were uncovered, buried close together; and five skeletons were discovered in digging the foundation of the present tower, which must have been near the spot where the other bones were found. The names of one or two fields, "Cae Person" and "Cae Gwenllian" (Field of Gwenllian), are suggestive of the monastic nature of the place. Mr. Elias also possessed an old panel§ (Fig. 148), painted in oil, of date about the middle of the 18th century, showing the old house and grounds, laid out in the Dutch style. Its age must have been very great, as in the place where two enormous evergreen oaks stood a few years ago, there is represented

* Annales Cambriæ; Powell's Wales.

† The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida, by G. S. Williams, p. 134.

‡ Conway Congress of the British Archæological Association, 1897.

§ Now in the possession of the Hon. F. G. Wynne, of Glynllifon.

FIG. 148. OLD ABBEY, MAENAN (from an Oak Panel). *A. E. Elias, del.*

a garden with a summer-house in the centre. Judging by the appearance of the surrounding land, there must have been from twelve to fifteen acres of grounds.

Many years ago, there were numerous poisonous herbs (used medicinally) growing in the garden, grounds, and woods, such as aconite, spurge-laurel, savin, etc., which seem to witness to the fostering care of the monks of long ago.

There is no record of the MSS. stored in the Abbey, but they may have been carried away by the last Abbot.

The new possessions of the Abbey of Maenan mentioned in the Confirming Charter of Edward I., appear to have consisted of the township of Maenan in Carnarvonshire, extending as far as the county boundary at Wernburys on the east, and Nanhwrach on the south-east.* A portion of the county of Denbigh, as far as the river Erythlin, was also included. On the west of the Conway, all the meadow-land between the Carrog and Eigiau rivers was also included, described as "de Talypont." To these should be added lands south and east of Capel Garmon, which appear to have extended from Rhydlanfair, by Voelas Kerniawc, to the top of Moel Seissiauc, above the village of Pentre-voelas, and from the Voel as far as Llyn Alwen, and probably nearly as far as Cerrig-y-drudion. Among names may be mentioned Tir Ifan, Tir Abbat, Trebrys, etc.

* Possibly the township of Eglwysbach (Trefodnant excepted) belonged to the Abbey.

Care must be taken not to confuse Maenan Abbey with Maenan Hall, the ancient residence of the Kyffins. The abbey was referred to as Conway Abbey even after its transfer to Maenan.

The last Abbot of Maenan (as mentioned above) was Richard Price. He was the grandson of Rhys Fawr ap Meredydd, standard-bearer to Henry VII. at Bosworth, after Sir Wm. Brandon had been slain. He married Lowry, heiress of Howell, brother of Robin ap Griffith Goch of Rhos Rhufoniog. His son, Sir Robert ap Rhys, was chaplain and cross-bearer to Cardinal Wolsey. Sir Robert lived at Plas Iolyn (Fig. 149), and married Margaret, daughter of Rhys Lloyd of Gydros in Penllyn, by whom he had twelve sons and four daughters. The effigies of Sir Robert (in his canonical robes), and of his parents, all three carved in alabaster (Fig. 150), are in the church of Yspytty Ifan, where they were buried.

FIG. 149. PLAS IOLYN. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

In 1506, Sir Robert ap Rhys* of Plas Iolyn had a lease from David Owen, "Abbot of the monastery of our Blessed Lady St. Mary of Conwey," for 99 years, of many of the Abbey farms, at a reserved rent of "33s. and 4d.," and these he again devised to his son David, to his nephew (Robert Gethin of Cerniogau), and to other relatives.

* Powys Fadog, V., 363.

Fig, 150. Effigies, Yspytty Church. *Photo. by Miss M Price.*

When Henry VIII.,* in conjunction with Cardinal Wolsey, suppressed the monastic institutions, he ordered at the same time the dismantling of the buildings, and this will account for the scarcity of the remains at the present day. The smaller monasteries were closed first, and chiefly those belonging to the Friars. This had almost became a necessity, as they were very poor, and in many cases had become dens of corruption. Of 200 smaller houses, 53 had a net income of £50 per annum, and of these 23 had endowments varying from £10 to £20 per annum, and Cardinal Wolsey seems to have been justified in his action, more especially as he used the endowments to improve his schoól and college at Ipswich and Oxford.

On the dissolution of the monasteries, the property of the Monks of Aberconway was disposed of by Royal Commissioners, among whom were Cad. Wynne of Voelas and Ellis Price of Plas Iolyn (Fig. 151).† Dr. Price was an LL.D. of Cambridge, and was eminent as

* The Abbeys and Convents of the Conway district, by Mr. T. Elias, in the Proceedings of the British Archæological Assoc., 1898, pp. 30-62.

† This portrait of "Doctor Coch," long preserved at Bodysgallen, is now owned by the Rt. Hon. the Lady Augusta Mostyn, of Gloddaeth, who kindly gave permission for its reproduction here.

a disputant, and when engaged in a controversy with Throgmorton, he got the best of it. He was M.P. for Merioneth in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, and was sheriff fifteen times for his own and neighbouring counties; he was Custos Rotulorum of the County of Merioneth in 1576, and Lay-Rector of Denbigh. In 1567 he held

Fig. 151. Doctor Coch. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

(with others) the Royal Eisteddfod at Caerwys. He obtained the grant of Yspytty Ifan, which formerly belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John. He and his colleague, Cadwaladr ap Morys of Voelas, managed to obtain most of the monastic lands in the neighbourhood, including Tir Ifan, Tir Abbat, and the livings of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos and Llanuwchllyn. He was well-known as a subservient creature of the Earl of Leicester, and, according to Pennant, devoted to all his bad designs.

In 26 Henry VIII. (1535), the revenues of Conway (otherwise Maenan) Abbey, amounted to £162 15s. clear.*

The usual mode of procedure was as follows :—†

A Royal Commission was issued to the leading men of the county to make a survey of the houses in the district. They were to form a party of six visitors, comprising an auditor, the particular receiver for the county, and a clerk (who were Royal officials), accompanied by three other discreet persons named by the King. The Commissioners summoned the Superior, and showed him the "Act of Dissolution," and their special commission, after which the officials were made to swear to answer truly the questions, and the Commissioners then had to examine and report. They had to call for the Convent seal, and they made an inventory of plate, jewels, and other goods, after which the Superior was not to receive rent, or to spend money, till the King should relieve him, when he would receive a pension, *e.g.*, Richard ap Rhys, the last Abbot, received a pension of £20 a year and the living of Cerrigydrudion,

FIG. 152. CEILING, MAENAN HALL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

* Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. V., p. 671.

† Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries, by Rev. F. A. Gasquet,

A valuation of the estates and property of the Abbey of Conway is given in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 26 Henry VIII. (1535), particulars of which are given in Appendix Xe.

MAENAN HALL.

This mansion, inhabited by a branch of the Kyffin family for about two hundred years, is situated on the slope of the Conway Valley, within a mile eastward from the supposed site of the suppressed Abbey.* The house, which was enlarged (if not built) by Maurice Kyffin, has been somewhat modernised, but contains a few of the original wainscoted rooms, some of the walls and ceilings (Fig. 152) of which are ornamented with heraldic devices, chiefly consisting of the arms, etc., of Queen Elizabeth, in whose time the Royal arms had for their supporters the Lion of England and the

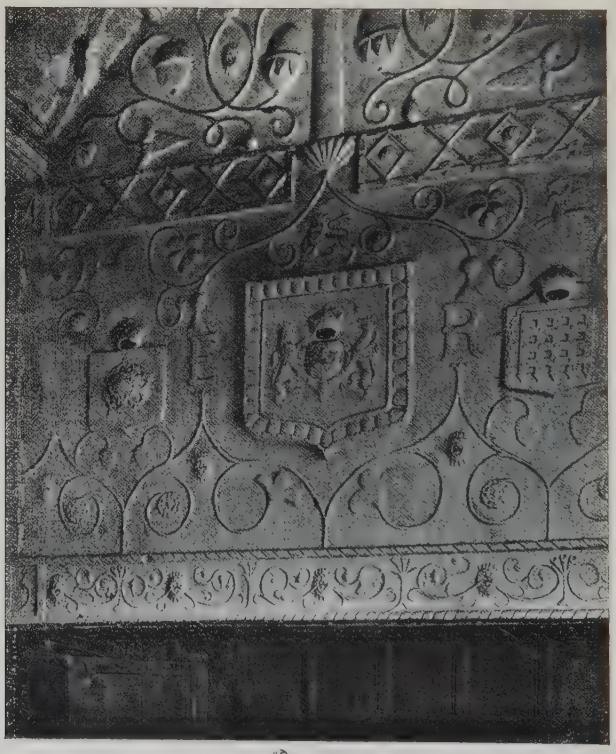


FIG. 153. PLASTER WORK, MAENAN HALL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

* Powys Fadog, Vol. V., p. 372.

Dragon of Wales. The old dining-hall (Fig. 153) has some fine plaster-work, now partially decayed, and at one end is the date 1532, with the initials "M.K." [Maurice Kyffin] and "E.R." [Elizabeth Regina]. This style of decoration was in fashion at that period, as may be seen in Gwydir Castle and in Archbishop Williams' house at Conway. The floor (Fig. 154) of the dining-hall is a noteworthy geometrical pattern, in flagstones of fine grit.

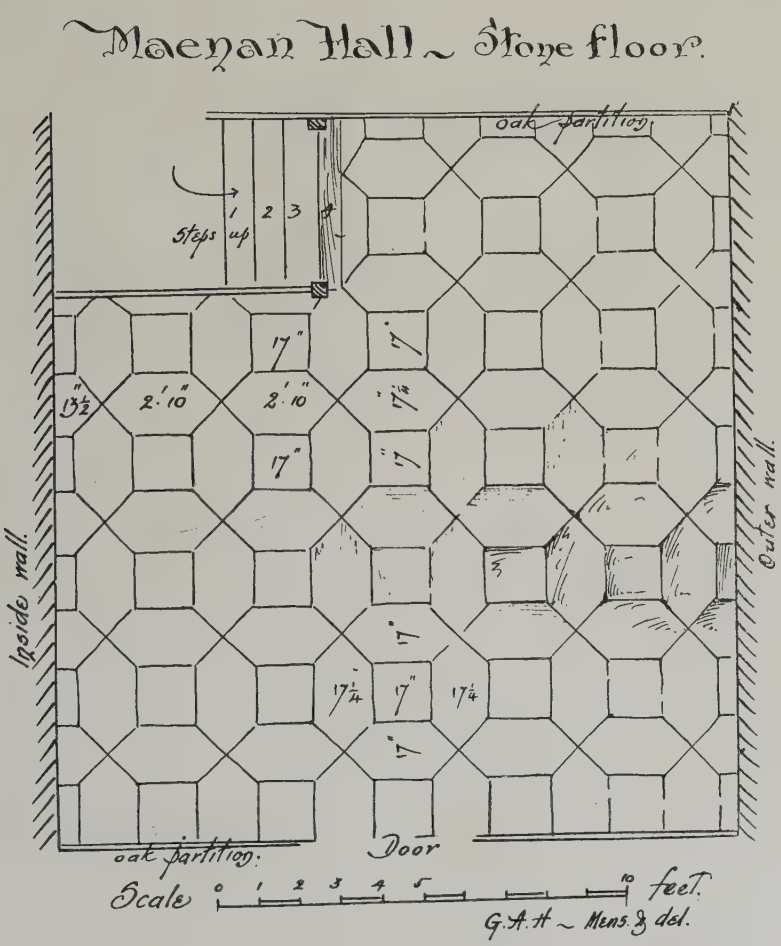


FIG. 154. *G. A. Humphreys, del.*

In the grounds of Maenan Hall is still to be seen a mediæval dove-cote (Fig. 155). The right to set up a dove-cote was formerly

FIG. 155. DOVE COTE, MAENAN HALL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

esteemed a great privilege, and, indeed, is still restricted in Scotland. Dove cotes are mentioned in a grant to Richard Owen and his heirs in Patent Roll 3 Charles I., Part 37, No. 1. In the Statutes of Wales, 12 Edward I. (1284), certain inquiries were made about "takers of pigeons flying from Dove Cotes."

Sir David Kyffin of Maenan Hall, and called Rector of Llanddoget, was the grand-nephew of Geoffrey Kyffin, an Abbot of Maenan Abbey, and goes back to Madog Kyffin of Llangedwyn. Morris (Maurice) Kyffin, the son of Sir David Kyffin, by Margaret, daughter of Meredydd ap Ieuan (who was descended from Owen Gwynedd), married (1) Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Mostyn, of Mostyn, and (2) Alis, daughter of John Wynn, of Melai, and, as stated above, probably built Maenan Hall,*

According to Dugdale, the site of the Abbey was granted in 5 Elizabeth to Eliseus (Ellis Wynne), from whom it has descended to Lord Newborough, the present owner; but, in the pedigree of Wynne of Garthewin, it is stated that William Wynne, of Melai, the father of Ellis Wynne, of Plas Bella, married Mary Tudor, heiress of Maenan Abbey and daughter of Sir Richard Clough (by Catherine Tudor of Berain). She (Mary) died in 1632, and the Abbey

* Arch. Camb., V. 2, 111.

descended in the male line to John Wynne of Melai and Maenan, Sheriff of Denbighshire in 1712, who married Sidney, daughter of Sir W. Williams, of Llanvorda, by whom he left two daughters, the elder of whom married Sir John Wynne, of Bodvean, and was thus the mother of Thomas Wynne, created Lord Newborough (in the peerage of Ireland), July 23rd, 1776. The estate is now held by the Hon. F. G. Wynne, of Glynllifon, son of the late Lord Newborough.

There seems to be no document to show how Maurice Kyffin became possessed of this rich portion of the Abbey lands; possibly he purchased it from Sir Richard Clough, or from Eliseus Wynne, said by the editors of Dugdale (1819) to have been the original grantee from the Queen.

The Kyffins of Bodfach, of Maenan, and of Glascoed, are all descended from Einion Efell (died 1196), a twin brother of Cynrig, and son of Madog ap Meredydd, a Prince of Powys. The surname Kyffin was first taken by Madog, the fifth in descent from Einion, to distinguish him from his father (Madog Goch), who was then living; he took his name Kyffin from the name of the place where he was nursed. The first Baron Mostyn was descended, through the Prices of Glanmiheli, from Elizabeth, the ultimate heiress of the Kyffins of Bodfach, near Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire. The male line of Maenan ended in Sir Thomas Kyffin, of Belmont, Ucheldref, and Maenan, Kt., a Judge, whose eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was married in 1789 to William John Lenthall, a descendant of Mr. Speaker Lenthall, and he was the direct ancestor of Edmund, Walter, and Edmund Lenthall, who in 1884 were living at Bessels Leigh Abbey, Berks. The last three dying in the space of three years (1907-1909), the estate has now devolved on the sisters of the last.

For the descent of the Kyffins of Maenan, see Appendix XI.

DRINKING FOUNTAIN.

In the centre of Lancaster Square, Conway, is a Drinking Fountain, commemorating Prince Llywelyn the Great. The base is of Anglesey limestone, surmounted by a column of Corsehill stone, fluted and festooned. On the top of the column, a bronze Corinthian capital supports a bronze figure of the renowned Welsh Prince, Llywelyn the Great, in chain armour of the early part of the thirteenth century. On the fountain is the inscription: "Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, Founder of Conway Abbey, A.D. 1184."

The figure, which was modelled by Mr. E. O. Griffith, of Liverpool, was designed by the architects Messrs Grayson and Ould.

The memorial was presented to the Borough by Mr. Albert Wood, J.P., D.L., eleven times Mayor of Conway.

CONWAY CHURCH.

The history of Conway Church may be roughly divided into three periods:—

(1) The church of the Cistercian Abbey of Aberconway from 1186 to 1282, with a transition period from 1282 to 1290.

(2) The parish church for the English colony, planted in Conway by Edward I., 1290 to 1541.

(3) The parish church dating from the Reformation, 1541 to 1911.

The church was originally built by the Cistercian Monks, and Mr. Harold Hughes* came to the conclusion that the Abbey Church occupied exactly the site of the present church, and that portions of the existing walls, and certain other features, must have belonged to the original conventual edifice. The churches of the Cistercians were almost always in the form of a cross, the Nave and Choir being E. and W., and the Transepts N. and S.; there were also a cloister garth and cloisters, chapter-house and dormitories, refectory, abbots' compartments, and kitchen.

In 1245, the English crossed the river Conway from Deganwy, plundered the Abbey, and burned down the south side of the church. On rebuilding, the chancel was widened, this being shown by the circumstance that the present south wall, with its two-light windows, extends beyond the original buttress.

In 1283,† Edward I. granted a Charter to the Burgesses of Conway, and by this the conventual church was made parochial, and the monks had to provide two fit and honest English chaplains to serve it, with a third, who was to be a Welshman owing to the difference of language. The necessary changes naturally took some time to accomplish, and it was not till 1303 that the final settlement was made for the vicarial emoluments, Sir Rowland-Bradshey (the first Vicar "of the parochial church of the Blessed Virgin") being granted, by indenture from the Abbot Tudor, that he and his successors should have half the parochial tithes, with sundry other

* See Arch. Camb., May, 1895.

† Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., IV. p. 73.

sources of income, and certain lands on the north-east side of the church, conditionally on the Vicar bearing "half the burden, ordinary and extraordinary, belonging to the said church." The entrance arch to the south porch is the oldest part of the church, and belongs to the twelfth century.

When the Cistercians were removed to Maenan, the church was not dismantled, but appropriated as the parish church for the new settlers, and the structure of the church was much modified. Early in the fourteenth century, great structural alterations were made, when the present tower seems to have been built within the ancient nave, and the south transept added, the present western entrance to the tower being, according to Mr. Harold Hughes, the entrance to the monastic chapter-house, and the lower portion of the tower being the western wall of the Abbey Church. Included among the steps of the stair turret are five or six steps, worked out of pre-Edwardian sepulchral slabs.

The church shared in the prosperity of the town (about 1450),* the great eastern window being erected in the chancel, and the finest internal decorations being added about the middle of the fifteenth century.

The font (Fig. 156) belongs to early Tudor times, and must have replaced the font which had served since the church had become parochial, for no pre-Edwardian font is probable here, as, according to Mr. H. L. North,† "Cistercian Churches did not as a rule contain fonts." The tower was now raised by the belfry stage: this was the recognised official position, whence the town-crier made all the necessary announcements to the burgesses, or called them together in times of danger.

The rood-loft is very beautiful, the miserere stalls, whose sides now form ends to the chancel seats and are even of finer workmanship, were given by the Wynnes, Hookeses, or Hollands, as letters and arms testify. One stall end has the words "William Holand" in full, either the father or the son of the Thomas Holland married by Richard Porter, Vicar of Conway, in 1477.‡

* Registers of Conway, by Miss Alice Hadley, 1900.

† The Old Churches of Arllechwedd, by H. L. North, B.A., F.R.I.B.A.

‡ See Holland Pedigree, by Prof. T. E. Holland, K.C., Arch. Camb., 3rd Ser., Vol. xii. (Appendix XIb.), and also article on the Hollands.

The troublous times of the Reformation did not disturb the mutual relations of the church and parish, owing perhaps to its isolated position, and to the fact that the vicar, Richard Peicke, appointed by the Abbey, and perhaps educated within the Abbey walls, was a member of an influential family living in the town.

This last remark applies to his successor, the Rev. Hugh Holland, who became vicar in 1535, probably the last appointment by the Abbey to the vicariate.

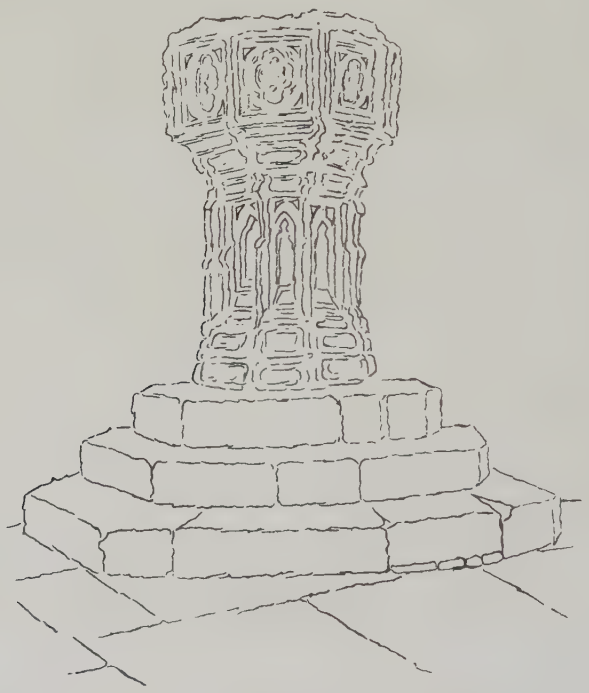


Fig. 156. Conway Font. *Williams' Aberconwy.*

At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, probably the crosses were taken off the rood-loft, and the side chapels dedicated to St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, etc., were stripped to become mortuary chambers, with tablets of the Peickes, Hookeses, Hollands, etc. The Rev. Hugh Holland remained vicar till his death in 1555. The record of his burial, in the Registers, is the first such entry relating to a Vicar of Conway. He was succeeded by Henry Holland, "the younger," who is described as "resident and keepeth house," and "able to preche and may do good."

In 1572, Henry Holland resigned in favour of John Brickdall, who, four years before, had been appointed rector of Llangelynin, on the death of Henry Holland the elder. Presumably the vicar of the parish retained the possessions originally devoted to its support by the Abbot Tudor. The patronage had passed into royal hands, as Queen Elizabeth, in 1572, presented John Brickdall, who at his death was holding the livings of Conway and Llangelynin.

The damage done during the Reformation changes was now made good; the rood-loft and chancel were patched up with the remains of the miserere stalls, great pews of mahogany and of oak were erected, with doors well carved in the linen-fold patterns, and brass plates attached, engraved with the names of the various families: the Wynnes of Voelas in the chancel, the Hollands under the south end of the rood-loft, behind them the Peickes and the Hookeses; on the south side of the nave were the Wynnes (probably those of Plas Mawr); opposite them, on the north side, were the church officials, aldermen, bailiffs, churchwardens, etc. The town had reached the summit of its glory as a free borough.*

The records kept by the monastic houses having ceased, the loss was at once felt, and Thos. Cromwell (as Vicar-General) issued, in 1538, a mandate for the keeping of Register Books, but this and several orders not taking sufficient effect, it was further enjoined, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that every minister should subscribe to the following order:–"I shall keepe the Register booke according to the Queen's Majestie's injunction." In 1600, a further law enforced parchment Registers,† and the copying on to parchment of any previous paper records. Vicar Brickdall divided the pages into three columns, headed with the words 'Baptizati, Nupti, and Sepulti.' This continued till 1597, when two pages were given up to burials, no marriage or baptisms were recorded, and a curious memorandum of a "greate darknesse" is thus extended in the Conway Court Book (1604):—

"Uppon the 26th daie of februarie Anno p.d.2 aboute tenn of the clocke in thaforenone [forenoon] beinge Satedaie before Shrove Sundaie their was greate darknesse soe that peeople weare astonged."

During the six years after 1598 there is not a single entry, pro-

* No such graphic description of Conway could have been given but for the researches and literary work of the late Miss Alice Hadley, and the generous permission for using the same given by her brother, Mr. Felix Hadley, of Bronlledraeth.

† Apparently the Conway parchment Registers commenced in 1576,

bably because of the plague which devastated Conway between 1597 and 1607. In the latter year John Brickdall died, and was buried in front of the altar ; his tombstone is now against the south wall of the chancel. During the time of the plague, John Hookes bought the right and title of Richard Peicke to St. Catharine's Chapel. From this time the town declined, and the Registers suffered ; it figured afterwards as a stronghold during the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliamentarians.

During the Commonwealth, the Registers were used as a scribbling-book, the income of Vicar Hugh Jones (appointed in 1642), being sequestered in 1650. In 1662, the Rev. Humphrey Pritchard became vicar, and the Registers began to be again kept with regularity. The advowson of Conway passed through various hands to the late Sir Thomas Erskine, of Cambo, Bart., who gave it to the Bishop of Bangor for himself and successors.

THE CONWAY SCREEN.

The very beautiful screen (Fig. 157), the fame of which has attracted many transatlantic pilgrims to visit Conway Church, calls

FIG. 157. CONWAY CHURCH SCREEN. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

for a somewhat detailed comparison with a similar one at Llanrwst.

The Rev. Francis Bond has drawn attention to the two following peculiarities in Welsh Screens :—1, Decorations with filigree work, 2, A non-lithic feeling in the designs. The eastern parapet of the Llanrwst screen furnishes a good example of the former feature, and the straight-sided sloping heads beneath the cornice at Llanrwst, indicate the non-lithic feeling, which forms the second peculiarity. But the arched heads filled with window-like tracery, in the Conway and Llanrwst examples, are more characteristic of English than of Welsh work. The Conway tracery, however, is not the original work. Of these two screens, both retain their lofts, but the parapets are missing in the Conway screen, which is the earlier and finer example of the two. The vaulting rises and descends against the styles of the pendants In the Llanrwst example (Figs. 158-9), the true meaning

Fig. 158. Llanrwst Screen, from the Chancel. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

of the feature has not been appreciated. Mr. Aymer Vallance has pointed out that there is no connection between the pendant styles and the vaulting, and that the former one is a mere screen to the latter. He has further drawn attention to the pomegranates—the badge of Catharine of Aragon—in the Llanrwst screen, a circumstance which would apparently confine the date of the construction to the period between 1496-1533, that is, from the betrothal of Catharine to Prince Arthur, in the former year, to her repudiation by Henry VIII. at the latter date.

Fig. 159. Llanrwst Screen, from the Nave. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

A monastic church contained a "pulpitum," or choir-screen, and a rood-screen, but in parish churches the latter was of a more important nature in proportion to the church than that in the conventual building. The Llanrwst example appears evidently to have always been intended for a parochial building, and therefore would not have been brought from Maenan, as several writers have stated.

Both at Llanrwst and at Conway, the rood-lofts were used to accommodate singers and musicians, until well within the Victorian Era. At Conway, so Sir Stephen Glynne tells us, "upon the loft" was "set a small organ,"* *i.e.* a barrel-organ.

* Arch. Camb., Vol. xvii. p. 177.

The MONUMENTS in the church are comparatively modern, one of the most curious being that of Nicholas Hookes, who lies buried in the chancel. The inscription reads as follows :—

Here lyeth ye body
of Nichs Hookes of
Conway gen who
was ye 4Jst child
of his father wm
Hookes Esq by Alice
his wife, and ye father
of 27 children, who
Dyed ye 20th day of March
1637
N.B. This stone was rev
ived in ye year 1720
Att ye charge of John
Hookes Esq
and since by Thos
Bradney and W. Archer Esqs.

Near this was, in 1835, a figure cut in stone, to preserve the memory of Mary, mother of Archbishop Williams, who died in child-birth of twins, October 10th, 1585. This figure has since been removed to the wall of the south aisle.

In the south-east corner of the chancel, is an arched monument with the following inscriptions :—

"Robert Wynne, Esquier, was buried the xxx daie of November ano 1598."
"Hear lieth the body of Robert Wynne, debytie maior of Conway, Esq., the sone of Thomas Wynne, who died the 16th of 9ber 1664."

On a mural tablet, near the altar, is :—

"John Wynne Esq. was buried the 19 Daye of November Anno Domini 1637."

He was Sheriff of Carnarvonshire in 1635, and his crest was "an eagle displayed or."

On a tombstone of black marble, in the north-east corner, may be read :—

"Here Lieth The Body of John Williams of Brymor,* Esq., 4th son of Sr Griff. Williams of Penrhyn, Baronet, who departed this life the 25th of July, in the 63rd year of his age† and the year of our Lord 1706."

In the chancel floor, under the seat in front of the organ, is a tombstone showing a marriage connection between the Hookeses of

* The descendants of this gentleman's family have many branches in North Carnarvonshire and Anglesey, among whom are the families of the late Mr. Thomas Elias, Llanrwst; Mrs Watts-Jones, Glyn, Dwygyfylchi; Mr Elias Jones, Brynmor, Penmaenmawr; the late Mr Elias Jones, Gwredog, Anglesey, &c.

† Miss Hadley's Registers of Conway, p. 363.

Conway and the Prices of Plas Iolyn. The inscription is as follows :

Here lieth the
bodie of Dorithye
Price wief of liefte
nant Hugh Hookes
daughter of Thomas
Price of Plas yolyn
Esq. Buried the 18
day of June 1632.
D. P.

On the south wall of the chancel is a stone bearing the Cochwillan Coat-of-arms, viz :—

"Quarterly : (1) *Gules*, chevron ermine between three Englishmen's heads, coupee at the neck in profile proper, bearded and crined *sa* ; (2) *Gules*, a chevron ermine between three stags' heads *arg*., attired *or* ; (3) as first ; (4) as second."*

The inscription reads :—

Underneath this ston
lieth the body
of Edmund Willi
ams who died
upon the xiii of
Januerii then be
ing alderman of
Conway ano
Domi 1601

In the floor of the chancel, which, before the restoration, was about half-a-foot lower than the nave, was found a stone bearing the following inscription under a rudely-cut sign of the cross: "Y.Z. 1066." This stone now forms part of the south wall of the chancel, in which is also a quantity of ancient tiling.

The chapel, which forms the south transept, contains (says Canon Williams in his "Aberconwy," p. 105) several monumental inscriptions, from which the following are selected. On the south side :—

"Johannes Hookes, Arm hunc tumulum fieri fecit in memoriam celeberrimi viri Hugonis Hookes. Arm. patris sui, qui obiit 27 die Julii, A.D. 1600."

On the same side are these Latin verses :—

Impiger errantes oculos converte viator,
Funera lamentis spargere nostra piis ;
Hic tua res agitur, mortalia funera cursú
Volvere praecipiti pulvere disce meo.

The inscriptions on the raised tombstone in the south-west corner, are given in the article on the Hollands of Wales.

The NORTHERNMOST window on the east side of the south

* Conway Registers, Miss Hadley, p. 364.

transept is dedicated to the Rev. Morgan Morgan, M.A., Vicar of Conway, who died March 6th, 1870.

The SOUTHERNMOST window on the east side of the south transept has, on the splay, an inscription on metal :—

Here lieth the Body of Mrs. Elizabeth Holland
Daughter of Mr. Hugh Holland who was buried
The 20th of September 1737 aged 19.
Here likewise lieth the body of her aunt, Mrs.
Elizabeth Holland second sister to her brother
Mr. Hugh Holland who was buried August
The 12th 1740, aged 71.
Here also lieth the body of Hugh Holland
Gent who died Jnne ye 6th 1759, aged 79.

There is a large piscina in the south wall of the south transept, the head of which contains some broken tracery.

On the west side of the south transept, on a metal plate under the window, are the words:—

Here lieth the
Body of Jane
Williams widow
And relict of
Holland Williams
Who was interred
The xxxi day of
August 1694.

On the south side, near the door, is a bust of the celebrated sculptor, John Gibson, R.A.

On the floor in the north aisle, is a flat tombstone, on which is the following Arms (Fig. 160b), surmounted by a helmet issuing from flames and a wreath, this in turn surmounted by the crest, a Lion Rampant.

MORS MEA VITA.

And below the inscription :—

Heare lyeth the
Body of William
Holland of Con
way gen who
Died the 6th day
Of December anno
Dom 1667
Heare lyeth the
Body of William
Holland gent and
The son of the above
named William Holland
Who died the fiefth
Day of February 1685
Aged 18 years.

FIG. 160. CONWAY CHURCH. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*
(a) 14TH CENTURY CROSS. (b) HOLLAND TOMB.

In the east window of the north aisle is the brass :—

This window is affectionately dedicated by
JANE SILENCE ERSKINE
To the memory of her husband
SIR DAVID ERSKINE, Bart. of Cambo,
Who died Jan. XXIX, MDCCCXLI, aged XLVIII yrs.
and of their two daughters
JANE HOLLAND
Who died March 3, 1826, aged 3½ years, and
MARY
Who died June 20th 1853, aged 23 yrs.
1854.

Connected with Conway church are some interesting examples of Sepulchral Cross Slabs.

The following description of six sepulchral crosses was (in substance) kindly supplied by Mr. Harold Picton, B.Sc., of Clacton-on-Sea, and the illustrations are from rubbings made by him.

(1) A cross in the church-yard near the vestry door (Fig. 161). Probably this originates from not later than the eleventh century. There is not trace of that Norman influence which is felt in the leaf decoration on the large sepulchral slabs in St. Tudno's Church, Llandudno.

(2) A cross in the recess in the south aisle early, 13th century (Fig. 162a), is simple in character, and there are few steps to the calvary. Circles and broken circles in the cross-head occur frequently in the 13th century.

(3) A cross in the north porch (Fig. 162b). This seems to be somewhat later work of the 13th century. The trefoiled calvary rather suggests the later date.

(4) A cross in the north aisle (Fig. 162c). A rich example, possibly still further in the 13th century. There are six stages to the calvary.

(5) A cross on the roof of a vault (Fig. 160a), not next to the wall, is a rather rich example of 14th century work. The nimbus surrounding the cross head is usually characteristic of 14th century work.

(6) A cross next the wall on the roof of a vault is much worn and decayed; it is probably late 14th century.

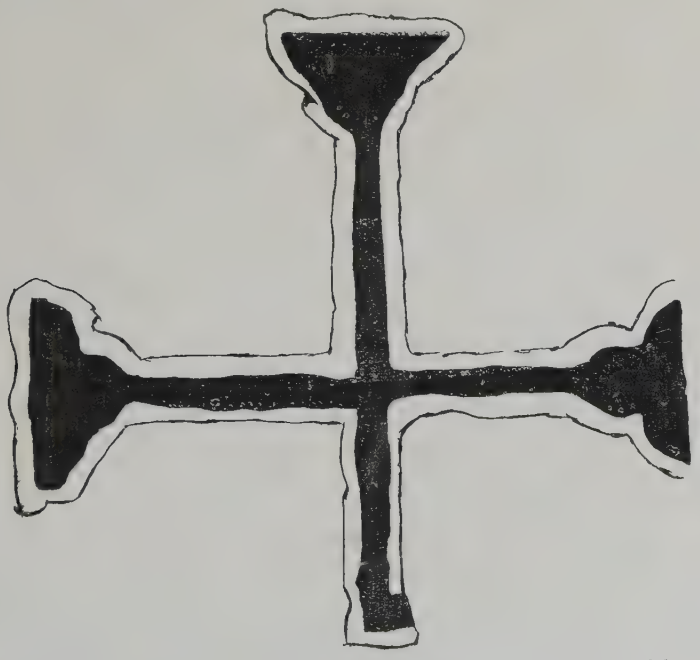


FIG. 161. CROSS, CONWAY CHURCH-YARD. *H. Picton, del.*

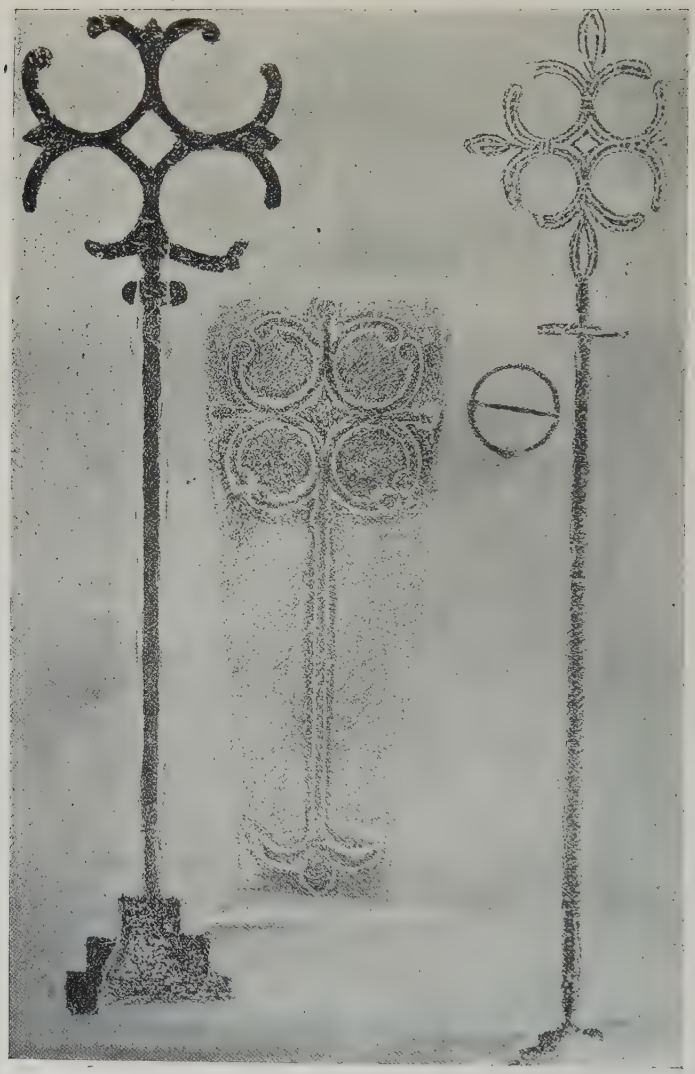


FIG. 162. CROSSES, CONWAY CHURCH. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd.*
(a) Early 13th Century. (b) Later 13th Century. (c) End 13th Century.

In making excavations in the north porch, during the restoration of the church, two stone crosses were found, buried about 3 feet below the surface. These were placed in the north aisle.*

* History of Conway Castle, p. 34. It is possible these may be some of those described above.

Canon Williams says (1835), "The pulpit and reading-desk are very handsome, being made of fine mahogany, as also are several of the pews." As a regrettable consequence of the restoration in 1873, these fine mahogany pews disappeared from the nave.

Three holy-water stoups are now preserved in Conway Church, whence possibly they were originally taken. The first (Fig. 163) to be taken back to the church was raked up by a Conway fisherman, at the mouth of the river, during the vicariate of Canon Rees (1870-1893). The second, which is in worse preservation, was found (about the time of the Diamond Jubilee) during the excavations for the present Town Hall; it had been built in a wall. Both these stoups may possibly have been in the safe-keeping of the Hollands of Plas Isa'. More recently still, a third small stoup was brought to the church; it is almost perfect, stands on a square base, and is bevelled at the upper corners.

Fig. 163. Holy-water Stoup, Conway Church. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

The length of the church to the extremity of the chancel is 116 feet, and the breadth 58 feet; the chancel is 37 feet long by 25 feet.

According to Canon Williams, there were formerly (before 1835) four bells in the steeple, of which the second and the great bell only remain. The first was destroyed many years ago, and the third on the day that the late Sir Thomas Mostyn, Bart. (died 1831), attained his majority. The smaller bell has upon it this inscription: GLORIA IN DEC., 1634. The large bell has a remarkably fine tone, and its circumference on the outer edge is 12 feet, its height is 3 feet, and on it are the words :—

Ave fidelis domina Werburga Sanctissima
Felix in Choro Virginum
Ora pro nobis [ad] Dominum
Johnes Byrchynshaw Abbas Cestre.

This bell was probably brought here at the Dissolution, from the Abbey of St. Werburgh in Chester. John Birchenshaw was made Abbot in 1493; about twelve years afterwards, he was displaced on account of some faction, but he was re-instated in 1530, and he continued there until his death (in 1535). This bell is rung with a wheel of 30 feet in circumference, and is generally used to toll for church service and for funerals.

It is curious to find an invocation to a "Saxon" saint upon a bell in Wales, but the rest of the legend supplies the necessary clue to the elucidation of the circumstance.*

The Curfew Bell is still rung at Conway; it is tolled on all week-days, except Saturday, at 8-0 p.m., and on Saturday at 7-0 p.m.; the number of tolls is sixty.

At Bangor, the sixty tolls at 8-0 p.m. in each week-day, are supplemented by the tolling of the numerical day of the month.

The Chester Curfew tolls from 8-50 to 9-0 p.m. on every week-day, the number of tolls being one hundred and twenty.

There was no endowment for the ringing of the Conway Curfew, but it was a part of the sexton's duty to ring it, and, as a result in the last decade of the 19th century, it was for a short time discontinued, but the custom was soon resuscitated, a subscription book being taken round, so as to re-imburse the ringer. The time and number of strokes have been somewhat irregular of late.

In the tower, which is about 65 feet high, is the clock, which was presented by Col. Douglas-Pennant, M.P. for Carnarvonshire,

* Notes by the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes.

father of the late Lord Penrhyn of the second creation, on the coming of age of his eldest son, who afterwards became the second Lord Penrhyn (succeeded 1886, died 1907). Col. Douglas-Pennant gave £5,000 to the six boroughs of Carnarvonshire to celebrate the event, £500 of which was the share of Conway, and, out of this, £300 went to purchase a clock and £50 for placing it in the church tower; the clock is kept in order by the Corporation. This is a rare example of a church clock not belonging to the church.

Near the south porch is a sun-dial, graduated to single minutes, and showing the points of the compass, and the equation of natural days, *i.e.*, the number of minutes (on each day of the year) which has to be added to, or subtracted from the Conway dial-time, to find Conway mean-time [about fifteen minutes behind Greenwich]. The dial bears, in addition to the motto, "Disce Bene Vivere et mori," the inscription —

Erected
by the Corporation
of
Conway.
Robert Wynne, Junr. Esqr., Alderman.
Hugh Williams and John Nuttal, Bailiffs,
1761.
Meredith Hughes, Fecit. *Lat.* 53° 20′

Not far east of the sun-dial is a broken unlettered stone (now protected by iron bars), which is all that remains to mark the resting-place of the two children who "in the church-yard dwell," spoken of by the little girl who, with sweet insistence, persisted in telling the poet Wordsworth, when he met her in Goodrich Castle, "We are Seven."*

Among the tombs are the graves of two British veterans who served, the one in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, the other at Trafalgar; the resting-place of a blacksmith (Richard Edwards, late of Holyhead), who was drowned in crossing the Conway Ferry on December 25th, 1806; the grave of two Scots children who died in 1825 and 1826, the daughters of one Andrew Young, of Longholme, Dumfrieshire, "who was foreman of the Conway Bridge Masonry;" and the "narrow home" of Robert Davies, sole agent of the Pearl Fishery of Conway, who died December 3rd, 1832.†

In the time of Canon Williams (1835) the living was a vicarage in the gift of the Plas Isa' family (then represented by Sir David

* Conway Official Guide.

† Illustrated History of Conway Castle, by Rev. R. Williams, B.A., pub. by R. E. Jones Bros.

Erskine, Bart., of Cambo, Fife), which retained the advowson of St. Mary and All Saints, Conway, until, in the time of the late vicar (the Rev. J. P. Lewis, M.A.), it was presented to the Bangor Diocesan for ever.*

By the will of Lewis Owen a moiety of the tithes is distributed among the poor of Aberconwy (see p. 227). "The [ecclesiastical] parish of Aberconwy is of no great extent: on the south it is bounded by the river Gyffin, which separates it from the parish of the same name; on the south-west, the boundary leaves the river between Bryn-y-Gunog and Hendre, and, crossing the Town Mountains, it descends to the sea through Savn Cristian, where it touches the parish of Dwygyfylchi."

THE OLD BUILDINGS.

The account of the walled town of Conway may be fitly concluded with a description of a few of the noteworthy buildings of days gone-by.

Perhaps the most important survival is the Elizabethan mansion

PLAS MAWR.

The Architecture.—During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Robert Wynne,† third son of John Wynne ap Meredith, of Gwydir, near Llanrwst, and uncle of Sir John Wynne, the Historian, came into the possession of a large parcel of land within the walls of the town of Conway,‡ on which he built Plas Mawr; his wife Dorothy, the grandmother of Archbishop Williams, was the widow of William Williams of Cochwillan. He was Sheriff for the County of Carnarvon in 1591, and he died in 1598; he left by his second wife a son Thomas, whose son Robert was deputy-mayor of Conway, and lies buried in the chancel of Conway Church under an arched monument; he died in November, 1664. The marriage of his daughter Elen, with Robert Wynne of Berthddu and Bodysgallen, conveyed Plas Mawr to that family.

The chief entrance to the mansion is from the High Street, on the south (Fig. 164), through a porch, on the outer archway of which is carved the Royal Arms of England, and over the doorway, within the portico, are two Greek words, Anechou, Apechou, with

* Williams' Aberconwy, p. 107.

† His Aunt Margaret married Morrys Kyffin of Maenan Hall.

‡ Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc., 1898, pp. 75-77.

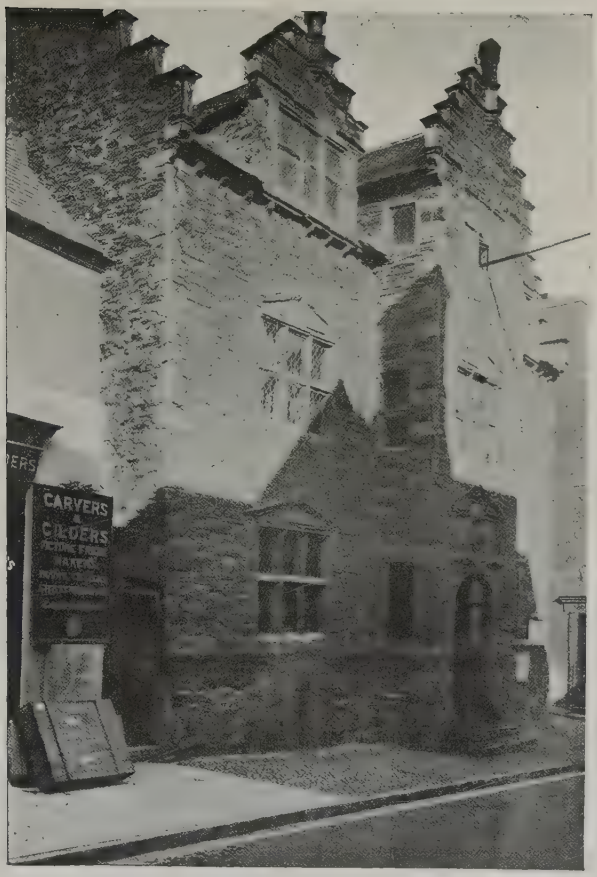


Fig. 164. Chief Entrance, Plas Mawr. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

their interpretation in Latin, Sustine, Abstine; which means, Bear, Forbear. Ancient accounts mention the fact that the sacred monogram I. H. S., X. P. S., and the date 1585, appeared on this front, but no sign of them remains at the present day. Passing through a massive door and wicket, with heavy iron hinges and studded with nails, a passage is entered, which leads to the Lower or South court (see Plan Fig. 165). The South Block was probably the residence of the porter and other retainers. Access to the upper floor was gained by a wooden staircase, of which the newel only remains. The attic was probably used as a store-room.

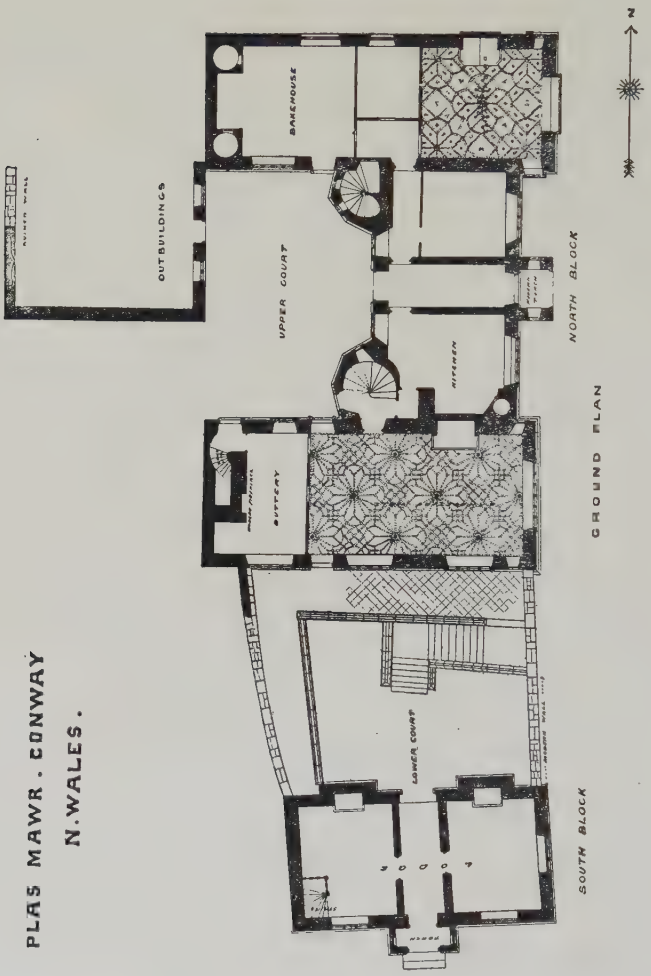


FIG. 165. PLAN OF PLAS MAWR, [By permission of the Roy. Camb. Acad.].

Owing to the rapid rise in the ground, a flight of steps from the Lower Court leads to a terrace, which is on a level with the North Block; on the pedimented doorway are the initials R. and W., each on a shield.

The North Block consists of two wings, and in one of these is the fine old Banqueting Hall. Along one side and end are black oak fixed seats with scroll-work rail and turned supports, and one side is wainscotted.

There is a magnificent ceiling ornamented in stucco, with central Tudor roses, and elaborate crests and mouldings over the fire-place. At the further end of the room from the door, is a large stone-mullioned window with quarrel-paned lattice; on the opposite side to the fire-place are two other windows. A border runs round the room, the oak leaf, the symbol of hospitality, being the chief ornamentation, and in the centre over the fire-place is a shield containing the arms of Robert Wynne, with the date 1580;* on the quaint figures which are intended as supporters, are the initials R. W. (Robert Wynne). The large blocks of stone which form the chimney-breast are dove-tailed, and the side supports are strengthened by large blocks being built into the wall, the exposed ends being carved. At the bottom end of the room is a massive oak screen dividing it from the buttery, and a stone staircase leads from this to the cellars beneath.

By passing through the doorway leading to an ascending spiral staircase and turning to the right, the Small Kitchen is entered. The chief feature of this is the fine stone arch of the huge fire-place, at one end of which, in the thickness of the outer wall, is built a stone oven. Two stout black oak beams cross the ceiling, from which is suspended a "car," or bread-safe.

At the end of the passage from the Small Kitchen, on the right, is situated a parlour called by tradition Queen Elizabeth's Room (Fig. 166). There is no mention of the Queen coming to Conway, but probably the name was acquired through her initials and the Royal Arms being over the chimney-piece; the Griffin or Dragon is the sinister supporter in the place of the Unicorn, and the letters E. R. are on either side of the Royal Arms, which is surrounded by other crests and decorations, the portcullis [the Tudor family] badge being conspicuous, and the rose representing both the houses of York and Lancaster. On either side of the windows, the Arms of the Wynne family occupy the central position, above which are the letters R. W. (Robert Wynne), in different designs, whilst below are the figures 15 on one side and 77 on the other, supposed to be the date when the room was originally decorated, all the ornamental plaster work being picked out in correct heraldic colours. On the wall opposite the fire-place are the remains of the letters D. G. and J. W., meaning probably Dorothy Griffith and John Wynne. The walls and ceiling are beau-

* He bore quarterly. 1st and 4th, Owen Gwynedd, Prince of N. Wales, "Vert three eagles displayed in fosse or;" 2nd and 3rd. Collwyn-ap-Tangno, "Sable a chevron inter three fleurs-de-lis Argent."

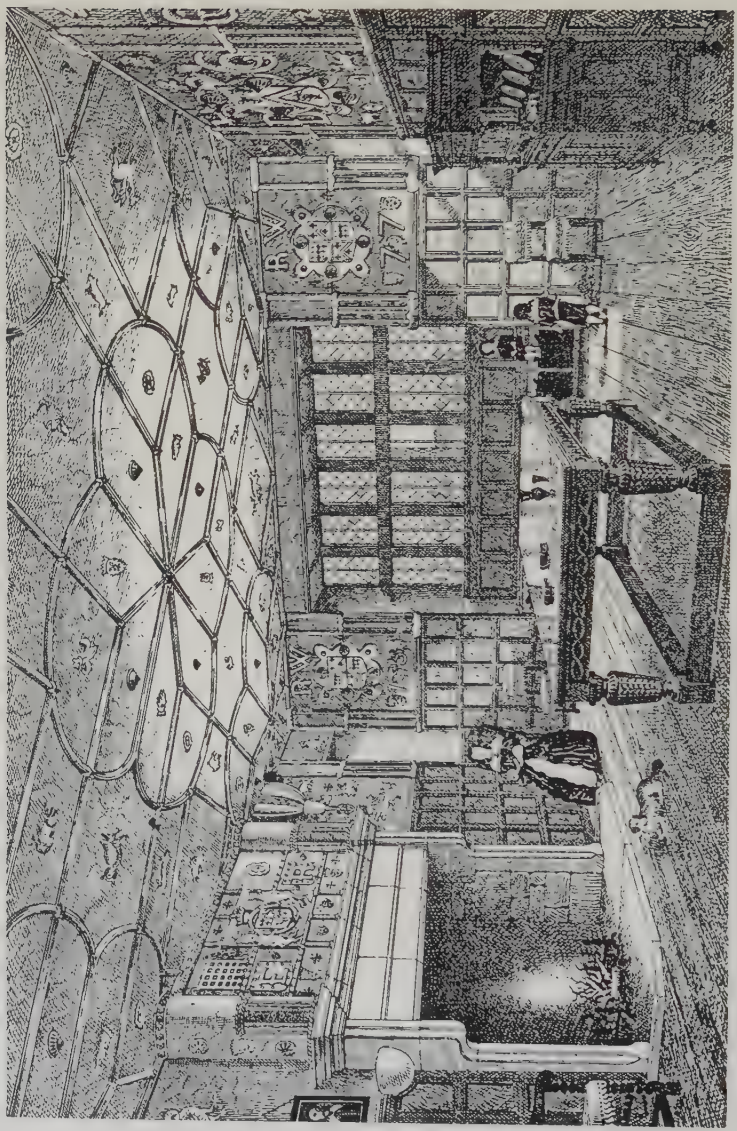


Fig. 166. Queen Elizabeth's Room, Plas Mawr. [By permission of the Roy. Camb. Acad.].

tifully decorated in plaster, with swans, owls, cranes, ostriches, bears, mermaids, ragged staves, and a variety of fantastic figures. The ragged staves are the badges of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

Opposite the window is a massive oak screen, the centre, horizontal, and upright timbers being carved. The old oak panelled door

is made with mitre joints, all the mouldings being worked in the solid, and the original latch is made entirely in wood ; above this door the Tudor rose and leaves are finely carved. In two corners of the room are small recessed windows, which would look into the garden.

Opposite this room is the West Kitchen. The fire-place is 9 feet 6 inches wide and 5 feet deep; built into the walls on either side are stone ovens.

From the fine heavy timbers crossing the ceiling is suspended an old cradle-spit ; the spit-irons are in the fire-place. The window-mullions at this end of the building are roughly squared on the inside, while on the outside they are rounded and slightly within the breast of the external wall, with projecting moulded window heads outside. At the other end of the building, the mullions are moulded on both sides, and the window heads are flush with the wall.

The north part is probably the older, the mansion having been built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The door by the Kitchen window opens into the inner Court-Yard, and a door in the oak screen, adjoining the one by which the Kitchen is entered, opens into a small pantry.

From the passage outside the kitchen door a spiral staircase can be ascended, and, passing through a doorway, the Wynne Room is entered on the left. This is supposed to have been the bedroom occupied by the Earl of Leicester, portions of his heraldic bearings, the Boar, and the Bear with the Ragged Staff, appearing on the walls and ceiling, and the date "1577" being on the corners by the shield over the fire-place in this room.

Queen Elizabeth's Bedroom is supposed to have been used by Queen Elizabeth, but the bedstead said to have been used by the Queen is now at Gloddaeth. Above the fire-place are the arms of Robert Wynn, with initials R.G., probably Robert of Gwydyr. The letters R.G. and J.G. are also on each side of the centre windows. The oak screen is similar to that in the Queen's Sitting-Room.

It may here be mentioned that each ceiling in Plas Mawr is different in design. Among the animals on the ceiling and walls of this bedroom are the griffin, the owl, the stork, lions and lions' faces, the heads of deer with antlers, eaglets, stags, fleur-de-lys, saracens' heads, boars, unicorn, dragons, swans, a dove just about to settle on a branch, and Tudor roses and other ornaments.

The Reception Room is nearly 40 feet by 20 feet, by 11 feet in height. A new floor was laid in 1888, but the old fixed seats remain; there are also two of the original tables. The ornamentation is similar to that of the other rooms. Leaving this room by a door opposite to that by which it was entered, the passage leads under a secret chamber built in the thickness of the wall adjoining the breast of the chimney, which runs up from the small kitchen; ascending five steps, and keeping to the left, the Lantern Room is entered. This is so called from the old lantern on the left side of the window. It is formed by an opening through the wall tapering inwards at the sides and top, with a small angular window projecting outwards from the face of the external wall. In olden times, a candle placed here would light the terrace and courtyard below. This is the "Haunted Room" of Plas Mawr.

Decorative plaster-work was much used by the Ancients, but with the fall of the Empire at Rome, the art fell largely into disuse. In the sixteenth century it was introduced into France, and about the same period by Henry VIII. into England, the half-timbered houses being especially adapted for this class of raised plaster-work. At the present day, there is no such perfect specimen existing in Great Britain as that in Plas Mawr.

THE HISTORY OF PLAS MAWR.

(By Mr. J. R. FURNESS, Curator, R.C.A.).

The following particulars relating to the family and crests of Plas Mawr have been taken from the writings of Sir John Wynne, Bart., the historian,—also from the work on Plas Mawr by Messrs. Arthur and Herbert Baker, and from other sources. Brevity in these particulars has been considered, as more lengthy information can readily be obtained from the various pedigrees, etc.

Plas Mawr, Conway (Fig. 167), was built by Robert Wynne, who was born in 1520. He was the third son of John Wynne of Gwydir, near Llanrwst. The ancestry of Robert Wynne may be traced from Caractacus through the line of British Kings to Gruffydd ap Cynan, the last to hold the title of "King of Wales," whose son, Owain Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, who died 1169, bore "vert three Eaglets displayed in fesse or." Of Owain Gwynedd's sons, Roderic was the ancestor of Robert Wynne. Iorwerth was the father of Llywelyn the Great, and ancestor (through the female line) of the Royal Family of Tudor; and David, who became Prince of Wales, married the sister of Henry II., and was slain at Conway with all the family by Llywelyn the Great.

FIG. 167. PLAS MAWR, CONWAY. [By perm. of the R. C. Acad.].

The Gwydir estate came into possession of the Wynne family through purchase from David ap Howel Coetmore, a descendant of Iorwerth ap Owain Gwynedd, by Meredith Wynne, who died 1483, and was succeeded by his son, John Wynne. His eldest son, Morrys, inherited Gwydir, and he was the father of Sir John Wynne, the historian and ancestor of the Wynnes of Wynnstay. The third son, Robert, became possessed of land in the town of Conway, upon which he built Plas Mawr, about 1576—80. The property remained in the family until late in the seventeenth century, when it passed by marriage into the Mostyn family, who are the present owners, and from whom it is held by the Royal Cambrian Academy of Art.

Gwillim, who married Janet, daughter of Sir Wm. Stanley, of Hooton, was made Hereditary Chamberlain of North Wales, and Grand Forester of Snowdon by Henry VI., but his son William was only allowed to assume office on condition that he married an Englishwoman; he, therefore, espoused Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Dalton, whose shield was a "Lion Rampant." His grandson, Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn, Knight Chamberlain of North Wales, married Jane, daughter of Sir Thos. Stradling of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorganshire, by whom he had a numerous family. His daughter, Dorothy, married first William Williams of Cochwillan, and, secondly, Robert Wynne of Plas Mawr, Conway. She died in 1586 without issue by her second husband.

Robert Wynne afterwards married Dorothy, daughter of Randle Dymock, of Hanmer, by whom he had children.

One of the conspicuous features of Plas Mawr is the plaster decoration on

the walls and ceilings; these were originally finished in correct heraldic colours, and, in its early days, must have had an imposing appearance.

In the centre over the fire-place (Fig. 168) in the Banqueting Hall, is the coat-

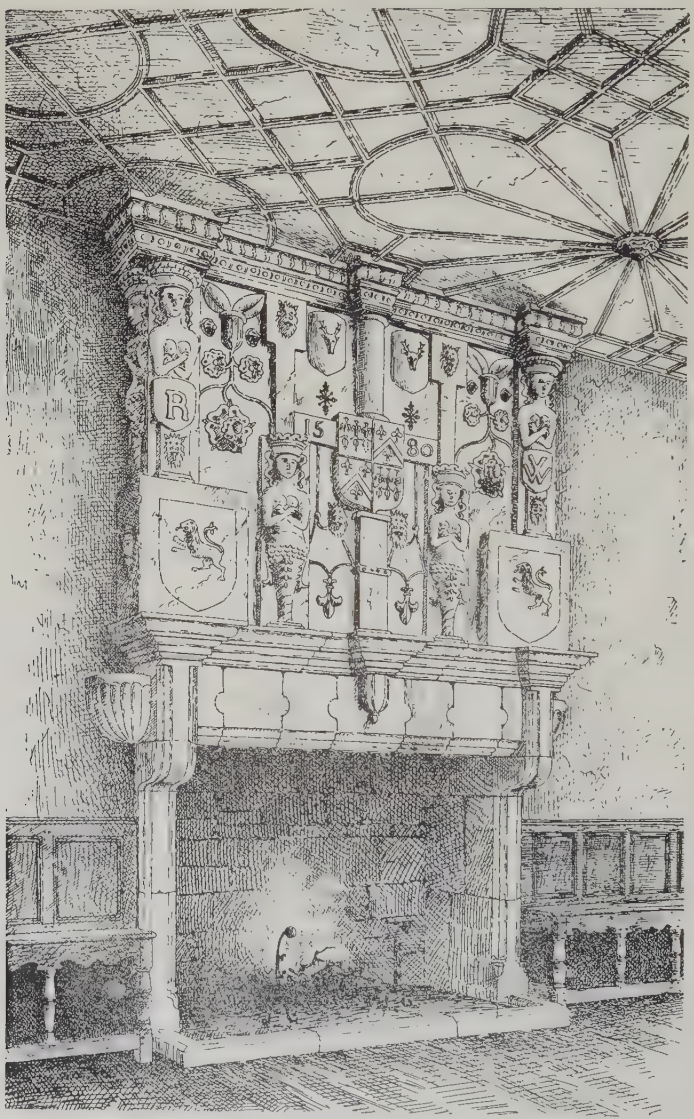


Fig. 168. Overmantel, Plas Mawr. [By perm. R. C. Acad.].

of-arms of the Wynne family, together with the date, on each side of the shield, 1580. On the quaint figures at each side are the initials R.W. (Robert Wynne), near which are the roses of York and Lancaster (these were formerly coloured red and white); they are united, as it were, with ears of corn, and lead to the Tudor rose below. These Tudor roses are enriched with ears of corn, which we may conclude has been brought about in this way. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was hailed as King Henry VII. after the battle of Bosworth, when Richard III. was defeated and slain. Henry VII. married Elizabeth of York. This marriage terminated the disastrous Wars of the Roses. It thus brought about the longed-for peace, and peace brought plenty, as represented by the ears of corn. This also introduced the Tudor rose.

In reference to the rose, a slight digression may here be pardoned. The rose, which is considered the floral emblem of England, was first used as a badge by King Edward I., who inherited it from his mother, Eleanor of Provence, or more probably assumed it in memory of his descent from her.

There is a tradition that the rose was introduced into Provence by returning Crusaders.

There are other instances of the rose being used by Royalty, but it is not until the "Wars of the Roses" that it became a prominent royal badge.

It is not quite clear how the white and red roses were assumed as emblems by the Houses of York and Lancaster. The white rose is traced to the Earl of Cambridge, fourth son of King Edward III. He married as his second wife, Maud, daughter of Lord Clifford, whose family assumed the white rose as a badge, in memory of "Fair Rosamond" Clifford. The red rose is thought to be a badge of the Lancasterian honour of Richmond.

Henry VII. bore on his banner a white rose placed on a larger red one, crowned, showing that the Houses of York and Lancaster were united. This is called the Tudor rose.

One more short digression. The rose is a symbol of silence, and gave rise to the phrase *sub rosa* (under the rose), said by Italian writers to have risen from the circumstance of the Pope's presenting consecrated roses, which were placed over the confessionals at Rome to denote secrecy (1526). On the overmantel of the Banqueting Hall there are fine specimens of the Tudor rose with ears of corn.

The oak-leaf is the chief ornamentation of the frieze. The oak, in the language of flowers, is symbolic of hospitality; we may, therefore, infer that it was introduced to indicate a hearty welcome, the language of flowers being more generally recognised and understood in those days.

Perhaps a short notice of the Arms and Crests with which Plas Mawr is enriched may be of some interest: these consist of Royal Arms and Badges, and the Arms of the Wynne and Griffith families and their connections.

Lion of England

The Lion of England.

Arms of
Queen Elizabeth

The Royal Arms, with their supporters, the Lion of England and the Dragon of Wales, are over the entrance doorway in High Street (this is now imperfect). A complete one is over the fireplace in Queen Elizabeth's sitting-room. The Unicorn, as now used, became the supporter of the Lion in the time of the Stuarts.

Fleur-de-lis

The Fleur-de-Lys of France; it is also from the arms of Collwyn-ap-Tangno, Lord of Eivionedd and Ardudwy, who bore "Sable a chevron inter three fleur-de-lis argent." It was the national emblem of France till the Revolution in 1798, when the tricolor (white, red, and blue) was adopted.

Lion Rampant
(Borne by many ancestors of Queen Elizabeth)

Borne by many ancestors of Queen Elizabeth; also the arms of Sir Richard Dalton, whose daughter and heiress married William Vychan of Penrhyn, 1440.

The Tudor Rose

The York and Lancaster and the Tudor Rose.

Portcullis in
Queen's Sitting Room

The Portcullis was a badge of the House of Tudor.

Lion's Face

Apparently the head of the dexter supporter of the Royal Arms. William de la Pole, the first husband of Eleanor, the grandmother of Sir Owen Tudor, bore "Azure a fesse or inter three Lions faces."

Red Dragon of
Henry VIII.

The Red Dragon of Cadwaladr, the last King of Britain, the cognizance of Wales. The Ensign of Edward I., of Henry III. and of Henry VII. (at Bosworth), and among the badges attributed to Queen Victoria is, in respect of Wales, "a Dragon passant, wings elevated, gules upon a mount vert."

Swan

A Royal Badge taken by Henry IV. after his marriage with Lady Mary de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, who was also indirectly an ancestor of Dorothy Griffith.

The Swan was used as a pendant to the Lancaster Collar.

Boar

The White Boar, a badge of Richard III., and a pendant to the Yorkist Collar.

The Boar was also the arms of the famous beauty, Catherine of Berain, who had for the third of her four husbands, Morrys Wynne, of Gwydir, the eldest brother of Robert Wynne.

Stag of Richard II.

The White Hart, a device taken by Richard II., from the ensign of his mother, Joan, the Maid of Kent.

The White Hart was also borne as a supporter to the arms of Henry VI., also the arms of Madog ap Iarddur, of Penrhyn.

Boss

This bears a very strong resemblance to the sun in the Yorkist Collar of Suns and Roses, made for the Countess of William Fitzalan, fifteenth Earl of Arundel, 1487.

Unicorn

This may have been used in allusion to the arms of Roberts Paris, Chamberlain of Chester and North Wales, 1401, the first husband of Janet, daughter of Sir Thomas Stanley, of Hooton, who afterwards married William Griffith, of Penrhyn.

Order of the Garter, Fireplace in Reception Room

The Tudor Rose within the Garter was added to the Insignia of the Order by Henry VII.

Eaglet
(From the Arms of Owain Gwynedd, Prince of Wales; died 1169

From the arms of Owain Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, who died 1169.

Englishman's Head

From the arms of Ednyfed Vychan, Grand Forester of Snowdon, and Chie Councillor of Llywelyn the Great.

Stag's Head

From the arms of Iarddur of Penrhyn, the predecessor of Ednyfed Vychan, in the office of Grand Forester of Snowdon.

Arms of
Robert Wynne

Robert Wynne bore quarterly: 1st and 4th—Owain Gwynedd, "Vert three eaglets displayed in fesse or," 2nd and 3rd—Colwyn ap Tangno, "Sable a chevron inter three fleurs-de-lis."

Arms of
Dorothy Griffith

Dorothy Griffith bore quarterly: 1st and 4th—Ednyfed Vychan, "Gules a chevron ermine inter three Englishmen's heads couped argent."

2nd and 3rd—Iarddur of Penrhyn, "Gules a chevron inter three stags' heads caboshed argent.

(*See arms of Robert and Dorothy Wynne*).

Arms of Robert and
Dorothy Wynne

An impaled coat-of-arms. Wynne and his principal quartering impaling Gryffith and her principal quartering. This is a very unusual arrangement. The chevron between three eaglets is incorrect, and was evidently an innovation of the artist to obtain effect of the chevron pattern running through the shield.

Griffin Crest
of the Griffith Family

The Griffin is given in Lewys Dwnn's Heraldic Visitations of Wales as the crest of the Gryffith family.

Owl

From the arms of John Hookes, Esq., of Conway, who married Elen, aunt of Robert Wynne, who bore "Argent a chevron inter three owls azure."

Bear and
Ragged Stave

The Badge of the Earl of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale.

Stork

Sir Richard Bulkeley, whose daughter Jane married Morrys Wynne, of Gwydir, bore in the 10th quarter of his shield: "A Stork."

Oak Branch and Bird

This may be an allusion to the family of Lathoms, from whom Dorothy Gryffith was indirectly descended.

"An Oak Branch fessewise truncated and leaved proper thereon, a Heron rising or" was borne as a crest by the Lathoms of Parbold, a junior branch of the family.

THE DECORATIVE PLASTERWORK OF PLAS MAWR, &c.

(By Mr. G. A. HUMPHREYS, A.R.C.A.).

"Plaster" has been a medium of decorative expression for thousands of years, Combining ease of manipulation with great durability, it can be modelled, cast, incised, stamped, and coloured with equal freedom.

In the ruins of Mesopotamia, dating back to about 3,000 B.C., are to be seen walls covered with stucco and frescoes. The excavations by Dr. Arthur Evans, at Knossos, have brought to light decorations in stucco executed probably some eighteen centuries B.C. These comprise a bull's head and a human figure of exceptional refinement and power of modelling. The Egyptians decorated their buildings by painting on stucco, and so did the Greeks, before the use of marble became prevalent. Viollet le Duc wrote :—"The Romans used stucco very frequently, ... sometimes decorated with engravings and ornaments in slight relief." Passing on to the work of the Italian Renaissance, we find stucco-duro* in profusion and of great excellence, spreading through Europe, and influencing the art of these Isles, through the introduction (by Henry VIII.) of Italian, French, and Dutch craftsmen. Native workmen assisted the foreigners, and in course of time learnt the craft. About 1547, a Charles Williams is found supplying internal decorations "in the Italian fashion," and he is referred to in two letters as that "cunning playsterer who had made dyvers pendants and other pretty things, and had flowered the hall at Longleat." Williams established a school of stucco modellers, and, though their work shows unfamiliarity with human and animal forms and is inferior to that of their Italian masters, they developed a character (peculiar to the native workmen) which is valuable.

The stucco-duro material of the foreigner gave place to a coarser material, made of ordinary lime, sand, and hair, which became the decorative medium of the native British "Playsterer."

Many exceedingly good examples of the plasterers' art are to be found, in

* Stucco-duro is carbonate of lime.

the old houses of this district, in ceilings, cornices, friezes, wall spaces, and particularly in overmantels. Many records have come down to us through the shields with armorial bearings and crests, which are still to be seen in many old houses, while the strap-work panels tell their own tales as to dates.

Plas Mawr, Conway, is particularly rich in this class of work. In Queen Elizabeth's bedroom, the ceiling has single ribs of mouldings with enriched bosses and heraldic crests of the Wynnes,—lions, boars, winged lions and dragons, masks, herons, swans, stags' heads, stags, rosettes, and fleurs-de-lis. In the Queen's sitting-room the chimney overmantel is divided into nine panels flanked by enriched pillars. In the centre are the Royal Arms, with E.R. on shields right and left. The date 1580 appears in the Banqueting Hall, and 1577 in Queen Elizabeth's Room and in the Wynne room. These and the other rooms all contain historic records in plaster work.

In Maenan Hall, there is some fine late sixteenth-century work, prominence being given to the Royal Arms flanked by "E. R.", the initials of the Kyffin family, and various heraldic crests (Figs. 169 and 170).

FIG. 169. PLASTER-WORK, MAENAN HALL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

Later examples may be seen at Plastirion (Fig. 171), 1662 and 1663, and at Caer Melwr (1633), both houses being near Llanrwst, and having belonged to the Wynne family.

FIG. 170. PLASTER-WORK, MAENAN HALL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

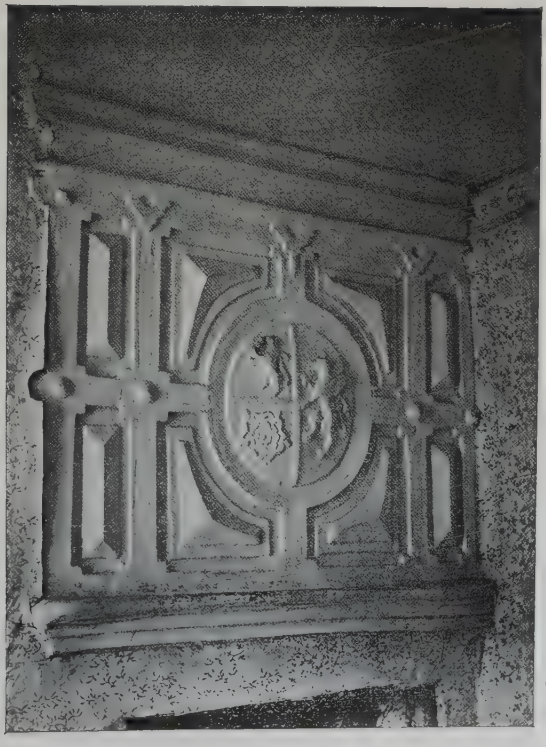


FIG. 171.

PLASTER-WORK, PLASTIRION.

Photo. by A. H. Hughes.

"THE ABERCONWY."

This, perhaps, is the oldest house in Conway, situated at the lower end of the High Street (see Frontispiece), and is a fine example of a timbered building.

FIG. 172. "THE ABERCONWY," CONWAY. *Photo. by R. S. Johnson.*

Mr. R. S. Johnson, the present occupier, has taken much care in the restoration of this building by removing the coatings of white-wash and of plaster, with which many of the magnificent oak beams

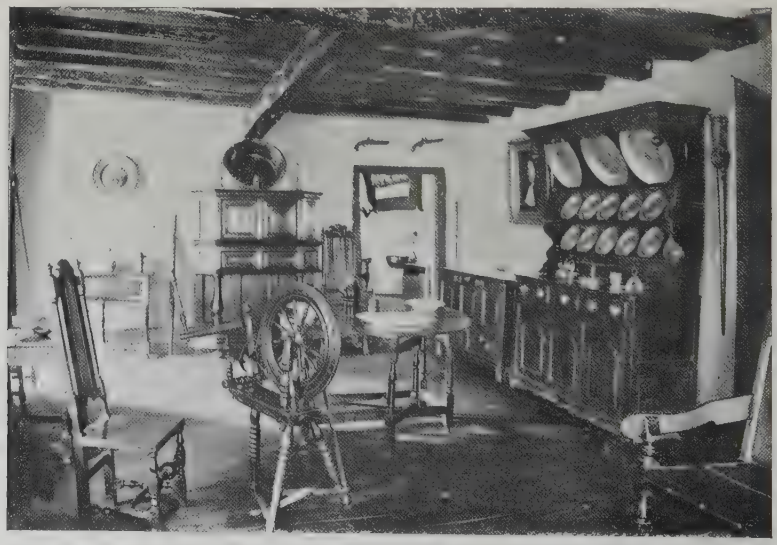


FIG. 173. "THE ABERCONWY" (Interior). *Photo. by R. S. Johnson.*

were hidden from view. It is said that several of these black oak beams, now to be seen in the ceilings of some of the rooms, are in the actual position in which they were placed some 500 years ago. The illustrations (Figs. 172 and 173) show the exterior and interior of the building, and in the interior are placed many articles of furniture, etc., that are to be seen in the old Welsh houses. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, this house (then called the Aberconwy Temperance Hotel) was a great attraction to visitors from far and near.

THE OLD COLLEGE [CASTLE STREET], CONWAY.

It is supposed that the original structure was built in the twelfth century, by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, in connection with the old Cistercian Abbey, and that it was restored and established as a college by Edward I.*

The illustrations (Figs. 174 and 175) represent Stanley Buildings

FIG. 174. LLYWELYN'S COLLEGE. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

* Pennant's Tours, iii. 129.

as they appeared at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, and some of the solid oak framework can still be seen. This house is said to have been built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but there are no early authentic documents. All that now remains is a quaint first storey double oriel window* with the Stanley Crest. This last is intended to represent an eagle pouncing upon a child, the crest of the Earl of Derby's family, derived from the time of the Lady Isabel Stanley (née de Latham). In the present instance, the eagle is so roughly sculptured as to seem like a parrot trampling upon a child and pecking it.†

FIG. 175. LLYWELYN'S COLLEGE.
From photo. in the possession of Mr. G. A. Humphreys.

PLAS PORTER.

"Exactly opposite the college window, two new houses are built in a garden (1835) which has always gone by the name of Plas Porter, and there were in it, within a few years, remains of an old house, which bore the same name; it was probably the residence of the chief porter of the castle. ‡

* The proprietor, Mr. J. E. Conway-Jones, has taken every means possible to preserve the crest, but it is gradually crumbling away.

† R. E. Jones' Guide to Conway.

‡ Williams' Aberconwy, p. 84.

It must, however, be remembered that Thomas Porter and Bartholomew Porter are said to have been (early in the 17th century) in the possession respectively of "common ground" and of "rentals" in the town of Conway.* Possibly, therefore, Plas Porter took its name from being the dwelling-house of one or both the above-named, rather than from being an official residence of the porter of the castle or of the town.

AN OLD COCK-PIT.

Lying in a cul-de-sac from Lancaster Square is a "round building," originally a cock-pit, and which was used subsequently in succession as a Baptist Chapel, a Band-room, a Studio, a Liberal Club Room, and the Exhibition Room of the Gwynedd Ladies' Art Society.

FAMOUS INNS.

On the east side of Castle Street is the "Blue Bell" Inn, where was annually held, during the last century, the Court Leet of the Crown Manor of Nantconwy (a Court stated to be "ancient" in a document dated 1286), the twelve jurors of which used to be entertained to an excellent dinner at the expense of the reigning Sovereign, who was represented by the Steward of the Manor.

Adjacent is the "Black Lion" Inn, where of a Monday morning the pig-market used to be held; on a stone, over the door, is the inscription: "1589—I.B.—E." Traditionally the house was erected by Vicar John Brickdall, and the inscription "I.B.—E." corroborates this, for his wife's name was Em. Motley, as may be seen in the Conway Registers, the marriage taking place on the 10th of May, 1589.

BLACK HORSE, CONWAY.

Mr. Thos. Aneurin Roberts, Myrddin, was born in 1825, at the "Black Horse" (situated on the west side of Castle Street, Conway), of which his father was the landlord. He was Head-master of the National Schools, in a building on the site of the present Guild Hall. In 1842 he was made Post-master, and retained this office until he was superannuated in January, 1892. He died on November 18th, 1892.

PLAS ISA'.

The site of the new Town Hall, which about 1896 replaced the Market Hall, was formerly occupied by the fine old mansion known

* Court Book of Conway.

as Plas Isa', for many years the residence of the Holland family. Plas Isa' was in ruins about 1850, but it is known that the Rev. Hugh Williams, M.A. [see Holland Pedigree], the father of Lady [Silence] Erskine, lived there about 1805 ; he was a magistrate and very decrepit, but such was the respect in which he was held, that it needed but the carrying out of the old gentleman, seated in a chair, to quell any disturbance that had arisen in the town. Plas Isa' was a stone building, of two or three storeys, with boxed-in shutters; while the staircase was notably handsome.

Just outside Plas Isa', up to the beginning of the 19th century, the "stocks" were placed. Whenever there was a case for the "stocks," there was an ancient custom [which survived to the beginning of the 19th century] that the last person who had been married should go out on the following Sunday, to Pen Twthill, and "cry stocks." This actually happened to a William Davies, joiner, who was married about 1827 to a Mary Thomas. Robert Jones, the sexton, was sent to tell him, but W. Davies refused to open the door ; the sexton then got a ladder, so as to reach his bedroom, but, as he was just mounting it, Jenny Thomas [W. Davies' mother-in-law] appeared on the scene. Said she, "What are you doing, Robin?" to which he replied, "I am getting William Davies to 'cry stocks.'" "Come down at once and be ashamed of yourself," replied Jenny Thomas. It seems that W. Davies yielded to her request, and thus ended for ever the old custom of "crying stocks."

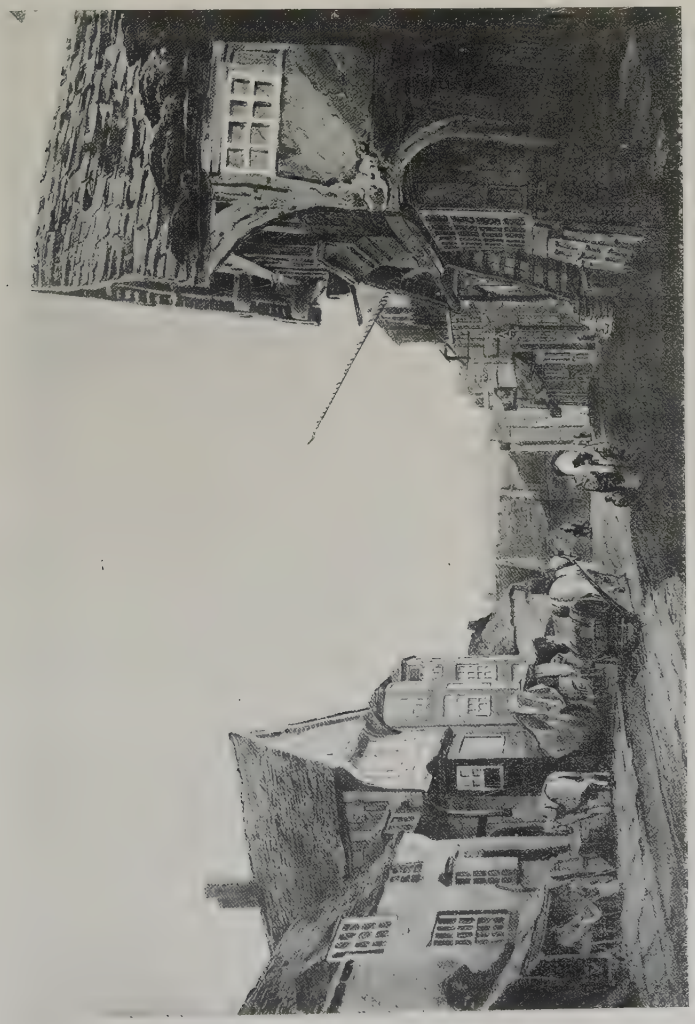
On one occasion, about the end of the 18th century, a party who was condemned to the stocks, went to the Vicar to ask his protection. "My good creature," said the Rev. Hugh Williams, "I do not know but that I shall be there next week, I must not interfere, and I am sorry I cannot assist you." It must be remembered that in these days the Vicar was a magistrate in virtue of his office.

Whenever the stocks were used, the culprits were watched by an old Corporation official, wearing a large hat with a leather strap, and with a big staff in his hand, to see that they were not molested.

It was the Rev. Morgan Morgan [father of the Rt. Hon. Sir G. O. Osborne Morgan], Vicar of Conway, who brought the Sabbath into greater respect, as he stopped rough plays, pitch-and-toss, and cock-fighting on Sundays, and the playing of football and the burning of effigies in the streets.

HIGH STREET.

Less than a century ago, the High Street (Fig. 176) was bordered with a fine series of old buildings, such as "The Aberconwy," the Castle Hotel, Plas Bach, the "Coach and Horses" [now "The Old Mail Coach"], Plas Mawr, etc. (see Frontispiece and Fig. 167).



HIGH STREET, CONWAY. *Photo. by Edge, Ltd., Llandudno.*

FIG. 176.

Even as late as 1860, according to Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S.,

"opposite the Castle Inn is a large old house with wooden framework and lathed and plastered interstices, probably belonging to the 16th century;" it was approached by an archway, leading into a courtyard.

"Adjoining that inn is an old hostel, now modernised, but retaining traces of great antiquity, the King's Head, where rested in former times a large proportion of the travellers between Chester and Holyhead."

On the site of the Castle Hotel were some remains of the old Abbey Buildings, let out in tenements. In the Castle Yard, at the present time, is a building of two storeys, with the long principals reaching from the ridge to the ground.

TY UCHA'.

Another interesting old house, Ty Ucha', the birthplace of the late Alderman John Williams, was unfortunately pulled down about 1854 to make room for the modern Victoria Terrace in Rose Mary Lane. The illustration (Fig. 177), from Canon Williams' History of Aberconwy, shows that it was a fine example of a timbered house.

FIG. 177. TY UCHA', CONWAY. *Williams' Aberconwy.*

The house which, among others, lays claim to being the birthplace of Llywelyn, was called Plas Llywelyn. It was also situated in Rose Mary Lane, but it was pulled down about 1858.

ROSE HILL STREET.

In Rose Hill Street, close to where the present sexton lives, was an old farm-house with a horse-mill [sometimes called Rose Mill], where two horses were used, according to tradition, to grind corn for the garrison, when the town was beseiged. The old Plas Ucha' extended from the top of the High Street across to Church Street.

NOTES ON THE OLD ARCHITECTURE OF ABERCONWY

(By Mr. G. A. HUMPHREYS, F.R.I.B.A.).

It has been stated that of all the artistic achievements of the British race, two make unchallenged claim to pre-eminence—our imaginative literature, and our Mediæval Architecture. Whatever there may have been on the site around the Abbey before the coming of Edward I., it is as an Edwardian town that we know the early domestic architecture of Conway. Little wonder, therefore, it being an English town planted in Wales, built and occupied by English supporters of that King, that we should find characteristics prevailing which were evidently imported. In those days, local materials had far greater influence on architecture than obtain at present. Forests were plentiful, and it is only natural that the craft of the carpenter should be seen in various stages of development.

The most perfect early example of domestic architecture which remains is the Aberconwy House (Fig. 172) at the junction of High Street with Castle Street. The solidity of the lower storeys of stone, and the projecting upper floor of half-timber work, form a pleasing constructional combination based on actual requirements. This projecting storey was a common method employed, in the narrow streets of mediæval towns, to increase the size of the upper rooms. In the example referred-to, notice that the lower floor is set apart for storage, and that the living rooms are approached by very picturesque stone steps outside the entrance door, while the timber brackets carrying the projecting upper floor is a genuine use of that material. The present barrenness about the roof is attributable to later and decadent methods.

From the other illustrations in this volume (see Frontispiece, etc.), it will be seen that, in the later buildings, half-timber work had further developed in Aberconwy town, the timber construction commencing near the ground with the rail, post, bracket, and brace, the main structural parts. Fig. 176 shows the boldness of their projections, where storey is bracketed over storey, and the gables overhang. What beautiful play of light and shade would be visible to the artist of those days! There are also examples of the latest type of half-timber buildings, with mullioned windows of good proportion, and a touch of late Gothic feeling in the angle shaft (with capital and base) points to Tudor influence.

The interior divisions of these buildings were also largely constructed with timber framing, "wattle and daub" * being employed to fill up between,

* A sort of wicker-work usually formed of interlaced osiers, the surface being daubed over with clay.

or planking nailed to the framing, while the beams and joists of the floors presented an adze finish.

These examples convey numerous lessons to the modern architect and to the builder, by the skilful way in which the timbers were put together, the truthful expression of the material, and the genuine timber character produced by frankly exposing the construction. The Tudor mansion of "Plas Mawr" is another phase of architecture, and is dealt with elsewhere.

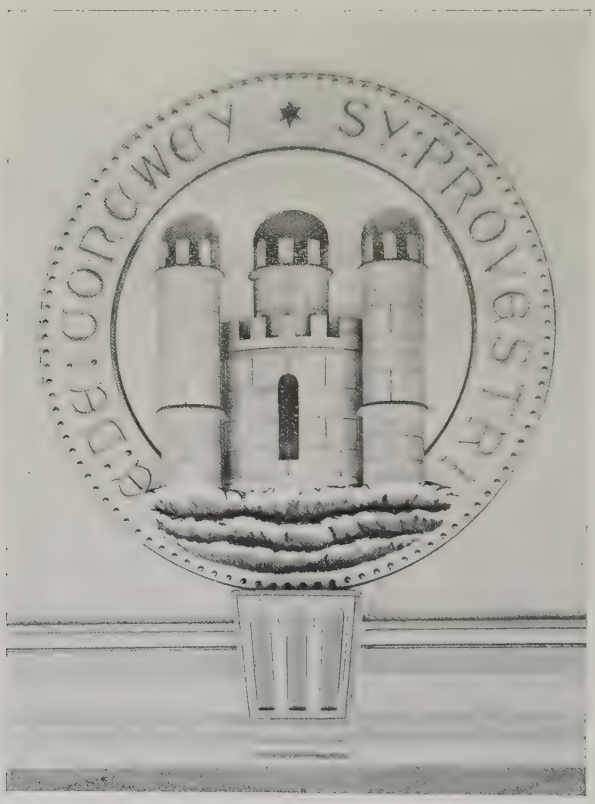


FIG. 178. MUNICIPAL ARMS, CONWAY.

The Seal of the Corporation (Fig. 178) bears the inscription—

"E : DE : CONEWEY :: SY : PROVESTRI,"

which means, Edwardus dedit Conewey Sigillam Provestri [Edward gave Conway the Seal for the Provost].

CHAPTER VII.

NOTABLE PERSONS OF CONWAY

Among the many eminent personages connected with Conway, the following seem to require a more detailed biographical description in this place, viz.: Archbishop John Williams, Sir John Owen of Cleneneu, John Gibson (the world-renowned sculptor), and the Hollands, the latter on account of their close connection with the town-life of Conway, although in part belonging to Denbighshire.

ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS.

The Archbishop was born at a fortunate time, for on the one hand the English system of land tenure was far more favourable to his acquirement of wealth than the Welsh system, which it had supplanted a few years previously, and, on the other hand, the recounting of genealogies had not yet ceased amongst the English and Welsh. In Wales, under the laws lately superseded, a man had to know his pedigree nine generations back if he wished to escape needless blood-money fines, whilst under the former ecclesiastical law (lately simplified by King Henry VIII), an Englishman who did not wish to incur a heavy expense had to know the distant ramifications of his pedigree, and of his godparents' pedigrees, if he was to get on the cheapest terms a dispensation before marrying within the prohibited degrees.

John Williams had among his paternal ancestors a host of historic personages, the recital of whose achievements may well have been the spur to cause him to aspire and to scorn no toil which could help him to attain place and honour. Speaking of him in 1589, a member of his family said, "Jack Williams is a very sharp lad, and he will become a famous man."

His father, Edmund Williams of Conway, was the fifth son of the second William Williams of Cochwillan, a younger branch (in direct male line) of the Griffiths of Penrhyn, descended from the far-famed Ednyfed Fychan, whose arms they bore, viz., a chevron and three

Englishmen's heads cut short at the neck, and these may be seen among the quarterings on Edmund Williams' tombstone, on the south wall of the chancel of Conway Church. Miss Hadley, in the "Registers of Conway," gives the following description;—

COAT-OF-ARMS.—Quarterly: (1) Gules, chevron ermine between three Englishmen's heads, coupée at the neck in profile proper, bearded and crined *sa*; (2) Gules, a chevron ermine between three stags' heads, *arg.*, attired *or*; (3) as first; (4) as second.

Underneath this ston lieth the body
of Edmund Williams who died upon the
xiii of Januerei then being
Alderman of Conway ano Domi 1601.

In a recess, in the South Wall of the South Aisle of Conway Church, is the tomb of a woman, with arms bent upwards and clasped over the breast, with her head on a pillow. In the Duke of Beaufort's "Progress,"* under the heading of "Conway Church," there is an illustration of a tombstone, without an inscription, of a recumbent figure of a woman, with her head on a pillow, the latter bearing the initials "E. M.." Are these tombstones one and the same? If so, it is not that of the mother of Archbishop Williams. In the same book, another tombstone has a coat-of-arms there given, with the inscription—

Under this stone lyeth the
Bodie of Edmund Williams
Who died upon the xiii day of
January then being Alderman
of Conwey. An Dom. MDCI.

Another tombstone adjoining is thus superscribed—

Maria Robinorum sobole
Coniux Edmundi de stirpe
Guillhellmorum oriundi
Terno Marium partu filiorum
Bino fæcunda occubuit decimo
Octobris An. Dom. MDLXXXV.

Edmund Williams' paternal grandfather was also named William Williams, and was the son of William ap Griffith ap Robin, the last-named being the founder of the Cochwillan family. William Williams, Sen., married Lowry Salesbury, daughter of Henry ap Sir Thomas Salesbury Hên of Lleweni, by his (Henry's) marriage with Margaret, widow of Howel, lord of Mostyn, to whom she had brought the Gloddaeth property. John Williams could also in the female line trace his descent from Prince Griffith ap Conan, Prince of

* Dineley's facsimile edition of the Duke of Beaufort's Royal Progress, 1684.

North Wales ; Madoc ap Meredydd, Prince of Powys ; and Helig ap Glanawg, the last owner of the (supposed) submerged palace between Penmaenmawr and Gogarth. John Williams' paternal grandmother was Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn, by his marriage with Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle. Dorothy's sister, Jane Griffith, married Thomas Mostyn of Gloddaeth and Mostyn, whose father, Richard, was son of Margaret and Howel above mentioned. Sir William's father was Sir William Griffith ("Hael"), and his mother was Jane, daughter of Sir William Troutbeck, Knt , by Margaret, daughter of the first Lord Stanley, and sister of the first Earl of Derby, this Margaret's mother being Jane Goushill, daughter of Sir Robert Goushill, Knt. This last-named lady could trace back to the Blood Royal of England, for through her mother, the Lady Elizabeth Fitzalan, she could claim a Plantagenet descent. She was also descended from the Bohuns, the Mortimers, and Prince Llywelyn the Great ; also from the Welsh monarch assassinated (in 1064) on the summit of Penmaenmawr, King Griffith ap Llywelyn ap Sitsyllt, and through his Queen (Edith the Swan-necked) from the Lady Godiva of Coventry fame.

John Williams was the youngest of five sons of Edmund Williams of Aberconway, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Owen Wynn ap John Owen, of Eglwysfach, and was born on March 25th, 1582, and, almost certainly, at Conway, as, according to the parish registers, he was baptized at Conway Church on March 27th, 1582. One of his two sisters was the wife of Sir Peter Mutton [or Mytton], a near relation of the General Mytton who became so noted in the time of the Great Rebellion ; her tombstone is in Glanconway Church, where she was interred December 22nd, 1643.

Educated at the school which Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminister, had founded at Ruthin, his kinsman Dr. Vaughan, afterwards Bishop of London, entered him in 1598, in the sixteenth year of his age, at St. John's College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Owen Gwynn. He studied hard, and was blessed with a "stupendous" memory, a clear judgment, keen common-sense, and untiring industry, and from his youth up he never required more than three hours' sleep in the twenty-four. In April, 1603, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and within a month was elected a Fellow of his college, with a seniority which in time would bring him the Proctorship of the University. He was highly esteemed by the Fellows of his college,* and, having been sent to Court to petition the King for a mortmain to increase the maintenance of the Master and Fellows, he succeeded in his address.

* Among whom there was a strong Welsh element, including William Holland, John Gwyn, and others.

He took orders in the 27th year of his age, and became so eminent a preacher in Cambridge that he was selected to preach before King James and Prince Henry at Royston.

In the second year of King James I., Dr. Vaughan was made Bishop of London, and during the next three years his cousin, John Williams, stayed a few weeks each year with the Bishop at his Palace, where he gained an insight into the methods of Church government, and was enabled to make the acquaintance of another kinsman, John, Baron Lumley, whose sister's husband (Mr. Humphrey Llwyd, the antiquary) had searched out for him a most precious library, some treasures out of which he bestowed upon Williams.

In 1605, he took his M.A. degree, and in Bishop Hacket's Life it may be read how, by natural ability and by the influence of his friends, he advanced from dignity to dignity in Church and State, being Chaplain to Lord Chancellor Egerton, Archdeacon of Cardigan, Vicar of Walgrave, Dean of Salisbury, Dean of Westminster, Privy Councillor (18th June, 1621), and Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and combining with the duties of the episcopate those of the Lord Keepership of the Great Seal of England (10th July, 1621), being in fact, though not in name, the last of the clerical Lord Chancellors who have added so much lustre to our national history; on December 4th, 1641, he was made Archbishop of York. Both in the House of Lords and in the Courts, his tact and ability were notorious. Through his interest, Dr. Laud, who afterwards became the most virulent of his enemies, was advanced to the Bishopric of St. David's.

The Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey was restored by Dean Williams, who, in 1624, gave a banquet in it in honour of the marriage of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I.

Williams continued in favour with the King till His Majesty's death in 1625, when he closed his eyes with his own hands. With the accession of Charles I., his fall and troubles commenced, and his former patron, the Duke of Buckingham, persuaded the King to deprive him of the Seals, which he gave up in October, 1625.

Williams' position is well shown by the following extract from a letter from Bishop Lewis Bayley of Bangor to his father-in-law, Sir Sackville Trevor, Knight:—

"The Parliament beganne yesterday, and the King and all his lords rode

in state in it. My Lord of Lincolne could not be suffered to be at the Coronation, nor to use his place there as deane of Westminster, but was commanded the day before the Coronation to dep'te to Bugden, where he now is. Things goes hardlie w'th hym, and I feare will yet goe harder."*

This letter was written two days after the coronation of Charles I., which took place 5th February, 1626. One reason for Buckingham persuading the King to dismiss Lord Keeper Williams was, that the Bishop, in conjunction with Pembroke, Arundel, and Archbishop Abbot, were suspected of encouraging opposition to Buckingham's policy in Charles I's. first Parliament. "The Duke was also excited by Bishop Laud, whose ambition feared no rival except the Lord Keeper; the latter, however, was highly popular among the people, and had his advice been followed by the King's ministers, the country would probably have escaped the miseries of civil war."†

Moreover, Charles I. did not wish Williams to be present at the opening of Parliament, then first meeting, nor to bless the coronation oil of anointment, Williams, as a Bishop occupying the Deanery of Westminster, being entitled to do this if present. In his absence the oil was blessed by Laud, then Bishop of St. David's.

Williams then retired to Buckden, the Palace of the Bishops of Lincoln, and once the residence of Queen Catherine of Aragon. In the space of one year he made a stately mansion out of a ruinous pile; he planted woods, and made a walk three feet from the ground of about a mile in compass, shaded and covered in on each side with trees, the pleasure grounds alone covering 14 acres. He that reports this‡ knows best that "all the nurseries about London for fair flowers and choice fruits were ransacked to furnish him." He beautified the chapel, and in it "the Holy Service of God was well ordered and observed at noon and at evening, with musick and organ, exquisitely as in the best Cathedrals and with such voices as the kingdom afforded not better for skill and sweetness, the Bishop himself taking the Tenour part among them often . . . . Every place wherein he had a title was the better for his charity."

* Arch. Camb., 1871.

† Williams' Aberconwy, p. 55 Hacket's Memorial to Archbishop Williams, folio, 1693, furnishes the most authentic account of him; and from this Phillips compiled his Life, 8vo., Cambridge, 1700, and Stephens his abridged Memoirs, 8vo., London, 1715. A Life of the Archbishop was also written by Dr. Lloyd. See also Notices of Archbishop Williams, by B. H. Beedham, London, 1859.

‡ Hacket.

He had a choice Library and 600 volumes of French literature relating to French History; he founded Libraries for the Clergy, and he re-founded the Library of Westminister Abbey, though its life was lamentably short, for all the books except one perished in a fire in 1694. He established local charities; the four livings of Souldern, Freshwater, Aberdaron, and St. Florence were under his patronage; he gave lands for the endowment of fellowships and scholarships, and contributed a little over £2,000 to the new Library of St. John's College, Cambridge,* which was finished in 1624.

"The beautiful pile (says Hacket), now stretched in continuation of the north side of the second court to the river, Williams came up to inspect it in 1628, when he was greeted with the remark from the Fellows, 'What you have bestowed upon us, *your memory* will survive it all.'"

The letters I.L. C.S. (*i.e.*, Johannes Lincolniensis, Custos Sigilli) appeared conspicuously over the central gable of the great oval window; his arms, richly emblazoned, were over the door.

After the death of Buckingham, Bishop Laud fomented the enmity of the Court against Williams, who was tried in the Star-Chamber on an absurd charge of revealing the King's secrets. This ended in his being condemned to pay a fine of £10,000 to the King, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during His Majesty's pleasure. He was released in 1640, and his talents were employed by Charles in endeavouring to appease the seditions and troubles that now began to wear a serious aspect; although Charles would not listen to the advice of the bishop, who remonstrated against his going to Scotland, he soon after raised him to the Archbishopric of York.

The troubles between the King and Parliament involved Williams and other Bishops in a short enforced residence in the Tower, on a charge of High Treason, but they were released on bail in May, 1643. In the Civil War, the Archbishop garrisoned and repaired, at his own cost, Conway Castle for King Charles, who, however, contrary to his royal engagement, dispossessed him of its custody, before making arrangements for the restoration to their several owners of the plate and other treasures, for the safe keeping of which, on the strength of King Charles' promise,† the Archbishop had made himself personally liable.

* History of St. John's College, by J. B. Mullinger, M.A., London, 1901.

† For the King's letter and the Archbishop's endorsement, see Appendix XIIa.

Sir John Owen,* of Cleneneu, who was a Colonel in the King's service, having prevailed upon Prince Rupert to appoint him Commander of the Castle, Sir John surprised the castle, and entered it by force, upon which the Archbishop sent Captain James Martin with a lengthy remonstrance† to the King at Oxford, whose only answer, after a delay of several weeks, was that it should be considered at more leisure.

Remonstrances being of no avail, the Archbishop had to choose, after fifteen months of futile hope, between becoming bankrupt in purse and honour, in the eyes of his kinsmen and the countryside, or joining forces with his kinsman General Mytton, of the Parliamentarian Army, and releasing the treasure for which he was responsible.

"In due course, Mytton's army, assisted by the Archbishop in person (who was wounded in the neck), his kinsmen and other Welshmen, forced open the gates and took the town by storm, and took in arms fifty townsmen, many officers, and twenty-two soldiers, on the 15th of August, 1646; all the Irish found there were seized by Mytton's command, and, being tied back to back, were thrown into the river; the castle surrendered on the tenth of November, and Mytton faithfully fulfilled his engagement, and restored to every individual, according to the Archbishop's inventory, whatever had been entrusted to the Archbishop. For these services, the Parliament granted the latter a general pardon, and a release from all his sequestrations." ‡

There are two interesting letters§ from Col. Mytton, which throw additional light on this subject. In one of date April 30th, 1645, he says:—

"The Archbishop of York, John Williams, had taken himself to his home at Purin, near Conway, put a garrison therein, and fortified it, protesting against the King's party, and persuading the country against payment of contributions to Conway; that Lord Byron, on hearing of the Bishop's revolt, sent out a party from Conway to beseige him, and the bishop sending for assistance to Major-General Mytton, he drew out a party to interpose."

In the second letter of July 20th, he speaks of

"The readiness of Bishop Williams to promote the affairs of Parliament,

* Sir John Owen was descended from Hwfa ap Cynddelw, Lord of Llifon, and, in the time of Owen Gwynedd, Hwfa and his heirs had the privilege, as Great Steward of North Wales, of placing the Coronet upon the Prince's head, after his inauguration by his first Chaplain, the Bishop of Bangor.

† For this remonstrance, see Appendix XIIb.

‡ Williams' Aberconwy, pp. 63, 64; Pennant's Tours in Wales, iii, 133 (1810 Edition).

§ Whitelocke's "Memorials of English affairs, during the reigns of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and Charles II."

and particularly for reducing the Castle of Conway, giving his advice and being very active in that and in all other matters for the Parliament."

The Castle surrendered to Parliament on November 18th.

Henceforward the Archbishop seems to have retired into private life, the Bishops being excluded not only from Parliament, but also from the exercise of episcopal government. Soon after being appointed Archbishop, he built (or improved) for himself at Conway, a mansion, subsequently known as Y Parlwr Mawr, and sometimes as Plas yr Archesgob. On a mantel-piece, which has been removed (in recent years) to Birmingham, are the letters I.Y. and armorial bearings, the arms of Williams impaling the arms of York.

Upon hearing of the King's death, the Archbishop was so much grieved, it is recorded of him, that after this time, he constantly rose out of bed at midnight, and, kneeling on his bare knees, prayed earnestly for a quarter of an hour before he returned to rest. His spirit, which had hitherto been untouched by his frequent misfortunes, was now entirely broken ; and his constitution rapidly decayed. He is reported to have said, "Were I only assured that by my preaching I had converted but one soul unto God, I should take therein more spiritual joy and comfort than in all the honours and offices that have been conferred on me."

His contemporary, Arthur Wilson, writes thus of him :—

"Though he was composed of many grains of good learning, yet the height of his spirit . . . . made him odious even to those who raised him; haply because they could not attain to those ends by him that they required of him . . . . but that very temper raised him to aim at great things . . . . That which heightened him most, in the opinion of those that knew him best, was his bountiful mind to men in want, being a great patron to support where there was merit that wanted supply. But these great actions were not publicly visible ; those were more apparent that were looked on with envious rather than with emulous eyes."

He died on March 25th, 1650, which was his birthday, at Gloddaeth, where he was residing, whilst his host, Sir Roger Mostyn, was a prisoner in Conway Castle. His death was caused by a catarrh or quinsey "which dissolved him in the space of twelve hours," during which time the virtuous Lady Mostyn spoke to him of preparing for another world. "Cousin," says he, "I am prepared and will be better prepared." He sent for a minister, had the Visitations of the Sick read to him twice, the greater part of which he repeated himself, and he received Absolution. "He then

closed his Eyes with one Hand and lifting up the other, his Lips moved, and recommending his Spirit to the Redeemer, he expired."

As Bishop Hacket quaintly says, "His Body was interred where his House of Penrhyn stands, in Llandegai, the Heriot which every Son of Adam must pay to the Lord of the Mannor of the whole Earth." The interment was in a small vault (within the Choir of the Church), over which, on the south wall, is fixed a marble monument, with a Latin inscription, which has been thus translated:—*

"Read, Traveller, and observe well what you would scarce expect to find in this obscure chapel.

Here lies interred John Williams, the most celebrated of Prelates: by his Father's Lineage descended from the family of the Williamses of Cochwillan, and by his Mother from the Griffiths of Penrhyn.

His great parts and eminence in all kinds of learning advanced him first to the Deanery of Sarum, and afterwards of Westminster, by the favour of King James.

At the same time, and in one grand capacity, he was the most intimate favourite and Privy Counsellor to that great King, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and Bishop of Lincoln.

Charles I. graced him with the Archiepiscopal Mitre of York.

He was thoroughly versed in all sciences; was a treasury of nine languages: the very marrow of pure and uncorrupt theology; an oracle of policy; the glorious ornament of laws, whether sacred, canonical, civil or municipal.

His conversation was sweet and engaging; his memory more than human; a precious repository of all history.

He expended in magnificent structures the sum of full twenty thousand pounds. Of liberality, munificence, generosity, hospitality, and compassion towards the poor, he was an eminent pattern. . . . .

In those lamentable times that followed, being tired out with the things he saw and heard; when, by reason of the fury of the rebels, he could no longer serve his King, nor his Country; when he had lived 68 years complete, on the 25th of March, which was his birth-day, with strong faith in Christ, and obedient allegiance to his King, he most devoutly resigned his soul to God, and died of a Quinsey.

That so small a monument in this obscure corner preserves the memory of so great a man is of little consequence, since years and ages shall never cease to celebrate his virtues; Pass on, Traveller; your curiosity is gratified in what you have seen.

He died the 25th of March, A.D. 1650."

* "Observations on the Snowdon Mountains," by W. Williams, of Llandegai, published by E. Williams, 11, Strand, London, 1802.

The Archbishop's estates descended to his nephew, Sir Griffith Williams, of Penrhyn, Bart. (created 30 June 17th, 1661), who left good estates of inheritance to six of his sons: (1) To Robert he left Penrhyn and Cochwillan;* (2) to Hugh he left Marle, Conway Ferry, Gwaun Llowarch, Gwerglodd Ddu, Plas Uchaf Penlafog, etc., and in default of issue to Edmund, John, and Roger; (3) Edmund Williams had Arrianws; (4) John Williams had Brynmor, and all that lay in the parish of Dwygyfylchi, Llanfairfechan, Aber, Llanfair-is-gaer, Llanddeniolen, and Llanbeblig; and in default of issue, to Hugh, Edmund, and Roger; (5) Roger Williams had Pen'rallt, Talycafn, Gwernfenaid Uchaf, Tyddyn-y-meibion,† Cyll gwynnion, Tan'rallt, Ffrith Dwyffrwd, Ffrith Bach, and the rest of the estate in Arrianws; and in default of issue, to Hugh, Edmund, and John; (6) Griffith Williams died unmarried.

SIR JOHN OWEN OF CLENENNAU, THE ROYALIST.

According to Lewis Dwnn,‡ Col. Sir John Owen was the son of John Owen, the fourth son of Owen ap Robert ap John ap Meurig and of Angharad (one of the three co-heiresses of David, the third son of William ap Griffith ap Robin of Cochwillan). Lewis Dwnn describes them as of Bodsilin, Anglesey, but Sir John's descent § can be traced to Bodsilin, Aber.

Richard Llwyd‖ makes a statement that—

"A younger son" of the house of Presaddfed, Anglesey, "married the heiress of Bodsilin, in Arfon;" this younger son seems to have been Sir John's grandfather Owen, whose wife Angharad was co-heiress of a junior branch of Cochwillan, Arfon, some five miles distant from Bodsilin.

According to Sir John Wynne, of Gwydir :—¶

Robert Owen, the uncle of Col. Sir John Owen, resided at Bodsilin, and inherited from his mother, Angharad, the third part of the lands in the Commote of Uchaf, of his maternal grandfather, David ap William. Bishop Owen of St. Asaph, first cousin of Sir John Owen, is described as "of Bodsilin, Co. Carnarvon."

The uncles of Sir John Owen were—1, Robert Owen of Bodsilin; 2, Sir Owen Owen, Archdeacon of Anglesey and Rector of Barton

* Williams' Snowdon Mountains, 1802, p. 183.
† Called Hen Dy, Gyffin, on the Ordnance Map, but retains the old name in the valuation lists.
‡ Lewis Dwnn, Vol. II., p. 164.
§ For Pedigree and further particulars, see Appendix XIIc.
‖ Poetical Works, 1837, p. 251.
¶ Ancient Survey of Penmaenmawr, p. 17.

Latimer (where he died and was buried in 1592); 3, Sir William Owen (Person Hen Eglwys). Archdeacon Owen's son, John Owen, was Bishop of St. Asaph (1629), and died and was buried at St. Asaph, in October, 1651. On a brass in St. Asaph Cathedral is the following inscription to Bishop John Owen: —

Here lies John Owen, D.D.
Of Bodsilin, Co. Carnarvon
Fellow of Jesus College, Camb.
Chaplain of King Charles I.
Bishop of St. Asaph, 1629.
Imprisoned in the Tower
Jan. 1641. Exiled from
his See during the Rebellion.
Died at Aber-Kinsey near
Rhuddlan, 15 Oct. and was
buried 21 Oct. 1651.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake.

The inscription is on the south wall of the Chancel, and over it are the arms of the Diocese of St. Asaph.

He first established Welsh preaching in the Parish Church of St. Asaph, and in other parts of his diocese. He died at Aber-Kinsey, near St. Asaph, October 15th, 1651, and was obscurely buried under the episcopal throne in his own cathedral, "where, as in other parts of the choir, calves had been tied up and fed by one Mills the postmaster, who kept horses and oxen in the church, and who had turned the Bishop's house into a public tavern." Mills, furthermore, moved the font, which he used as a pig-trough in his own yard.

Sir John Owen was born in 1600. He was made Colonel in the Army and Vice-Admiral of North Wales; he greatly signalised himself at the siege of Bristol, when it was taken by Prince Rupert. In 1645, he was appointed by Charles I. to supersede Archbishop Williams as Governor of Conway Castle,* but the castle was soon given up to General Mytton, upon which Sir John retired to Clenenneu.†

In 1648, he made a last effort on behalf of his fallen master, and defeated and made prisoner William Lloyd, Sheriff of the county, who had attacked him. He then laid siege to Carnarvon Castle, which was defended by Mytton, but on hearing that Colonel Carter

* See Life of Archbishop Williams.

† Pennant's Tours in Wales, Vol. I, pp. 355-360.

and Twistleton were on the march to attack him, he hastened to meet them with a portion of his forces. The two armies met at "Dalar Hir," near Wig, in the parish of Llanllechid, and a furious encounter ensued on September 10th, 1648, in which Sir John at first gained the advantage, but, on meeting with their reserve, in a personal contest with a Captain Taylor, he was dragged from his horse and was made prisoner. He was taken to Windsor Castle, where he was confined with three noblemen, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel. He was tried and condemned to lose his head, but was eventually pardoned, and returned to Wales, where he died in 1666. The others were beheaded, and, on the day of his execution, Lord Capel presented his sword to Sir John, telling him that he believed he would use it with honour.* A monument was erected to the memory of Sir John in Penmorfa Church, Carnarvonshire.

JOHN GIBSON, R.A.

According to Lady Eastlake, Gibson was born in 1790, in Gyffin Parish,† near Conway, and was christened on June 19th, 1790, in Conway Church. There is an inscription at Glanconway that he was born there, but this seems to be devoid of foundation. At nine years of age, he went with his parents to Liverpool, where he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker ; but, he having conceived a dislike to wood-carving, his apprenticeship was transferred to a worker in marble.

In 1817, he left Liverpool for London, where he had introductions to Lord Brougham, and to Mr. Christie, the auctioneer. Eventually he went to Rome, and here he received great kindness and help from Canova and Thorwaldsen.

Later he was invited to make a marble statue of Mr. Huskisson (killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, in September, 1830); this was placed in the cemetery in Liverpool, and a bronze replica of a second statue in marble was placed outside the Liverpool Custom House. During his visit to England, in 1844, he was honoured by Queen Victoria's commands to make a statue of Her Majesty. This rather disconcerted the sculptor, who remarked, "I don't know how to behave to Queens," but Mrs. Huskisson came to

* This is the sword which Mr. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., son and heir of Lord Harlech, referred to as "the sword of my ancestors."

† Life of John Gibson, R.A., edited by Lady Eastlake, London, 1869.

the rescue, and told him to "call her 'Madam,' and treat her like a lady." In this he was greatly helped by the Prince Consort, so that he was "not only at perfect ease, but happy in their presence." In 1845, the Duke of Wellington asked him to execute a coloured statue of Pandora, based on some special ideas of his own, and, when Gibson took three photographs with him to London for the Duke to see, His Grace remarked that he had produced a beautiful figure, "but," said he, "Mr. Gibson, you have not followed my idea." "No," he replied, "I have followed *my own*." "You are very stubborn," the great warrior remarked. "Duke," returned he, "I am a Welshman, and all the world knows that we are a stubborn race."

Gibson felt greatly the death of good Prince Albert, and was highly honoured when asked to give suggestions as to a memorial in Hyde Park. Many of his ideas were carried out. Among his patrons was Mrs. Henry Sandbach, of Hafodunos (near Llangernyw), at which mansion are preserved many of his works. The great charm of Gibson's art was its purity, and in that respect no modern sculptor has approached him. His love of his profession is well expressed in his own words, "It is the love of my art and the desire of imparting to the young the experience I have gained . . . . during a residence of forty years at Rome, which induce me to record a few incidents in my life."

A simple monument of a Greek character was erected over his grave in the English cemetery at Rome, bearing a medallion profile of his fine head, and with the following inscription by Lord Lytton :—

To the Memory of
JOHN GIBSON, SCULPTOR, R.A.
Born at Conway 19th June, 1790 ; died at Rome, where he had
resided 48 years, 27th Jany., 1866.
His native genius, strengthened by careful study,
Infused the spirit of Grecian art
Into masterpieces all his own.
His character as a man was in unison
With his attributes as an artist.
Beautiful in its simplicity and truthfulness,
Noble in its dignity and elevation.

There is also a monument to Gibson on the wall of the south aisle of Conway Church, erected by the subscriptions of a few friends, among whom appears the name of the then Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.). The inscription runs as follows :—

JOHN GIBSON,
Sculptor,
Born of humble parents, near Conway, 1790,
Died at Rome, 1866.
By the force of natural genius and unremitting industry,
He became one of the first sculptors of Europe;
A member of the Royal Academy of Arts in London,
Of the academy of St. Luke in Rome,
And of other distinguished foreign institutions,
His works will perpetuate his fame.
Here, in his native place, a few loving friends
Have raised this memorial as a tribute
Of affectionate regard for the unpretending simplicity
And truthfulness of his life.

THE HOLLANDS OF WALES.

This great family came, according to Camden, from a place (in Lancashire) called Holland.* Camden, speaking of Wiggin [Wigan] states:—"Hard by it Holland sheweth itselfe, out of a younger brother whereof, that most noble and renowned race of the Hollands, Earles of Kent, Dukes also of Surrey and Excester [Exeter], fetched both their originall and their sirname."

They frequently intermarried with the Royal House, and played an important part in English history during the 14th and 15th centuries, and were at one time widely represented in Wales †

The Welsh Hollands consist of (1) the Conway Line; (2) the Denbighshire group. Both, though still represented in England, are believed to be, in the male line, extinct in North Wales.

In 1400 (2 Henry IV.), Thos. Holland, Earl of Kent; John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon; and Thomas, Baron le Despenser, late Earl of Gloucester, great-grandson of Hugh Despenser, Jun.,‡ were put to death by King Henry IV., without trial before the Peers.§ The Huntingdon and Le Despenser peerages, treated as lost, were restored in subsequent reigns.

(1). The Conway Family is first mentioned in the person of

* Williams' Ancient and Modern Denbigh, p. 201.

† The following pages on the Welsh Hollands are in substance derived from reprints of two Arch. Camb. articles ("The Hollands of Conway" and "The Holland Family in Wales"), supplemented by information privately supplied by their writer (Prof. T. E. Holland, K.C., D.C.L. Oxon., Chichele Professor of International Law), and by researches by the author of the present work.

‡ Executed 1326, see p. 197.

§ Palmer's Peerage Law in England, p. 210.

Pyrs (or Peter) Holland, who was in the service of Henry IV. His ancestry is traced in pedigrees, for five generations upwards, to one Alan Holland, alleged to have been a brother of Lord Robert Holland, ancestor of the Dukes of Surrey and Exeter.

Thomas Holland, grandson of Pyrs, made a settlement of his property in 1477, which is still extant, as is the Will (made in 1528) of Humphrey, grandson of Thomas, ordering his body to be buried, as had been that of his mother, and as were to be those of so many of his descendants, in the South Transept of Conway Church, at one time known as "St. Catherine's," subsequently as "Walton's," Chapel. Humphrey's grandson Hugh, who died in 1584, had many sons and daughters. Edward, the eldest son, carried on the family at Conway, where it eventually owned most of the town, together with much property in the immediate neighbourhood, as well as at Marle* and later at Pwllycrochan, holding also the castle by the tenure of 6s. 8d. payable to the Crown, and of a dish of fish to be presented, when he might pass, to Lord Hertford. All these possessions descended to an heiress, as will appear from the pedigree (Appendices XIId. & XIIe.), and were sold in the year 1865, when, with the assent of the late Marquis of Hertford, the representatives of the Hollands assigned to the borough their rights over the castle.

Hugh's eldest son and heir, Edward, was a barrister at Lincoln's Inn; his third and fourth sons, Robert (of whom more presently) and Henry, were both graduates of Cambridge.

There are in Conway Church, especially in the South Transept, many monuments of the Hollands. In the south-west corner of this Transept is a raised tomb commemorating no less than five generations of this family, by the following inscriptions:—

"Edward Holland armiger posuit hoc memoriale Hollandorum ad requiesio'em Hugonis Holland Ar' pr' is sui paulo ante obitu' qui obiit 3 die Maii A'o D'i 1584."

"William Holland Ar. hoc fecit in memoriam Edwardi Holland ar. pr'is sui defuncti 15 die Martii ao. 1601."

"Visceribus terræ Edwardi sunt corpora clausa,
Hollandi Parcæ sic voluere nigræ.
Spiritus invitis fatis at regnat in altis,
Quem mors nec tumulus comprimuisse valent.
Corpus vult terram, scandit mens ignea cælos,
Virtutis famæ vir mulierque memor."

* They parted with this to Archbishop Williams.

"By the side of this stone lyeth buried William Williams, Esq., together with his wife Margaret, eldest daughter and heir of William Holland of Marle, Esq.* She died An. Dom. 1641, and he died 1673.

"Beneath lyeth the body of Holland, son of William Williams and Margaret his wife, who departed this life the first day of January, 1680, Annos natus 40."

Over the first of these inscriptions is a shield, bearing seme de fleurs-de-lis a lion rampart guardant, surmounted by a helmet upon which is the crest, a mailed arm embowed issuing out of flames of fire and holding barwise a lion's gamb, with the motto, "Fiat Pax, Floreat Justitia."

The second inscription is accompanied by a shield quartering the Holland Arms with those of Sutton, Travers, and Norris.

Later memorials of members of the family are to be found in the North Transept, ending with a stained glass window, dedicated by Lady Erskine to the memory of her husband Sir David Erskine, who died on January 29th, 1841, aged 48 years, and of their two daughters, Jane Holland, who died March 30th, 1836, and Mary, who died on June 20th, 1843.

In these memorials may be traced the fortunes of the elder branch of the Hollands of Conway. Margaret, daughter and heiress of William Holland of Marle, son of the Edward Holland who died in 1601, married William Williams; their only son was christened "Holland," and his children assumed "Holland" as a surname, but of these, the daughter, who became the heiress, again married a Williams, whose grand-daughter and heiress, Jane Silence, by her marriage with Sir David Erskine, Bart., of Cambo, Fife, and by her sale of the Conway property, brought to an end the connection of the elder branch of the Holland family with the locality.

In the meantime, however, Robert, the third son of the Hugh Holland who died in 1584, had carried the name into South Wales, and founded a branch of the family which has been continued in the male line to the present day. This Robert Holland (1556-1622), after becoming M.A. at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1581, and after holding for a time the vicarage of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, took up his residence at Haverfordwest, as Rector of Prendergast, and subsequently of Walwyn's Castle and Ribstone West. He was the author of a very rare work, "'The Holie Historie of our Lord

*Though mentioned, he is not buried here.

and Saviour, Jesus Christ's Nativitie, etc.,' gathered into English Meter, and published to withdraw vaine wits from all unsaverie and wicked rimes and fables, to some love and liking of spirituell songs and Holy Scriptures, 1594." This work is prefaced by complimentary verses, in Latin and English, by W. Stewart, J. Canon, and J. Pine. He also published four books on the Welsh language. Robert's son, Nicholas, Vicar of Marloes, was the ancestor of several generations of lawyers and landowners of the same name in South Wales, who at length were only represented by his great-grandson Nicholas Holland, M.A., of Merton College, Oxford, and Rector of Stifford in Essex, who died in 1771. His descendants have always continued to live in England, as will appear from the pedigree (Appendix XIId.).

(2). The DENBIGHSHIRE GROUP held large estates at Pennant (Eglwysfach), Kinmel, Teyrdan, Hendrefawr, and Vaerdre, all in Denbighshire, and, together with the Hollands of Berw, Co. Anglesey, are traceable to a common ancestor, Roger or Hoskin Holland, who lived in the reign of Edward III. (see Pedigree in Appendix XIIe.), and who is stated to have been great-grandson of Sir Thomas Holland (living in the time of Edward I., and married to Joyce, daughter of Sir Jasper Croft); this Sir Thomas was the brother of Sir Robert Holland, Knt., the father of Robert Lord Holland, who was the ancestor of the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey.*

The following is a short account of the branches of the Denbighshire group:—

PENNANT (Eglwysfach).—Morgan Holland, a younger brother of Owen Holland, of Berw, Anglesey, great-grandson of the Robin Holland who supported Owen Glyndwr, was Sergeant Porter to King Henry VII., and was the first, of his name, who possessed Pennant. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Conway, of Bryn Euryn, and there is an unbroken succession in the male line to Humphrey Holland, who was thirteen years of age in 1689, and who had three sons by a daughter of John Davis, of Llanrwst. His brother Hugh had also three sons. Here, however, there is a break in the succession till we come to Geoffrey Holland, who married Mary, daughter of John Wynne, of Plas-yn-Trovarth. It passed from the family by the marriage of Geoffrey's daughter, Mary, about 1750, with the Rev. Edward Edwards, Rector of Llanrwst. The children of this marriage were the Rev. Canon Howel Holland Edwards (Figs. 179, 180),

* See Chartulary of Whalley Abbey, in Vol. XX. of the Cheetham Society's Publications.

who died without issue; Mary, who married John Boulger, Esq., and whose son, the Rev. John Boulger, also died without issue; and Sarah, who became the second wife of John Chambres Jones, of Bryn Eisteddfod, Glan Conway, whose first wife was Jane Jones. Hugh Chambres Jones, the son of John Chambres Jones by his first wife, dying without issue, and Margaret Grace Jones, his daughter by his second wife (Sarah Edwards), dying in 1902 unmarried, the Bryn Eisteddfod Estate passed to W. C. B. Jones-Mortimer, Esq., J.P., the great-grandson of John Jones, the brother of the above mentioned Jane Jones. (See Bryn Eisteddfod Pedigree, Appendix XIIf.).

Fig. 179. Holland Edwards Arms. *Photo. by Mrs. Alan Gough, Gelliwig.*

Vaerdref.—Griffith, grandson of Robin Holland* (fl. 1408), was established at Vaerdref, in the parish of St. George, and his massive house still remains.

* There is a descendant of the Hollands, Mr. Hugh Holland Roberts, still living at Eglwysfach.

KINMEL.—David, the elder son of Griffith of Vaerdref, had a grandson Pyrs, who, by his marriage with Catherine, the granddaughter and heiress of Griffith Lloyd of Kinmel, became possessed of that estate. In the fourth generation, it descended to two heiresses—Mary,* who married William Price, of Rhiwlas, a Colonel in the Royalist Army; and Elizabeth,* who married Sir John Carter, Knt.,* a Colonel in the Parliamentarian Army,† and whose descendant (John Carter) sold Kinmel, about 1720, to Sir George Wynne, Bart., from whom it passed to Lord Dinorben, and so to the late H. R. Hughes, Esq., Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire.

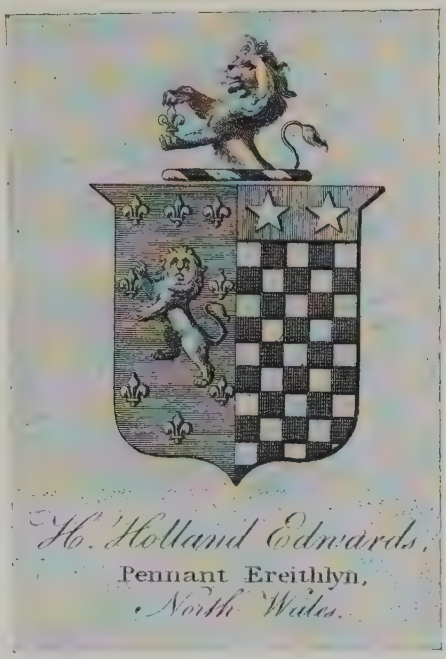


FIG. 180. HOLLAND EDWARDS ARMS. *Photo. by Mrs. Alan Gough.*

Old Kinmel was unfortunately burnt down, and the only trace

* Mary died 26th Sept., 1669, and was buried in St. George's Churchyard. "Dame Elizabeth," daughter and co-heiress of David Holland, of Kinmel, Esq., died Apl 22nd, 1700, aged 68, and was buried in St. George's Churchyard. Sir John Carter, of Kinmel, died Nov. 28th, Anno Domini MDCLXXVI.

† The names of Sir John Carter and Elizabeth his wife, are from tombstones in St. George (alias Ceygidog) churchyard near Kinmel; they have been given heretofore as Thomas and Catherine. J. Williams, in Ancient and Modern Denbigh, p. 204, says "Sir John Carter (the Cromwellite Carter) forced the heiress [Elizabeth] of Kinmel to marry him, and his memory is preserved as of a rapacious oppressor and petty tyrant."

of the Hollands is or was to be found in the letters D.H. with the date 1615, written with nail-heads on the door of a room. (L. Dwnn II. 337).

Hendrefawr.—David Holland (son of Griffith) by his second wife, Alice (a daughter of Sir W. Griffith, Chamberlain of North Wales) had a son William, who settled at Hendrefawr, near Abergele, and this branch ended in an heiress Catherine, who married W. Parry, who died in 1700. The tomb of Catherine Parry is in Abergele Church. The fine gabled mansion still remains about 1½ mile from Abergele.

Hugh Holland, the poet, and friend of Ben Jonson, was the great-grandson of Llywelyn, the younger brother of David Holland of Vaerdref. This Hugh Holland was educated at Westminster School, where Camden was a master, and from there went in 1589 to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a Fellowship. He afterwards went abroad, spoke at Rome against Queen Elizabeth, visited Jerusalem and Constantinople, was imprisoned, subsequently was released, and then returned home and spent some years at Oxford. He wrote excellent Latin verse, and was classed with Spenser. His prose works included a "Life of Camden," etc. He died July 23rd, 1633, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Philemon Holland translated Camden's "Britannia" into English, and, when he was about 85 years of age, edited the second edition, with the assistance of his son, H. Holland.*

Teyrdan.—Pyers Holland, the founder of the Kinmel family, granted to his third son, Humphrey, the property called Teyrdan, in the parish of Llanelian, and in the churchyard is a remarkable raised tomb to this Humphrey Holland, bearing the date 1612. It is adorned with numerous coats-of-arms, which are all combined in a shield at the western end, bearing:—(1) Holland; (2) three lions passant; (3) a stag trippant: (4) a chevron between three estoiles;† impaling; (1) a chevron between three boars' heads couped; (2) three double eagles; (3) Ednyfed Fychan (?); (4) a leopard ramp (?). In the church and churchyard of Llanelian (q v.) there are about a dozen monuments to the family of Holland.

There is a grave at the south-east angle of the church, with a

* Ancient and Modern Denbigh. p. 204.

† This is the identical coat which is given in a general pedigree of the Welsh Hollands in Vinc-MS. 135, p. 85.

tomb over it, on the side of which are coats-of-arms quartering the lion of Scotland, the leopards of England, and the white hart of Richard II., with the inscription, "Here lieth the body of Thomas Holland, Esq., of Teyrdan, who ended this life 10th day of May, 1683." The inference seems to be that the Hollands must have been the descendants or connexions of Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, who became the wife of the Black Prince, and who was the mother of Richard II.

The following extracts from the Llanelian Register, which goes back to 1590, relate to the Holland family (of Teyrdan) :—

1727. May 8th, Margaret Holland (née Kynaston), ye wife of Thos. Holland of Teyrdan, Esq., was then buryed.

1730. April 4th, Mrs. Jane Holland of Cymeri was buryed.

1760. April 3rd. Anne, the daughter of John Holland, Esq., and Anne his wife, was then baptised.

1763. March 10th. Anne, daughter of John Holland, Esq. was buried.

1753. April 16th, Thomas, son of John Holland and Anne his wife, was baptised.

1755. March 10th, Mary, daughter of David Morris and Jane his wife, was baptised.

1763. Tablet on west wall :—

Under this stone
Lyeth the body of
John Morris
Who married Dorothy
The daughter of Mary
Evans of Bryn y Pobty
Gent was buried the
1st of February 1763
Aged 40.

1786—1794. Tablet :— John Holland
Of Teyrdan in this Parish
Who died April 20
In the year of our Lord 1786.
Aged 73.
Also Anne, wife of the above
John Holland, Esq. was buried
The 8th day of October, 1794
Aged 77.

From this Humphrey Holland there is an unbroken descent in the male line to John Holland, who married a daughter of John Ellis, of Plas Uchaf (q. v.) ; he died in 1824, and his wife (aged 76) on June 3rd, 1833. The intermediate representatives are connected

with the family of Bodelwyddan (1630), of John Price of Rhiwlas (1673), of Robert Davies, of Gwysaney (1717), and of William Kinaston of Lee and Ruyton (1727). The children of the last John Holland were two co-heiresses, Mary, who in 1805 married John Lloyd Wynn, of Coed Coch ; and Margaret, who married Simon Yorke, of Erddig.*

ROYAL VISITS TO CONWAY.

The account of the notable personages of Conway may be brought to a fitting conclusion with a short description of the Royal Visits during the Victorian Era. For visits prior to that era, reference may be made to the history of the "Borough of Conway," in an earlier part of this work.

Visit of Princess Victoria, 1832.—On a Monday, about the middle of August, 1832,† the Princess Victoria, accompanied by her mother (the Duchess of Kent), visited Conway Castle, where an address was presented and read, on the eastern terrace, by the Rev. John Owen (vicar of Conway), heading a deputation including the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, Mr. Assheton Smith, and others. The Royal Party left Conway after lunch, about three o'clock, in their carriages for Beaumaris. The Duchess of Kent gave £30 to the Conway Charity Schools.

Visit of Queen Victoria, 1852.—In October, 1852, Queen Victoria, accompanied by the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, made an inspection of the Tubular Bridge over the Menai Straits. On the return journey, on October 14th, the railway train halted for a few minutes at Conway, between the passenger station and the Conway Tubular Bridge (Fig. 181). Here the Queen received from the Corporation an address, presented by the Constable's Deputy (Mr. John Williams, of Bodafon, Llandudno). Her Majesty having made a gracious reply, the Rev. Morgan Morgan (vicar of Conway) "called for three cheers for the Prince of Wales, whereupon Prince Albert introduced the youthful Prince to the persons assembled."‡

For the full official account preserved in the Conway municipal archives, see Appendix XIIg.

* See Pedigree, Appendix XIIe. † Parry's Royal Progresses, p. 446.

‡ Illustrated London News (October 23rd, 1853). [Quoted, by kind permission of the North Wales Chronicle Co., Ltd., from extract given in "Souvenir of the visit of T.R.H. the Prince and Princess of Wales to North Wales, July, 1894"].

Fig 181. Royal Visit, 1852.
[*Kindly lent by the North Wales Chronicle Co., Ltd.*].

Visit of the Prince of Wales, 1880.—In August, 1880, the Prince of Wales [afterwards King Edward VII.] was in the borough on his return from Ireland, and alighted at Llandudno Junction, for the purpose of turning on the water from Llyn Dulyn to Llandudno. He was received by the Deputy-Mayor of Conway (Mr. Albert Wood, J.P.), and was presented with addresses from the Conway Corporation and from the Llandudno Council. H.R.H., by his Equerry-in-waiting, subsequently sent to the Conway Corporation a very gracious reply, dated from "Trentham, Stoke-upon-Trent."

Visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, 1899.—On Tuesday, April 28th, 1899, T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of York, who were the guests of Earl and Countess Carrington at Gwydir Castle, Llanrwst, were received at Conway Station at 11-30 a.m. by the Mayor

(Dr. M. J. Morgan, J.P.), and were presented by the Corporation with an address, written on vellum, and tastefully illuminated with facsimiles of the Borough Crest, and of the Duke's Coat-of-Arms cunningly intertwined with the white rose of York.

The castle was first visited, where the Royal Party were received by the Mayor in his capacity of Constable of the castle, and were guided through the castle by Mr. H. Clarence Whaite, P.R.C.A., R.W.S., who subsequently, clad in the scarlet presidential robes of the Royal Cambrian Academy, escorted the Royal Party through the Elizabethan Mansion of Plas Mawr, the home of the Academy, and the property of Lord Mostyn.

Visit of the Queen of Roumania.—The Queen of Roumania (Carmen Sylva), during her visit to Llandudno in the summer of 1890, on September 11th visited Conway. Whilst there she was being escorted over the castle by Mr. Albert Wood, J.P., who (as Mayor) was Constable of the castle, when she narrowly escaped what might have been a fatal accident. The incident is thus described by a correspondent (the Bard "Morien") in the *Western Mail*:—

> "The Queen of Roumania, when visiting Conway Castle, had a very narrow escape. When, in one of the lower rooms, all open to the sky, the Mayor of Conway espied an owl fast asleep in the ivy by the side of one of the naked circles above, Her Majesty, with almost girlish glee, called the attention of the members of her suite to the bird of night. The bird, however, continued to slumber. Later on, Her Majesty was very nearly meeting with a serious accident while looking from a higher portion of the ruin for the owl. She stepped on a low wall running by the side of the regular path, and did not observe that the ivy, six inches in front of her foot, covered a chasm at least 40 feet in depth. In the nick of time the writer caught hold of the Queen's arm, and held her back. The rest of the party then came on, and Her Majesty explained what had occurred. The Mayor stated that some years ago a man met with his death in the castle by a similar mistake. Her Majesty thanked him who had grasped the Royal arm so unceremoniously."

The Queen then proceeded to Plas Mawr through the streets which had been decorated for the occasion, and in the Court-yard her attention was called to the ancient bardic stone which had more than once been used at the National Eisteddfod of Wales. The Queen then stood upon the stone, saying that, as she had so recently been admitted a bard, she was justified as the bard "Carmen Sylva" in standing for a moment on the bardic stone.* On being

* History of Conway Castle, R. E. Jones Bros., Conway.

conducted into the private room of Mr. Furness (Curator R.C.A.), the Queen remarked "Oh, how lovely, ... a perfect dream of a place."*

Her Majesty, who had lately been reading Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," took more than usual interest in that fine work "Arthur in the Gruesome Glen,"† by the President of the R.C.A. (Mr. H. Clarence Whaite, R.W.S.), and remarked that the picture was full of poetry, for poetry had inspired the picture, and the picture would inspire poetry. Her Majesty had some thoughts of taking the picture with her, as she was heard to say regretfully "It is too big to take with me." Her Majesty also bestowed commendation on Mr. Chas. Potter's "Cambrian Shepherd's Funeral," and upon two beautiful pieces of mediæval tapestry after Teniess, the property of Mr. Whaite.

In the illustration (Fig. 182) may be seen the ancient bardic stone on which the Queen of Roumania stood.

FIG. 182. BARDIC STONE, PLAS MAWR. [By perm. of the R. C. Acad.].

* Weekly News, Sept. 18th, 1890.

† This work has lately been purchased [by public subscription] for permanent preservation in Plas Mawr.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDNYFED FYCHAN (Llywelyn's Great General) AND HIS PALACE (LLYS EURYN), LLANDRILLO CHURCH AND WEIR

As Ednyfed Fychan is so closely connected with the immediate neighbourhood of Conway, it has been thought well to give here a short account of his life, and of the Church of Llandrillo, and of his palace Llys Euryn.

Ednyfed Fychan was descended from Cynan ap Ifor ap Gwgan ap Marchudd, and had his principal residence in Creuddyn at Llys Euryn, formerly called Llys Maelgwn Gwynedd, as the latter resided here in the sixth century, while Ednyfed inhabited it in the thirteenth century.

His first wife was a daughter of Llywarch ap Bran, by whom he had, among other children, Howel, Bishop of St. Asaph. His second wife was Gwenllian, daughter of Rhys, Prince of South Wales, and commonly styled the heiress of Dyffryn Clwyd.

Henry VIII., early in his reign, issued a Commission to Sir John Leiaf (priest), Guttyn Owain (bard), and others, to institute an inquiry into his paternal descent, and, from the Welsh Chronicles in the Abbeys of Conway and Strata Florida, the work of the Commission (which was examined and certified by the Abbot of Valle Crucis, and by Dr. Owen Pool, Canon of Hereford) proved that—

"Henry the Seventh,† King of England, &c, is son of Edmund, Earl of Richmond, son of Owen ap Meredith, and of Queen Catharine his wife, daughter to

† Powell's Wales, 1st Edition, 1584.

Charles the Sixth, King of France. This Owen was son of Meredith ap Tudor ap Gronw ap Tudor, ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan, Baron of Brynfeingle [Brynffanigl] in Denbigh Land, Lord of Kriceth [Criccieth], Chief Justice and Chief of Council to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Drwyndwn, Prince of all Wales. And in the time of Prince Llywelyn grew a variance between King John of England and the said Prince; whereupon Ednyfed came with the Prince's host, and men of war, and also a number of his own people, and met these English Lords [commanding the army of Ranulph, Earl of Chester] in a morning at what time these English Lords were hostied and slain; and immediately brought their heads, being yet bloody, to the said Prince Llywelyn. The Prince, seeing the same, caused Ednyfed Fychan from thenceforth to bear in his arms, or shield, three bloody heads* in token of his victory, where he had borne in his arms before a Saracen's head;† and so, ever after this, Ednyfed bore the said arms, his son and his son's son, unto the time of Tudor ap Gronw, ap Tudor ap Gronw, ap Ednyfed Fychan. And after this, Ednyfed married one Gwenllian, daughter to Rhys, Prince of South Wales, and had issue by her Gronw: which Ednyfed Fychan had in Wales divers goodly houses, royally adorned with turrets and garrets; some in Anglesey, some other in Caernarvonshire, and some in Denbigh Land; but his chiefest manor-house was [Llys Euryn] in the Commote of Crythin in Caernarvonshire, which was a royal palace, now decayed for want of reparations [Fig. 183]. Also he builded there a chapel in the worship of Our Lady, and had License of the Pope for evermore to sing divine service therein for his soul, and his ancestors' and progenitors' souls always; and had authority to give his tithes and offerings to his chaplains there starving [and serving]; which Ednyfed Fychan was son to Kyner ap Iers ap Gwgan, ap Marchudd, which was one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales, and son to Kynan ap Elfyn, ap Mor, ap Mynan, ap Isbwis Newintyrche, ap Isbwis ap Cadrod Calch Fynyd, Earl of Dunstable and Lord of Northampton, ap Cywyd Cindion, ap Cynfelyn ap Arthuys, ap Morydd ap Cynnaw, ap Coel Godebog, King of Britain, of whom King Henry the Seventh descended lineally by issue-male, and is son to the said Coel in the thirty-first degree, as it is approved by old Chronicles in Wales."

About a mile from Gloddaeth is Bryniau Farm, in which is a field called "Gardd-y-Monachdy," *i.e.*, the garden of the Monastery. On the site of the present house a monastery is said to have stood, and, as several fields are called after the name of Ednyfed Fychan, it is conjectured that he built a house of devotion for himself.‡

* Ednyfed's new "achievement" was—"Gules, a chevron ermine between three Saxon's heads, couped proper." These arms are quartered, in the chancel of Conway Parish Church, upon the tombstone of Edmund Williams, father of Archbishop Williams.

† Modern Authorities give Marchudd ap Cynan's achievement as—
Gules, a savage man's head, razed, in its proper colours, with a wreath of azure and silver above the temples.

Pennant states Marchudd's arms thus—
Gules, a Saracen's head erased proper, wreathed or.

‡ Louis' Tour in Wales, 1839.

The township of Pen Glas indicates that it was on Church land, "terra ecclesiastica."

Pennant states that near Llandrillo Church is a large house called

LLYS EURYN,

formerly called Llys Maelgwn Gwynedd. About the twelfth century it was inhabited by Ednyfed Fychan, and some time in the last century was possessed by the family of Conwy, of Welsh descent, derived from Gruffydd Goch, lord of Rhos and Rhufoniog. Canon Williams confirms this, and further states that from Ednyfed was descended in direct line Henry VII. Archdeacon Thomas also speaks of the ladies Conwy, the last occupants of Ednyfed Fychan's palace at Bryn Euryn. The fact that Ednyfed Fychan once had a palace here is made almost certain by Llywelyn's Charter, which had been lost sight of for about one hundred years, and a copy of which was discovered, by Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, among the Panton MSS., No. 52.

FIG. 183. LLYS EURYN. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

In 1409, Llys Euryn (Fig. 183) was burned down by Owen Glyndwr, but the remains were modernised, and were occupied by some female members of that family named Conwy (the descendants of Sir Tudor ap Ednyfed, who was one of the Commissioners for

negotiating terms of peace between Edward I. and Llywelyn). The Conwy family resided here till as late as the reign of Charles II.

In connection with Ednyfed Fychan's absence from home is an interesting old Welsh poem, entitled :—

"EDNYFED FYCHAN'S FAREWELL."

Ednyfed went on a warlike expedition, leaving behind him Gwenllian and the children at Llys Euryn, and, on leaving, he composed and played a tune of Farewell to his Gwenllian. He was absent for many years, till his wife believed that he was dead, and accepted the offer of a gentleman who came forward to ask for her hand. But on the night of the wedding there came to the door a beggar—pitiable to look at—to ask for a morsel and a night's lodging; and after he ascertained what was going on, and receiving permission to go in as a player to amuse the company, he asked for the "loan of the old harp that was there formerly." Having repaired the harp, he struck up the old tune "Ednyfed Fychan's Farewell," and before he reached the tenth stanza, the wedding festivities were over, the wife and her husband were approaching the door for their honeymoon. Ednyfed exclaimed, raising his cap from his head, and so exposing to view the peculiarly-deformed ear, for the possession of which he was renowned—

"Os bum ar ffo, dro yn druan—gwallus
Im' golli Gwenllian !
Ni chollaf,—ewch chwi allan,—
Na gwely—na thy—na thân !"

This stanza has been rendered into English verse by Mrs. Watts-Jones, of Glyn, Dwygyfylchi :—

"A wanderer I, and aweary of strife,
Get ye gone, if ye so desire ;
But, if I may not have my own wife,
I'll have my own bed, my own house, my own fire !"

He (Ednyfed) turned again to the dazed company, after kissing his daughter, saying : "This was the last tune I wrote before my departure from the Fatherland. This was the tune 'Farewell' to my dear Gwenllian. Hence let her go with her new husband. My faithful harp, come thou to my arms."

BRYN FFANIGL, NEAR ABERGELE.

Pennant spells this name Bryn Ffenigl. The word Ffanigl or Ffanygl is obsolete, but Dr. Owen Pughe says it means a shelter or retreat. The word Ffenigl still survives in the word "fennel." There are three homesteads bearing this name in the district, but the one with which Ednyfed Fychan's name is associated is probably Brynffanigl Isaf (Fig. 184). Marchudd ap Cynan, the head of the eighth of the Noble Tribes of Wales, and known as Lord of Abergeleu, resided here about 849 A.D., and his famous

Fig. 184. Bryn Ffanigl Isa'. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

descendant Ednyfed Fychan, Chief Minister and Marshal of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, is said to have had one of his palaces on this spot.

Ednyfed is styled Lord of Brynfeingle in Denbighland, Lord of Cricketh, Chief Justice and Chief Councillor to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, etc., Prince of all Wales.* He was also styled "Princeps Opergelei," and concerning Henry VII. descent from him it was said, "Ond o'r Bryn y daw'r brenin?" ("Does not the King come from the [house of] Bryn[fanigl]?").

Ednyfed flourished about 350 years after Marchudd, but the building must have been one of importance, as Ednyfed occupied a

* See Wynne's History of Wales.

place of honour at the Court of Llywelyn, who was at that time Prince of the whole of Wales.

It must not be supposed that the present building is as old as the days of Ednyfed. The oldest portion is now used as a stable, and in it is a recessed fire-place about 7 feet 6 inches wide with a three-centred arch, the voissures being of a reddish grit and very large. This room has an oaken cross-girder, into which are trimmed two longitudinal beams carrying the oaken joists. On the front (east) side of the house are two windows,—one on the ground floor which has been blocked up entirely, and one on the first floor partly blocked up. On the latter is the date 1585, and in the corners are the letters I. LL. Each of these windows had three lights, with stone mullions and moulded stone jambs, and with a heavily-moulded label over the top. There is a smaller window, but this is of recent date. On the south side is a trace of a similar window, and on the west is a similar two-light window, but with no label mould. The walls are very massive. In the field eastward of the present building is pointed out the site of the older mansion, but not a trace of the building now remains.

LLANDRILLO CHURCH.

The Patron Saint is St. Trillo, whose festival was on June 16th. Trillo, who was the son of Ithel Hael, of Brittany, had a brother named Yrth, the father of Caswallon Law Hir, and therefore grandfather of Maelgwn Gwynedd. The Rev. W. Venables-Williams states* that the name of the parish in the sixth century was "Dinerth Goch Rufonioc"; in 819 A.D., Egbert, King of the West Saxons, seized the lordship of Rhos Rufoniog, and about 1130 Gruffydd ap Cynan gave 10s. to the Church of Dinerth Goch Rufoniog. In the "Myvyrian Archaiology" there are four notices of St. Trillo.

"Boneddy Saint."
"Trillo yn dinerth yn Rhos."
"Trillo yn Rhos ab Ithel o Lydaw."
"Terillo en Dinerth yn Rhos Mab Ithel o Lydaw."
"Trillo yn y ddinerth yn Rhos."

In the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV. (about 1291), the church is styled "Eccl' de Dynerth," the church of Dinerth.† Hence it seems clear that the original name of the parish was Dinerth. The Rev.

* Archæological History of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos.

† The rectorial tithes were £15 6s. 8d., and the Vicarial £8 6s. 8d.

Meredith J. Hughes derives it from Din Yrth (the fortified place of Yrth). Archdeacon Thomas, F.S.A., derives it from Dingarth (or the Fort of the Earthworks). The word Dinerth (Dyneyrt) occurs also on Ednyfed's tombstone in the church.

Dinerth was the mother-church of an extensive district in the Deanery of Rhos, embracing the parishes of Bettws-yn-Rhos, Llysfaen, Llanelian, Llansantffraid, and Eglwys Rhos [Llanfair-yn-Rhos], in each of which the Vicar had to preach two or four sermons annually. The following extracts from the proceedings of a Consistory Court, held in 1721, give further particulars, and are of interest :—

1. The Vicar of Llandrillo has a right to the moyety of the tithes both small and great within the township in the Parish of Llysfaen.

2. The Vicar of Llandrillo is to preach or cause to be preached four sermons every year in the said Parish Church of Llysfaen on such Sundays as the present Vicar of Llandrillo shall think most convenient, and that the said Vicar do preach the said four sermons for the year 1721 before the 25th day of March next ending.

3. That the Rev. Thos. Lloyd, Vicar of Llandrillo, be allowed to be paid by the Rev. Roger Jones, Rector of Llysfaen, 40s. for the year last past ending the 25th day of March, 1721, in lieu and instead of the said part of the moiety of the tithes in the township of Penmaen in the Parish of Llysfaen in consideration that no sermons have been preached by the said Thos. Lloyd at Llysfaen within the said two years.

Among the successive rectors of Llandrillo, is the famous Ellis Price, LL.D. "The Rectory is a sinecure held since 1759, by the Bishops of St. Asaph in commendam, and the vicarage is in the gift of the Bishop; the Rector and [the] Vicar have also a share of the tithes of Llanelian, Llansantffraid, and Llysvaen."* Another sinecure rector was the Rev. Griffith Pritchard, M.A., who was the Rector of Llangelynin [1613], Canon of Bangor [1626], Rector of Llangynhafal near Ruthin [1626].

There is no record of the parish from 1291 to 1535 (26 Henry VIII.), at which latter date the name of the parish seems to have been changed from Dinerth to Llandrillo. The original church building is said to have been situated on a spot now covered by the waves, about 1½ miles to the east from Rhos Fynach. The late Mr. Parry-Evans stated that, when he was a youth, he was tossed from a boat and "sank among large pieces of masonry." He had

* Williams' Aberconwy, p. 119.

no doubt that these were the ruins of the original church, but this requires confirmation.*

LLANDRILLO CHURCH.

Photo. by A. H. Hughes.

FIG. 185.

The late Rev. Owen Jones ("Meudwy Môn"), of Llandudno, quotes from the "Welsh Chronicle" the following statement: "If the Princes of Aberffraw and Powys should disagree, they were to meet, by command of Rhodri their father [about 876], on Dôl Rhianedd, and the Prince of Dinefwr, their brother, was to meditate

* See Notes by the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes.

between them." The original church of Llandrillo was situated in Dôl Rhianedd.

In 1818, when the churchyard was being lowered, an immense quantity of human bones was discovered, and it is possible that they were gathered up after the [supposed] inundation, and were then buried in the new churchyard.

The present church (Fig. 185) is prettily situated on an eminence. It is a substantial-looking edifice with a massive, square tower. It is almost unique in North Wales, and, until recently, that of Llanbeblig, Carnarvon, alone possessed similar features; but they have been reproduced by Mr. Douglas in the new church at Bryn-y-maen. The special features are loop lights with ogee heads, battlements stepped in the Irish fashion, and a stair in the north angle, over which rises a look-out, or watch-place, known as the Rector's Chair. Formerly the church had a cupola at the west end of the north aisle. This aisle was built in the 13th century, and the south aisle in the 15th century by the Ladies Conwy, the descendants of Griffith Goch, Lord of Rhos and Rhufoniog, and collaterally of Ednyfed Fychan. They were the last occupiers of Llys Euryn. They left also a large sum of money for restoring the present tower. The two aisles are separated by four arches of the late perpendicular period, and the carved-stone corbels indicate that they were intended for a much more elaborate roof than the present plain one of oak.

The timbering* of the north aisle is of a plan not often found in local churches of this date. The main principals have a tie-beam at half their altitude, and across this two springers or (subsidiary beams), starting half-way down between the tie-beam and the top of the wall, run up and cross each other above the tie-beam, and are then fastened into the principals, thus forming a series of quadrilaterals above triangles, "all strongly pegged together, light in appearance, and sufficiently rigid to have stood for several centuries."†

EDNYFED'S CHAPEL.

This chapel is said to have formed the western half of the present north aisle, and it is likely that Ednyfed's private pew stood on the north side of the aisle, where are now two blank pointed

* Arch. Camb. 1857; article by H. Longueville Jones.

† Archæological History of Llandrillo, by the Rev. W. Venables Williams, M.A., Oxon.

arches, which formerly might have connected the pew with the chapel, and were closed up when the Ladies Conwy built the south aisle of the church. If the church wall on the interior of the north aisle be examined, it is found that the ragged edge of a whole section stands well out from the line of masonry. This perhaps is the only evidence we possess of the ancient pew of Ednyfed. It is believed that it was during the life-time of Ednyfed that the parishioners of Dinerth, when their church was threatened with inundation, obtained leave to enlarge Ednyfed's Chapel by extending it eastwards, and to have the enlarged chapel adopted as their Parish Church.

THE EDNYFED TOMBSTONE.

This inscribed stone, now placed in an upright position in one of the arches referred to, formerly lay near the altar. The inscription, in raised Saxon letters (Fig. 186), is as follows: —

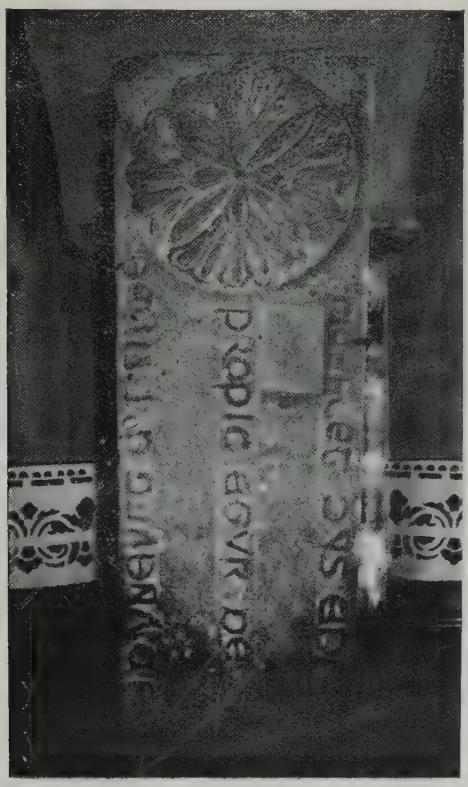


FIG. 186 EDNYFED'S TOMBSTONE. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

HIC IACET DNS. EDNEVED : QVODAM VICARIUS : DEDYNEYRT : Cs AN PROPITIETUR DEVS AMEN.

The wording in the History of Llandrillo, p. 66, omits "quodam vicarius," but these words are in a measure necessary to the completeness of the inscription.

Even if these words were absent, we could conclude that this was the great Ednyfed's tombstone, but the Rev. Meredith Hughes has formed the following conclusions, after careful investigation :—

"Ednyfed Fychan certainly had a house in this parish at Llys Euryn, but he never relinquished the sword for the cowl; therefore the words 'quodam [quondam] vicarius' cannot mean a 'former vicar' in its ordinary ecclesiastical signification. But the word 'vicarius,' in its general sense, signifies also a representative of a monarch [and sometimes an absent monarch], much in the same way as the word 'viceroy' is used for governor-general, so that these words may indicate the official position of Ednyfed as Prime Minister to Llywelyn the Great, or he may have been so called because he was one of the three [the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Einion, were the others] who represented Dafydd at the King's Council held at Gloucester in May, 1241 (O. M. Edwards' 'Wales,' p. 154.)"

The church was "restored" in 1857,* and, by an act of vandalism, the historic east window was dispersed. Lewis' Topog. Dict. of Wales (1834) preserves the following description :—

"The east window is in the later style of English architecture, and contains some elegant specimens of ancient stained glass; in one compartment is a fine head of Marchûdd, founder of one of the fifteen noble tribes of North Wales, above which are the arms of Ednyfed Fychan, ... : in the others are figures in flowing drapery, representing the tribes of Wales."

Sometime in the ninth decade of the nineteenth century, two or three fragments of this window were handed to the Rev. W. V. Williams (then Vicar), and one of these, supposed to be a sepia portrait of Ednyfed, was placed in the vestry window.

THE LYCH-GATE.

This is one of the oldest in the district (Fig. 187). Llandrillo was erected in 1677, Caerhun in 1728, Dolwyddelan in 1736, Bettws-y-coed in 1756, and Llanrhychwyn probably in 1742. Llandrillo Lych-gate has the following inscription :—

* History of Llandrillo, by Rev. W. Ven. Williams.

FIG. 187. LLANDRILLO LYCH-GATE AND SUNDIAL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

HENRY : VAUGHAN :
OWEN : WILLIAMS
WARDENS.
ANO : DOMINI
1677
M.R.

The sinecure rector at the time was James Colssett, Rector of Condover in Shropshire, the vicar being Robert Ffoulkes, the eighth in succession from Thomas Ellis (1537), the first vicar of whom we have any record. The tombstone [date 1699] of Margaret Vaughan, widow of Henry Vaughan of Glyn, was removed from the centre of the church to the churchyard. Henry Vaughan, who lived at Glyn in the present parish of Colwyn, was probably the son of John Vaughan, whose initials "I.V.—1620" are still to be seen on a plaster in a loft at Glyn Farm. This family was descended from Ednyfed Fychan. The letters "M.R." probably mean "Mortui resurgent" ("the dead shall rise again"). Some writers consider that these letters are the initials of the builder.

THE SUN-DIAL.

There are three dates on this Dial (Fig. 187) :—

(1) On the base of an older column, 1712.
(2) On the sun-dial itself, "The gift of Mary Jarvis of Dinerth, 1755."
(3) Under the bevelled edge, "Th. Owen, 1756."

The bell bears the date 1752, and was cast by Ralph Ashton, of Wigan.

The first entry in the Registers is 1693, and the first Latin entry begins on November 14th, 1714, and Latin entries continue till 1733, the vicar being, during this period, the Rev. Isaac Charles. There is a note to the following effect:—"The Register of the Township of Llandrillo in the county of Denbigh, bought by Ed. Daniel and Richard Rowland, Wardens." There is also a catalogue of books sent to the parish of Llandrillo, Denbighshire, being the legacy of the Rev. Thomas Owen, late Vicar of Oswestry, viz., 12 Folios, 16 quartos, and 72 octavos.

The following are entries of interest:—

1764. Robertus Myddelton, A.M., Rector de St. Geo., institutus fuit 2 die Januarii et inductus fuit sexto die Februarii.

1817. Hair-Powder taxed.

In the church is an inscription on a black board, in gilt letters, giving particulars of the Will of Elizabeth Edwards, of Ty Gwyn, in the parish of Llandrillo, proved April 28th, 1728. According to this Will, the interest on £10 is to be given to ten of the poorest of the parish for ever, and the interest of £20 towards the schooling of four of the poorest children.

In case there was no school in the parish, the interest was to be given for apprenticing any poor female child within the parish to any trade the minister or wardens should think proper. The interest was devoted to educating six poor children, but eventually was allowed to accumulate, and in 1836 the principal and interest amounted to £67. Of this, £30 was invested in the St. Asaph's Savings Bank, and £24 and £13 respectively were lent on two promissory notes at 5 per cent. and 4 per cent., dated April 8th, 1833, and June 23rd, 1836. Finally these were called in, and the money was invested with the rest at St. Asaph. On the recommendations of the Commissioners, one-third was paid to the poor, and two-thirds to the National School. In Gilbert's Parliamentary Returns for 1786, there was a sum of £12 for paying 12s. a year interest vested in the minister and wardens, supposed to be the accumulation of Elizabeth Edwards' Charity. The money was used for parochial purposes, the

parish officers paying the interest, and adding it to the money distributed on St. Thomas' Day. It finally reached £84 6s. 8d., yielding an annual interest of £2 10s. 7d.

In the north aisle of the parish church, there is a tombstone bearing the inscription :—

"Underneathe lyeth the body of Robert Conway of Pwllycrochan, Gentleman ; was buried here by leave of Robert Davies, Esq., 1693."

An ancestor of this Robert Conway, Hugh Conway, by his Will in 1540, gave these directions :—

"My body is to be buried or covered with earth beneathe the parish church of Llandrillo. Also I leave five pounds sterling to the aforesaid church, to be disposed of in this manner, namely, fifty shillings of the same towards the building a certain approach, or a porch at the door, or entrance of the same church ; also the other aforesaid part of five pounds for the construction of a chancel to the aforesaid church."

The Will is in Latin. The above Robert Davies, the grandfather of Robert Davies of Llannerch (an able naturalist and Welsh antiquary), collected the valuable library of MSS. that were at Llannerch, which estate came to the family on the marriage of Robert Davies, of Gwysanau (Flints.), with Anne, the eldest daughter and heiress of Sir Peter Mutton, Chief Justice of North Wales. This also connects this parish with Llannerch, St. Asaph, the owner of which (Sir Everard Cayley, Bart.) "is also the owner of the lands surrounding the Parish Church."* The old Public House, "The Ship," generally known as "Y Llan," was built by Robert Davies, in 1736. It stood close to the vicarage gate, with the large hawthorn tree resting on its roof ; it was taken down in 1874.*

ST. TRILLO'S CHAPEL.

Pennant remarks on this (III., 145):—

"I saw close to the shore the singular little building, called St. Trillo's Chapel (Fig. 188). It is oblong, has a window on each side, and at the end a small door, a vaulted roof paved with round stones, instead of being slated. The whole building is surrounded with a stone wall."

Archbishop Thomas, in his History of the Diocese of St. Asaph, p. 550, says :—

"This interesting old oratory on the shore is an example still remaining of some of the earliest religious edifices in the country, and corresponds to the

* Rev. W. Venables Williams' History of Llandrillo.

FIG. 188. ST. TRILLO'S CHAPEL. *Photo. by Mrs. James E. Evans.*

earliest oratories of Ireland and Cornwall. It is in form a parallelogram, about fifteen feet long by eight wide ; at the east (end) there is a perennial spring."

"St. Trillo's Chapel," says Jenkinson, "is a very small, plain building, which covers a spring of water, and the monks of old used to go to pray for a good haul of fish."

Canon Williams is inclined to believe that the chapel was built merely to protect the well, which is the only one in the neighbourhood ; the late Mr. Longueville Jones speaks of it "as an insignificant little building, not older than the 16th century ;" and, lastly, Evans in his "Tour" [1802] remarks,—"Inside St. Trillo's Chapel is a well, formerly much esteemed for the virtues of its waters ; it was supposed to have been the constant residence of the Saint."

So much for the literature of the subject, but it is really doubtful if St. Trillo had anything to do with the building ; if St. Trillo had his well, as St. Elian and St. Cynfran, one would expect it to have been the once-strong spring near Bryn Ednyfed, and perhaps it is best still to leave the matter "sub judice."* Mr. W. Horton, J.P., the present owner of the Rhos Fynach estate, is to be congratulated on judiciously restoring and protecting this old building.

* See Notes by the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes.

THE WEIR (Fig. 189).

There were formerly two weirs; the larger of the two was on the east side of the present Rhos pier, but was destroyed some years ago. "The drawing of Llandrillo weirs," says old Price, "is a very pretty sight. . . . . I once saw a shark taken at the weir; it was a thrasher, or sea-fox [Slopias Vulpes], about 6 feet long." It was on the night of November 2nd, 1850, that the largest number of herrings (35,000) was caught at one time, as related by the late Mr. Parry-Evans to Mr. Frank Buckland, H.M. Inspector of Fisheries [see "Land and Water," September 14th, 1878].

FIG. 189. WEIR AT RHOS. *Mrs. James E. Evans, del.*

The Rev. Venables Williams in his History of Llandrillo, p. 34, identifies the weir with Gored Wyddno (Gwyddno Garanhir), but incorrectly, as Gwyddno flourished 460-520 A.D.

The history of the Weir can be divided into three periods :—

First Period (about 100 years).—From the erection of Aberconwy Abbey (1186), to which the Weir belonged, to the Abbey's removal to Maenan in 1289.

Second Period (286 years).—From 1289 to the year 1575, when the Charter was granted by the Earl of Leicester (as Lord of Denbigh), and as a portion of the Manor or Lordship of Denbigh and Denbighland, to Morgan ap John ap David ap Maesegwig. This Morgan ap John was a paternal ancestor of the late Mr. Parry-Evans.

Third Period (436 years).—From 1575 to the present time. This skilful piece of human ingenuity has withstood the storms of eight centuries, and, though none of the original material remains, it still retains its "form."

The Weir of Rhos Fynach (Marsh of the Monks) was built by the Cistercians of Aberconwy between 1186 and 1289, and when in 1289 Edward I. removed the Abbey to Maenan, the chief possessions of the monks were transferred to the Constable and Corporation of Conway. Rhos Fynach, however, was not included in this Royal grant to Conway, nor is there any record of its being within the boundary of the Corporation. The Charter, to which reference has been made, is now in the possession of Mr. Horton, the present owner of the Rhos Fynach estate.

Since the time the grant was made in the days of Elizabeth, the sea has encroached upon the land, and along the foreshore can be traced the remains of an ancient forest. One cannot leave the subject of Rhos Weir without referring to the famous fishing-dog "Jack," who was taught to dive for the salmon, and back-fin him, without injuring the fish for market; he would also drive herrings in the right direction.

For the quarter ending September 30th, 1907, the record catch of mackerel on the west coast was in Rhos Fynach Weir, when ten tons were taken in one tide, but they realised only £20.

The present Vicar of Llandrillo has still the right to every tenth catch.

COPY OF LLYWELYN THE GREAT'S CHARTER REGARDING RHOS FYNACH.

To all sons of holy Mother Church, who shall see or hear these letters, Leoline Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon [sends] greeting in the Lord. Let your brotherhood know that Idneved Vachan, our Seneschal purchased with our assent from the heirs of Dineyrth and their heirs, from Llwyth Marchudd and their [?] heirs, and from the nephews of Dueog and their heirs, in the presence of us, the aforesaid parties to the present [letters] the land of Rôs Veneych with all belongings and liberties in wood, in plain, in grazings, pastures, meadows, paths and waters, and in all easements on sea and on land, to be held by himself and his heirs, and to be owned forever by hereditary right, freely, and quietly, and without secular service, so that none aforesaid heirs of Dineyrth and of Llwyth Marchudd, and of the nephews of Duog, (*sic*) can claim any right, in the aforesaid land, or in its belongings, hereafter, save the same Idneved and his heirs. Moreover, the aforesaid Idneved and his heirs, shall pay yearly to God and the Church of Dineyrth, two shillings towards lamps [*luminaria*] at Easter-tide. Moreover the bounds of the said lands are, Taleta Claud towards the west, and

Aberdowyth towards the west. The ditch [is] nearer to the land of Dineyrth, which [ditch] divides the same Talart-y-Clawdd land and the land of Dineyrth on one side and the sea on the other side. Moreover the same ditch, with all the water which flows down through the ditch itself as far as Aberdowyth, with all the appurtenances and its liberties, buildings, mills, and fisheries, the said Idnevet and his heirs, shall forever possess, without any challenge, so that no one else save Idnevet and his heirs, can fish or otherwise traffic in the same water or in any part of that very water. In witness of which thing we have caused our seal to be placed on this present writing and patent, by consent of the parties. And we have granted the same writing to be held by the same Idnevet and his heirs, these being witnesses.

David our heir, Gruffud son of Roderic, Gruffud son of Owen Littleland, Master Adam, David son of the elect [*Electi*], Philip and Bleydud incumbent parsons of Dineyrth, L.M B. sons of Madauc, Einion son of Maredud, Tudor son of Aron. Madoc son of Bondes, and many others. Dated at Estrad, in the year of grace, May, 1230.

The original of this Charter was in the possession of Edward Philip Pugh, Esq., of Coetmor, in Carnarvonshire, and was copied by the Rev. Evan Evans. The copy now forms part 145 of MS. 52 in the Panton Collection. The following note was appended to the copy :—

"The Prince Ll'n ap Erwerth his seal is of green wax with the print of a man in armour of the one side and a floure on the other side and the Tagg is of a twist silk."

The Pughs of Cefn-y-Gartheg and Penrhyn were descended from John, third son of Robert Howel ap Gruffydd, Lord of Rhos and Rhufoniog, son of Gruffydd Goch, son of Ednyfed, from the tribe of Marchudd ap Cynan, the 8th Noble Tribe of Wales. The above-mentioned John married Nest, daughter of Gruffydd ap Howel Coetmor. The land of Rhos came into the possession of the family of Marchudd thus :—His daughter Eva (descended in the fourth generation) married Madoc Grwm, Lord of Creuddyn and founder of the 7th Noble Tribe. The heirs of Dineyrth mentioned in the Charter were probably the issue of this union, but not through the eldest son of Madoc and Eva, otherwise the property would have descended in direct male line to Ednyfed Fychan.*

The Cistercian Abbey of Aberconwy was founded by Llywelyn in 1186, and the date of the Charter is 1230. Therefore the property concerned was purchased thirty years after ; in the meantime, Llywelyn's foundation had obtained Rhos Fynach (Fig. 190), and

* Notes by Rev. Meredith J. Hughes.

the monks had constructed the weir. The weir is not mentioned, though it is implied in the Charter, neither was it granted by Edward I. to the Corporation of Conway, when the Abbey was removed by him to Maenan in 1289. It was alienated from the monks, and was ceded to Ednyfed and his heirs, one of whom appeared before Edward I. and his Council at Gloucester in May, 1291, as a representative of Prince David, the heir of Llywelyn. This may account for the absence of any reference to the weir in Edward's Charter to Conway. It seems also that Llywelyn had been for some time under the displeasure of Rome, otherwise he would scarcely have consented to a purchase which would alienate Rhos Fynach from the Cistercians of Aberconwy.

FIG. 190. RHOS FYNACH. *Photo. by Miss Aldred.*

Dueog, or Duog, whose heirs are mentioned as being parties to the transaction, was obviously Dwywg ap Gwilym, who was the grandson of Rhys ap Edryd, a collateral branch of the same family, from whom is descended the present Lord Mostyn. Although the neighbouring property of Bryn Euryn was transferred to the Mostyn family through marriage, Rhos Fynach remained in other hands until it was granted by the Earl of Leicester to John ap David of

Maesegwig, an ancestor of the late Mr. John Parry-Evans, who disposed of the property to the present owner, Mr. William Horton, J.P., of Bryn Dinarth.

We therefore conclude that Rhos Fynach belonged in moiety to the family of Madoc Crwm, of Gloddaeth, and in moiety to the heirs of Dwywg ap Gwilym of the house of Edryd.

As to its boundaries. The places mentioned are Talart-y-Clawdd and Aberdowyth, both toward the west. It would seem that the boundaries define the limits of the land of Dineyrth towards the east, but not the extent of Ednyfed's purchase in that direction, the reason being, probably, that Ednyfed's own lordship of Bryn-ffenigl included the area from his seat westwards to Rhos Fynach, the object of the purchaser being to extend his possessions west to a definite line, and this division would naturally follow the course of the brook, or river, now choked, but still known as Afon Ganol (or the Middle, or Dividing, River). That this was the Aberdowyth mentioned scarcely admits of doubt, since Ednyfed built his Llys (or Palace) on Bryn Euryn, which is well within the line eastwards. Moreover, the right to fishing in this river was the cause of an action at law between Pugh of Penrhyn and Hugh Conway of Bryn Euryn (about 1694).*

Of the witnesses to the Charter, "David our heir" was the younger son of Llywelyn the Great, by Joan, daughter of King John; he succeeded his father in 1240 A.D., to the prejudice of his elder brother Gruffydd. He died in 1246 at Aber, and was buried at Aberconwy.

Master Adam, probably Dean Adam of Bangor, mentioned as a witness to a deed of agreement between the Bishop of Bangor and Lord Grey of Dyffryn Clwyd, in 1278.

Einion son of Meredudd, probably Einion Wan (1200-1250), six pieces of whose compositions are in the Myvyrian Archaiology.

David son of the Elect (1160-1220). Eleven of his compositions are in the Myvyrian Archaiology.

Estrad, 1230. The object of Llywelyn's visit to Ystrad Fflur (Strata Florida) was as follows:—

* Notes by the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes.

Llywelyn wrote to William, Earl of Pembroke, declaring that he could prevent his barons from avenging themselves on William de Breos for the gross insult he offered Llywelyn, and moreover he desired to know the Earl's intention regarding the engagement between his niece and David ap Llywelyn. Eva, the wife of De Breos, was the Earl's sister. The Abbot, Vaudry, who had been sent to Wales by Ralph, Bishop of Chichester and the Lord Chancellor, to arrange a meeting between himself and Llywelyn, mentioned the fact that William de Breos had been hanged upon a tree in the presence of several men. De Breos was really executed for treason. Llywelyn was again in Strata Florida in 1237-8.

RHOS FYNACH.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as Lord of Denbigh, granted a Charter to John ap Morgan ap David, an ancestor of Mr. J. L. Parry-Evans. In 1868, an inquiry was held at Conway, by the Commissioners of English Fisheries, as to the legality of the Weirs (Figs. 191, 192), such structures (unless they could show a title as far back as James I.) having by the Salmon Law of 1860 been declared illegal, and, in the absence of such title, had to be dismantled. The Charter was translated, in anticipation of the inquiry, at a cost of £5, and on the strength of this the Commissioners certified the rights by a document (*q.v.*). Mr. J. Parry-Evans, Jun.,* of 8, Wellesley Road, Great Yarmouth, has in his possession a rapier of Elizabethan design, found, in an old oak chest at Rhos Fynach, by his great-grandfather, with the Charter, and there is no question but that it belonged to the original grantee, John ap Morgan, and it is understood that the

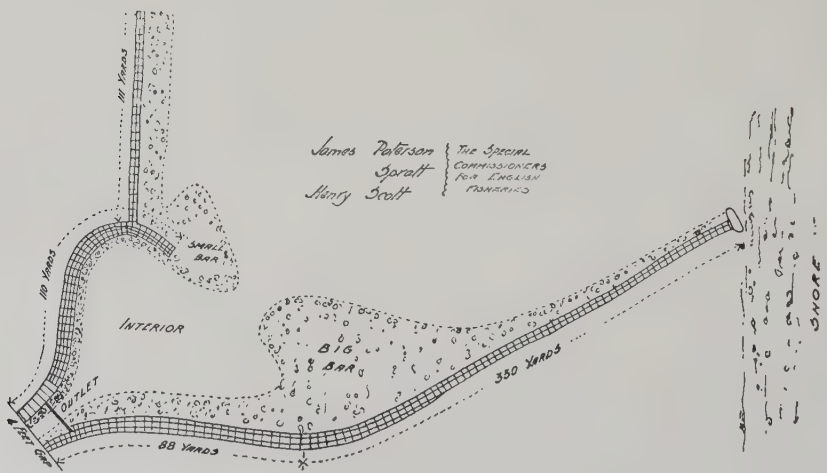


FIG. 191. PLAN OF COAST NEAR LLANDRILLO WEIR.
The Late J. L. Parry-Evans.

consideration for the said grant was services rendered at sea in connection with the "Queen's Enemies."

At the above inquiry,* several other Fixed Engines failed to establish a right to continue, and had to be dismantled, one of which belonged to Mr. Whitehall Dod (Sir Everard Cayley's predecessor), and was close to the old Weir, but nearer Colwyn Bay station. The Secretary to the Commission was Thos. Brady, Esq. The document, which entitled Mr. J. Parry Evans, senr., was dated 1st June, 1575. It was from Elizabeth, between the Earl of Leicester (Master of the . . . . of Queen Elizabeth) and Morgan ap John ap David, and portion of the translation reads as follows :—

FIG. 192. LLANDRILLO WEIR. *The Late J. L. Parry-Evans.*

"Witnesseth that the aforesaid Earl for and in consideration of the sum of and for divers other considerations him thereunto moving" grants so many acres of land, etc., and goes on, "together with all and singular fishing waters, pools of water, etc., to the same appertaining."

Evidently the property, prior to the above grant, was part of

* For the particulars relating to this inquiry, the writer is indebted to Mr. J. Parry-Evans, of Great Yarmouth.

the monastery of the Abbey of Conway, so by some means or other it came back to the Church after Ednyfed Fychan's day.*

In Sir Walter Scott's "Kenilworth," there is a footnote respecting a sea captain called Morgan, who, although ostensibly a servant of Queen Bess, is said not to have been particular as to whether he attacked friend or foe, if it suited his purpose. It is possible that this individual may be the same as the one mentioned in the Charter, seeing that he and the Earl of Leicester were mixed up together.

NOTICE.

To the Owner of the FISHING WEIR in
Rhos Bay and other persons interested therein.

TAKE NOTICE, you are required to appear before us, the Special Commissioners of English Fisheries at Conway in the Assembly Rooms on Tuesday the 8th day of January next at the hour of Ten o'clock in the forenoon, and thence forward Day by Day, until discharged, in order that there may be then and there an inquiry by us touching the legality of a Fishing Weir in Rhos Bay near Colwyn Station, Denbighshire, and that a decision may be made by us with respect to their removal, or that such other order may be made by us in the Premises as the fact of the case may appear to us to warrant.

Given with our hands and under the Common Seal of the said Commissioners, this 12th day of December, 1866.

To John Parry Evans, Esq.,
Rhosfynach, near Conway.

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COUNTY OF CARNARVON TO WIT. } Be it remembered, that by a notice bearing date the twelfth day of December, 1866, under the hands and common seal of the Special Commissioners for English Fisheries, John Lewis Parry Evans of Rhosfynach, in the County of Carnarvon being the owner of a certain fixed engine for catching salmon, called a fishing weir or Baulk net hereinafter more particularly described, was required to appear before the said Commissioners at Conway on the eighth day of January 1867, in order that there might be an inquiry by the said Commissioners, touching the legality of the said fixed engine called a fishing Weir or Baulk, and Whereas on the eighth and tenth days of January one thousand eight hundred and sixty seven at Conway aforesaid, the party aforesaid appeared before the said Commissioners, and made claim on behalf of the said fixed engine that it was privileged, and now after hearing what the said party or other parties, by themselves, their counsel, attorneys and witnesses, having alleged and proved for and against the said fixed engine, and proof having been given to our satisfaction that such engine was privileged, We, the said Special Commissioners for English Fisheries, acting under and in pursuance of the Salmon Fishery Acts, 1861 and 1865, do hereby adjudge and certify that the said engine is privileged; And we further certify that the

* When excavating for the Rhos Abbey Hotel, on a portion of the Rhos Fynach garden, a bronze celt was found. The finder was Mr. John Evans, of Orsedd, Glanwyddan.

said Fixed Engine or Fishery Weir composed of Hurdles and Wattles is situated in Rhos Bay in the County of Carnarvon, on the site marked A and of the size and form shown on the map hereunto annexed and number $\frac{218}{2}$.

Given under our hand and under the common seal of the said Special Commissioners for English Fisheries, this tenth day of January in the year of our Lord 1867.

James Paterson,
T. A. B. Spratt,
Henry Scott.

This is the certificate marked "A" referred to in the declaration of Mr. John Lewis Parry Evans, taken and declared this 27th day of June 1892, before us, Chas. Allard, A Commissioner, etc.

TITLE :— Special Commissioners for
ENGLISH FISHERIES
Certificate
for
Privileged Engine
No. $\frac{218}{2}$

Date 10th January 1867, Owner John Lewis Parry Evans Rhos Bay.

The Charter, in virtue of which the late Mr. Parry Evans claimed the Weir, was written on very ancient parchment, in Monkish Latin, and was signed by the Earl of Leicester with the initials R.D., 1575 (17 Elizabeth), as a portion of the Lordship of Denbigh.*

"The road across the lowland of Bryn Eisteddfod, called Sarn Mynach (or Causeway of the Monks), is said to have formerly run from near Bryn Eisteddfod in the direction of Llangwstenin." Some of the stones forming this causeway were discovered by the Rev. Meredith Hughes, in 1896, at the time that the Llandudno water-main was being laid along the road from Glanconway past Bryn Eisteddfod.

The descendants of Ednyfed Fychan are exceedingly numerous, including as they do almost all the Royal Families of Europe, and a large proportion of the nobility of England and Wales. Some notice has already been given of the Griffiths of Penrhyn, and their junior branch, the Williamses of Cochwillan. As to Ednyfed's other descendants, it must suffice here to add the following curious annotations from Richard Llwyd's poetical works (published about 1837).

* See History of the Weir, by Archd. Jones, of Bryn Eisteddfod, published by the Rev. W. Houghton, in Seaside Walks of a Naturalist.

"Tre'rgarnedd (the Tumulus Farm), in Anglesey, was in 1220 the property and occasional residence of Ednyved Vychan; from him it descended to his great-grandson, Sir Gruffydd Llwyd [ab Rhys ab Gruffydd], who, when he revolted (in 1322), fortified this house with a fosse, eight yards wide and four deep, and, at the same time, formed another strong-hold at a short distance from it, in the Morass of Malldraeth, intended as a retreat, in the last extremity; this he insulated by drawing round it the deep waters of the river Cevni; and sufficient vestiges of both still remain to ascertain their relative strength and situation.

"Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, a valiant man, but unfortunate, was knighted by Edward the First, then holding a Parliament in the castle of Rhuddlan, when he brought him the news of the safe delivery of his Queen, at Carnarvon, of Edward Prince of Wales; but Sir Gruffydd afterwards, enraged by the extreme barbarity and tyranny of the English officers, particularly Sir Roger Mortimer, Lord of Chirk, Justice of North Wales, and, unable to procure redress for his country from the King, excited and led an insurrection, ... and [he], in an instant, over-ran North Wales and the Marches, taking all the strongholds, but [he] was at length defeated and taken prisoner; . . . . it is supposed that he ended his days a prisoner in the castle of Rhuddlan.

"Morfydd, the eldest of his seven daughters and co-heiresses, conveyed by her marriage with Madoc of Gloddaeth (the Banqueting-house) the Mansion of Tre'rgarnedd, with its appendages, into that family. The issue of this match was Gruffydd, whose son Rhys, inheriting the intrepidity of his forefathers, supported Owen Glyndwr, in that last effort to restore the independence of his country, and lost his estates, but at the close of that war of nine years, as it was called in 1410, he was restored to the moiety of Creuddyn, the other being sold to Gwilym ap Griffith of Penrhyn: Margaret, sole heiress of his son Gruffydd, carried this property, and that of Tre'rgarnedd, into the family of Mostyn, by her union with Howel ab Evan Vychan, of that house.

"His coat armorial—Gules, a chevron or, and chief ermine, is paternally borne only by the Davies' of Caer Rhun, of which house was Thomas Davies, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1561, a man who did honour to a mitre; among other pious actions, the settlement of a scholarship in Queen's College, Cambridge, was one.

"Descended from Sir Gruffydd's co-heiresses, the following families do, or may, quarter it—Mostyns of Mostyn, Lloyds of Havodunos; and from his daughter Cecily, the descendants of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord President of the Marches of Wales, in the reign of Elizabeth; representatives also, if any, of the Griffiths of Llwyn-dyrus, Salisburys of Llanrhaidr, Morrises of Treborth uchav, and the Hollands of Hendre vawr, near Abergele."

The following further details of some of Sir Gruffydd Llwyd's descendants at Gloddaith are taken verbatim from Canon Robert Williams' "History of Aberconway," pp. 127-131:—

"The greater part of the present house* of Gloddaith was built

* This refers to the year 1835.

by Thomas Mostyn, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but there was a residence here of the ancient family of Gloddaith for several centuries before. In 1448, Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Gruffydd ab Madoc Gloddaith ab Madoc ab Ierwerth Goch of Creiddyn lost seven children in the same week, who died of the plague; on which occasion the following elegy was written by Robin Ddu ab Siencin, an eminent bard, who flourished from 1440 to 1470. As the original has never been printed, it is here inserted.

COWYDD MARWNAD PUMAB A DWY FERCH O LODDAITH.

"Sorri dduw penn saer idd wyd,
Saith o Gloddaith a gladdwyd.
Aethost, bu dost y byd ynn,
Er ys wythnos ar seithnyn:
Un blaid facwyaid cowir,
Yn blant i un sant o'n sir.
Yn frig oedd bendefigaidd,
O bren dihareb i wraidd.
Y prenn oedd Ruffydd ap Rys;
Mwy ña gwinllan mewn gwenllys:
A'r plant, dyhuddiant haeddwawd,
Ydoedd y brig hyd dydd brawd,
Gwae finau, i gyfiownwr,
Gwympio gwydd ag imp y gwr;
Darfu o'r benadurfainc,
I dwyn i gyd ond un gainc.
Da yw'r un, mab Duw a ro
Cynnydd ar y gainc honno,
Bwriwyd gweilch, briwyd y gwydd,
Bro gonwy fal bwrw gwinwydd.
Band oer o boen a dirwy,
Barwniaid teg i bwrw'ntwy;
Bu ar i gwlad, berigl waith,
Braw o'i claddu brig Cloddaith.
Crio oedd yn y Creuddyn,
Ag wylo tost, gweled hynn,
Gwaeddodd y bobl, bann guddiwyd
Gwydd gwin, a llin Robin llwyd.
Gwan yw'r Creuddyn, ag unig,
Gruffudd sydd brudd, eisiau brig;
Gresyn, myn y gwir Oswallt,
Oedd gri hwn, a'i ddagrau hallt.
Gresyn dyras grynu dros gred,
Gresynach oedd gri Sioned;
Am ddwyn gemau o ddynion,
A cheirw, a brig yn ochr bronn.
Y mae'n noeth heb un mann iach,
Coed tewion i gyd haeach.
Duw a rann blodau ar wydd,
Ag a wna brig o newydd,
Pan aeth Crist un pennaeth cred,
A thylwyth a etholed;
Wyth oedd unwaith o eiddun,
Am y saith mae oes i un.
Y mab hynaf oedd Ddafydd,
I nef idd aeth, pan fu i ddydd,
Och heno mae achwyn mawr,

O roi Wilim ar elawr ;
A Rhys deg nid arhoes dim,
Ar i ol orwyr Wilim.
Pell i rhoed mewn pwll a rhaw,
Llywelyn nid llai wylaw.
Pumaib ydoedd o feibion ;
Pumed aur seined syrr Sion.
Am ddwyn (pwy ni chwyn y chwedl?)
Y merched y mae oerchwedl.
Catrin liw'r hin, ne loer haf ;
(Nid oedd hen) ydoedd hynaf :
Nid enwaf onid unwaith,
Annes wenn, hynny yw saith.
Un dad ag un garid gynt,
Fymuddiaid un fam oeddynt.
Un lliw i'n gwlad, un llun glwys,
Un bryd, ag un baradwys.
Un foddau blodau o blant:
Un feddwl yn nef fyddant,
Un luniaeth, un oleuni,
Un blaid nef, a'n blodau ni."

[TRANSLATION].

Offended art thou, O Lord Almighty ! Seven from Gloddaith have been laid in the grave. Grievous has the world been to seven persons in a week ; a family of ingenious youths, children of a revered countryman. Of high rank were the branches, from a tree proverbial for its root. The tree was Gruffydd ab Rhys, who surpassed the luxuriance of a vineyard : and the children, a consolation deserving of all panegyric, were the branches, even to the day of judgment. Woe is me, their justifier, that these scions have fallen. They are all removed from their exalted seat, except one branch ; this one is good, may the Son of God give increase to it ! Heroes have been thrown, the trees have been broken, in the district of Conwy. A company of fair lords, cold from pain and grief, bore them. The country had a work of danger, and fright, in burying them, the branches of Gloddaith. There was weeping in Creuddyn, and bitter lamentation on seeing this. The people cried out loudly, when the vine branches were covered up, the descendants of Robin Llwyd. Creuddyn is faint and solitary : Gruffydd is downcast, wanting his branches. Piteous, by the holy Oswald, was his cry, and salt tears. Still more piteous was the cry of Sioned ; being bereaved of distinguished men, deerlike, branches which flourished on the side of a hill. Thick trees are almost all bare now, with no place unhurt. O may God distribute blossoms on the trees, and produce branches anew ! There were once eight of them, one only now exists. The eldest was Davydd, he went to heaven, when his day came. Alas ; to-night there is great lamentation in putting William upon the bier. And fair Rhys tarried not behind after the worthy William. Deep in the grave was placed Llywelyn, not less lamented. Five in number were the sons : the fifth was the beloved Sion. For the daughters there is great grief ; the youthful Catrin was the eldest, whose complexion equalled the serene sky, or the summer moon ; the seventh was the fair Annes. They were the beloved of one father, the offspring of one mother ; one ornament of our country, one fair form, one thought, and one paradise. One series of blossoms, one mind

they will be in heaven. One form, one light, one heavenly company, and our ornaments.

"By this calamity Margaret became sole heiress, and her marriage, in 1460, with Hywel ab Ievan Vychan of Mostyn brought the Gloddaith estate to that family, with whom it still continues. The tenure of this place was perfectly free, and the tenants owed only suit and service to the county and hundred courts; and when they went to attend the prince in war, they went at his expense.* There was preserved here an excellent collection of books and Welsh manuscripts, which have been lately removed to Mostyn, and they greatly enrich the valuable library previously existing there."

In Peniarth MS. 176—Hengwrt 256, 365, p. 406, date 1553, the sons of Ednyfed are mentioned:—(1) Howel, Bishop of St. Asaph; (2) Jer, received a moiety of Garth Garmon; (3) Grono. Robin, the great-grandson of Ednyfed, who inherited a portion of Grono, forfeited it, when he slew Gruffydd Llwyd of Rhos. The brothers of Ednyfed were:—Grono Voel, Einion Ddu, Heilin Sais (drowned at Rhyd-y-boddes Heilin in Hiraethog).

* Pennant's Tours in Wales, III. 145.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD CHURCHES OF CREUDDYN

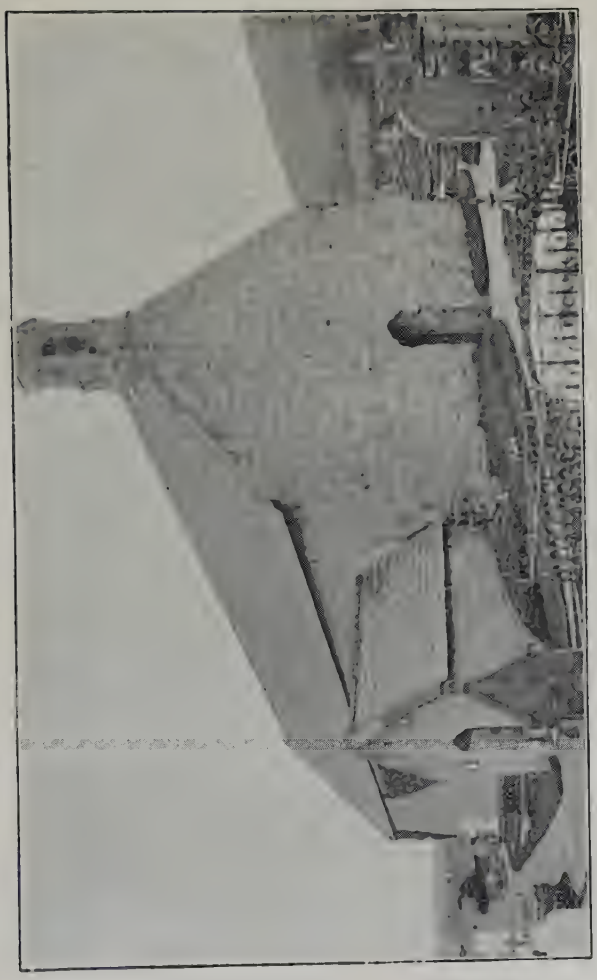
ST. TUDNO, LLANDUDNO.

The church (Fig. 193) is dedicated to St. Tudno, who traditionally founded it in the sixth century, but long prior to the coming of St. Augustine. Tudno was one of several sons of Seithenyn Saidi, coking of Cantref Gwaelod (together with Gwyddno Garanhir, father of Elphin), but they were cast adrift on the world when, through Seithenyn's drunken neglect of the dykes, the fertile "Lowland Hundred" was [traditionally] overwhelmed by the sea. To redeem the family name, Seithenyn's sons Tudno, Tudclyd (founder of Penmachno), Gwynodl, Merini, Senewyr, and Tyneio, became "saints" (*i.e.*, religious members) of Dunawd's College at Bangor-on-the-Dee (Bangor Iscoed). The Great Orme, formerly known as Cyngreawdr and as Horma-Heva, had been a great centre of heathen worship, a circumstance which may have induced St. Tudno to select this locality for his hermitage, the precise site being chosen as a watch-place against approaching pirates, and also as a land-mark for friendly mariners. Tudno's Church is believed to have left no trace, but its site is thought to be occupied by the present edifice, the oldest portion of which the late Rev. H. Longueville Jones dates back to the 11th or 12th century.

Mr. H. L. North,* B.A., F.R.I.B.A., considers that the nave was "widened in the 15th century, and the chancel added a little later." The plan is a parallelogram with a western door, and with a north porch, the latter converted (in 1906-7) into a vestry and clergy entrance. Down to the hurricane of January, 1839, which unroofed the nave, the church was noted for its carved oak, and especially for its carved-oak screen, including the rood-loft in which musical instruments were played on the greater festivals.

* The Old Churches of Arllechwedd, p. 4.

The church was not repaired, St. George's Church being substituted for greater convenience of access, and during sixteen long years the "spoil" from grave-digging was thrown into the roofless church, whence were taken for secular uses the ancient font*



ST. TUDNO'S CHURCH, LLANDUDNO.

FIG. 193.

By kind permission of Mr. H. L. North, and Messrs. Jarvis & Foster, Publishers of "The Old Churches of Allediwe'd."]

and much of the carved oak. In 1855, Mr. W. H. Reece, of Birmingham, repaired the church, recovering for it the font and some of the old oak, but unfortunately a wooden flooring was placed over the churchyard earth (which was merely levelled), and it was

* For illustration and description, see Article on Fonts,

not until 1906-7 that this flooring and earth were removed, a tiled pavement being then laid at what was deemed to be the original level of floor of the nave. At the same time (1906-7). oak seats replaced the pews in the nave; in the chancel were placed oak stalls designed after oak carving in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster Abbey, and around the walls inside the communion-rails was placed oak panelling after the same design. In 1888, an oak rood-screen of simple character was given by Mrs. John Heywood, of Manchester, in memory of her late husband, the eminent publisher; it was in the same year that the patronal festival once again began to be observed, on the fifth day of June.

On the under surface of the second cross tie from the east window, is a boss (in gold and green) depicting the five wounds of the Saviour; this is sometimes called "The Stigmata." A similar boss is stated by Mr. Andrew Lang* to have been in Eglwys Rhos, but to have disappeared during a restoration.

Two sepulchral slabs (Fig. 194) are built into the south wall nearly opposite the porch; these stones, formerly in the chancel floor, the Rev. H. Longueville Jones considered were not later than the 13th century.† Mr. Harold Picton considers that they show a blend of Celtic and Norman influence; the foliage is often seen in Norman work.

The present chancel wall-plates of oak are supposed by some to have formed part of the old rood-screen, the carving including a dragon, birds, and vine ornament; the only undoubted portion of the old screen is that placed on the interior western wall, and it is beautifully embellished with vine ornament.

The churchyard area seems to have been constant until about 1872, and the latest enlargement was consecrated in 1911; the boundary wall towards the south and east seems to have formed a portion of a circle, and near one of the ancient corners of the churchyard was a fine old hawthorn bush, the site of which is not far from the present centre of the churchyard. Outside the old churchyard wall, a horse-block was placed, but the changes of area have now brought this within the churchyard.

Many tombstones are of special interest, from which may be singled out the following :—

* Longman's Magazine. March, 1889. † Arch. Camb. Vol. II, 3rd Series, p. 69.

William Smith (died 1895), Captain of the Llandudno Mountaineering Club, with a figure in relief of a typical mountaineer, with water-flask and alpenstock, on a mountain height, with the sun rising out of the sea in the distance, and, underneath, the inscription, "He has attained the heights, and rests."*

Charlton R. Hall, Tan-y-bryn, died 1901, aged 91. [This gentleman was one of the early explorers of the Llys Helig ruins].

Leonard Bright (son of John Bright, M.P.), died November, 1864, aged 6.

A victim of the wreck of the "Rothesay Castle" (lost August, 1831, on the Dutchman Bank).

FIG. 194. SEPULCHRAL SLABS, ST. TUDNO. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

* This was designed by a member of the Club, with the help of two lady friends, one of whom modelled the figure, whilst the other wrote the lines.

There are two tiny graves of children, aged respectively 6 years (died 1765) and 2 years (died 1767); the adjacent slate slabs are of different lengths and breadths (viz., 48 inches by 14 inches, and 39¾ inches by 11½ inches respectively), the younger, who died last, having the shorter slab.

LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH.

Llangwstenin Church is dedicated to Cystenin Fendigaid, Pendragon of the Britons, and father of Digain, the founder of Llangernyw, in the opinion of some writers.

According to Canon Robert Williams,* Llangwstenin Church (Fig. 195) is dedicated to Cystennyn, the son of Cynvor, who was

FIG. 195. LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

elected to the royal dignity by the Britons about A.D. 390. Lewis† says that the dedication is to St. Constantine, and that it is "said to be the first Christian church erected in Wales; it is conjectured to have been founded by Constantine the Great, who died in the year 330." Pope Nicholas, in his Taxatio, describes it as a chapel of Abergele. Mr. Thomas Elias‡ considered that, before the removal of the Abbey of Aberconwy, it was possibly a chapel attached to that monastery. Formerly the parish was divided into the townships of Tre' Iorwerth and Llanwydden.

* History of Aberconwy, p. 119. † Topographical Dictionary of Wales, 1834.
‡ Abbeys and Convents of the Vale of Conway and District, p. 47.

It was to this Church of Cystennyn in Carnarvonshire, that the Abbots of Aberconwy and Cymmer summoned King Henry III. (A.D. 1245) to appear, acting under a commission of Pope Innocent IV. According to Lingard (iii., p. 95), the dispute arose in the following manner:—When Llywelyn, whom Henry addressed as Prince of Aberffraw and Lord of Snowdon, had died, his son David imprisoned Griffith his brother. The Princess Senena (wife of the captive) appealed to Henry, who had already summoned David before him. Three years later, Griffith was killed in an attempt to escape from the Tower of London. By his death David, who was Henry's nephew, was freed from the dangerous projects of a rival, and, to still further secure independence, he sought to throw off allegiance to Henry. He interested the Pope in his scheme, and actually offered to hold his Principality in homage to the See of Rome. Lingard says that the Pope declined the proposal, and that Henry hastened to chastise his nephew for his treason. The Abbots were commanded to institute an inquiry as to the allegations made by David. He affirmed that in his infancy his parents had placed him under the peculiar guardianship of the Church of Rome, but that his uncle, King Henry, by violence and threats, had compelled him to swear fealty to the throne of England. The Abbots summoned the King to appear before them, but, according to Lewis Morris ("Celtic Remains"), the King bribed the Pope, offering him five hundred marks annually. Thus the Church of Llangwstenin almost became a historic landmark in the affairs of Britain.* Whatever may have been the merits of the dispute, the King fortified the Castle of Deganwy, ravaged the isle of Anglesey, and imposed the severest penalties upon David and his people.

"In the church," says Canon Robert Williams in 1835, "there are some fragments of finely painted glass; the first figure in the east window represents the resurrection of our Saviour, and the other St. George vanquishing the dragon, in complete armour on a horse richly caparisoned; the human figure is tolerably perfect, but a portion only of the horse remains. In the adjoining window are four figures in good preservation; the first is Justice holding her balance, at one end of which is represented a sinner, and at the other his sins, with the devil pulling underneath to make it preponderate; the second is a bishop in his pontificals, with mitre and crosier, and rings on his fingers, with the imperfect inscription

* Notes by the Rev. Meredith J. Hughes, F.R.Hist.S.

nicolau. The next figure is St. Peter, with **sanctus petrus** beneath; the fourth is a female with the inscription **sancta katherina."**

In the south window of the chancel are—in the centre Stus Petrus with his keys; on his right, Nicholaus; and on his left, St. Catharina; and underneath, "Orate tuo animalus, etc."

The accompanying illustration shows the glass (Fig. 196) as it now appears in the south window.

FIG. 196. ANCIENT GLASS, LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

The tombstones and memorial-tablets inside the church include the following:—

Here lyeth ye Body of
Robert Lloyd of Hendrewaelod,
Gent, who was interred the 25th
Day of July 1691:
Likewise the Body of Griffith
Lloyd, Gent, was here interred
the 5th day of July 1751. Aged 29.
Underneath
Lies interred ye Body of
Griffith Lloyd, of Bodnant, Gent,

who married Anne Lloyd, heiress
of Llangwstenin, who departed
this Life ye 27th day of February,
and was buried 3rd day of
March, 1726. Aged 45.

To the Memory
of Mrs. Catherine Lloyd
of Llangwstenin Hall,
who departed this life on the 9th day of March 1799.
Aged 72 years.

Surmounting the inscription last given are a lion rampart, a head with helmet and shoulder-piece, and a stag. This may serve to connect the Lloyds of Llangwstenin with the Lloyds of Hafodunos, whose crest was also a stag.

The Robert Lloyd mentioned above, was of Llangwstenin as well as of Hendrewaelod, and married Martha, daughter of Edward Wynne, of Plas yn Trofarth and Plas Llanefydd, whose son John Wynne, of Maes-y-coed, Caerwys, was the father of Dr. John Wynne, Bishop of St. Asaph (1714-1727) and of Bath and Wells (1727-1743). Among the descendants of Robert Lloyd was the late H. D. Williams, Surgeon, Glanconway.

The Welsh funeral custom called "Offerings" still survives at Llangwstenin. After the burial service is ended in the church, so far as recited words are concerned, the clergyman remains seated within the communion-rails, and a collection plate is deposited on the rails to receive the "Offerings" for the clergyman, in lieu of burial fees. The principal mourner leaves his seat, followed, in close succession, by the other mourners, and by the rest of the congregation in turn; he goes up to the chancel, passes around the coffin, and returns to his seat, having in passing deposited a coin in the collection-plate. Everyone present is supposed to deposit a coin, however small the amount, but the chief mourners are supposed to give silver, or even gold. After the whole congregation has passed in this procession, the coffin is borne to the grave. There is a second collection-plate to receive the "Offerings" for the clerk or sexton, and at Llangwstenin this plate is held at the church door as the body is borne out. At some churches, however, the clerk's plate is placed in the chancel near the other one.

Canon Williams, in his "Aberconwy," names, as amongst the chief mansion houses in Llansantffraid parish, "Hendrewaelod, the

seat of Robert Williams, Esq., the representative of the respectable family of the Lloyds of Llangystenin."

EGLWYS RHOS CHURCH.

In the Deganwy Charter, the fair was on the feast of St. Martin, which seems to show that, at that time, the dedication of the parish church may have been to St. Martin, the present dedication (to St. Hilary and St. Mary) being of later date.

The parish church of Eglwys Rhos, also called Llanrhos and Llanfair-yn-Rhos, is prettily situated in a flat, not far from Bryn Maelgwn, a precipitous rock clothed with wood. The parish, which is divided into the townships of Penrhyn, Gloddaeth, Ferm, Cwm, Bryniau, Penclas, Tref-hir, and Tre-ferry, has, together with that portion of Conway Borough east of the river, some very intricate boundaries, due to some of these boundaries having been the limits of the grants, in 1186, to the monks of Aberconwy. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the tithes of this parish, valued in 1535 at £18, passed from Aberconwy Abbey into lay hands, and, in 1623, Serjeant Lewis Owen (of the Bodsilin family)* bequeathed them (except the tithes of Gloddaeth) for endowing six alms-houses at Penmynydd, Anglesey; the Gloddaeth tithes he left in trust for clothing poor persons in the parishes of Conway, Eglwys Rhos, Llangwstenin, and Llandudno.

The church is a small cruciform structure without aisles. The north transept is called the Penrhyn Chapel, according to Sir Stephen Glynne (1848); but "Gwalchmai," in 1864, stated that the north transept belonged to Marle; the south transept is called the Gloddaeth Chapel, and underneath it is the burial-vault of the Gloddaeth family. Sir Thomas Mostyn, last Baronet of Gloddaeth, was laid at rest (here, with his ancestors) in May, 1831, and later burials include the second Baron Mostyn (died 1884) and his widow, who, before her marriage, was the Lady Harriot Margaret Scott, eldest daughter of the second Earl of Clonmell.

Pennant mentions as existing in his day in the chancel window "the figure of a man in a herald's mantle with the arms of Englefield beneath,"† and conjectures it was that of Howel ap Tudur of Mostyn, the donor of the window. Williams‡ reads it—"Hoolt

* History of the Diocese of St. Asaph, by the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, M.A., F.S.A.

† Argent, a cross engrailed sable between four Cornish choughs.

‡ History of Aberconwy, p. 121.

Armigeri qui hec." Other words on it were "Fili Dei Jesu miserere mei;" and Williams adds that the fragments were carefully preserved and placed in the new window given by "the late Miss Frances Mostyn of Bodysgallen." He further states that "in the adjoining window is the figure of a saint, which forms a part of the original window."

"The chancel window, of three lights," says Archdeacon Thomas in his "History of St. Asaph Diocese," "is a memorial to the Hon. T. E. M. Lloyd-Mostyn, erected by his widow in 1865, and represents the Resurrection."

On December 3rd, 1891, the new west window was dedicated. It is a two-light window, the subject being Our Lord's Presentation in the Temple. The dedicatory inscription is "To the Glory of God, in affectionate memory of Edward Mostyn, Baron Mostyn, born 13th January, 1795, died 17th March, 1891, this window is dedicated by their children, A.D. 1891."

One of the other windows, "representing Faith, Hope, and Charity, is to Mary Bridget Mostyn of Bodysgallen, 1853, by whom it was given."*

The bard "Gwalchmai,"† whose monument is one of the features of the churchyard, gives the following account of memorial inscriptions inside the church.

On a raised tombstone in the north of the chancel is the following inscription:—

"Here lyeth the body of Margaret Wynne, third daughter of Colonel Hugh Wynne, of Bodysgallen (who, at his own expense, raised a regiment of Foot for the service of King Charles the First, and was a great sufferer for the Royal Cause), by Ellen his wife, only daughter of Richard Vaughan, Esq., of Cors-y-gedol. Margaret was born on the 9th November, 1657; died on the 21st, and was buried on the 25th January, 1736."

Williams‡ gives this inscription, but in the older spelling, and subsituting 1736-7 for 1736. He also gives the remainder of the inscription, thus:—

"Here also do lie the Bodies of Hugh Wynne, born May 23rd & Bury'd May 24th 1686, of Griffith Wynne born May 2nd 1687, & Buried January 1687-8, and of John Wynne born August 18th and buried Sepr 2nd 1688, the three eldest sons of Robert Wynne of Bodysgallen Esqr, (son and heir of

* History of St. Asaph Diocese, by Archdeacon Thomas.

† Guide to Llandudno, 1864, p. 110. ‡ History of Aberconwy, p. 121.

the said Coll. Hugh Wynne) by Ellen his wife, Daughter and heiress to Robert Wynne of Plas Mawr in the Town of Conway."

On the ground is a tombstone with the following :—

"Here lyeth the body of Roger Mostyn, sonn to Roger Mostyn of Dol y gors Loyn, Esq., who departed this life March the 16th, 1652."

Above are placed two memorial brass tablets, bearing the following inscriptions :—

"Near this place, in the Gloddaeth vault, lie the remains of Frances Mostyn, Spinster, of Bodysgallen, who departed this life on the 22nd of February, 1827; aged 78 years and 8 months. She repaired this dear little church, presented the painted window at the east end, and endowed the school.

'No farther seek her merits to disclose,
Or draw her frailties from their dead abode,
There they alike in humble hope repose.
The bosom of her Father and her God.'"

"Near this spot, in the Gloddaeth vault, lie the remains of Catherine Mostyn, Spinster, of Bodysgallen, who was born on the 26th day of June, 1779; and died on the 26th day of June, 1841. Also the remains of her sister, Mary Bridget Mostyn, Spinster, who was born on the 17th day of July, 1781; and died on the 30th day of January, 1856.

'Oh, they were humble, kind, and sincere;
Their life was love, their breath was prayer!
How liberal, let the widow's tear
And orphan's bursting sighs declare.'"

It is stated* that the oldest part of the church is the east wall of the north chapel, and possibly the main body of the wall is equally old. An even older relic is now in the church, viz., the Llandudno (Tyddyn Holland) Inscribed Stone (see p. 160).

Mr. Andrew Lang,† referring to the "Stigmata," says that "The five symbols are the hands, feet, and heart of Our Lord, which were often carved on bosses in the ceilings of churches, *e.g.*, at Eglwys Rhos, before that form of destruction known to the clergy and architects as restoration." Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this relic cannot be traced, but a similar boss has already been mentioned as existing in the church of St. Tudno.

The bell-turret here, as at Caerhun, is of the long-ridge type, *i.e.*, the ridge of the turret runs at right angles to the length of the church; the turret is "pierced for a bell with a pointed arch, which ends in corbels,"‡ "and the corbelling is not of common occurrence."§ The turret commences on corbels in the west gable-wall of the church.

* Arch. Camb. 1857, p. 43. † Longman's Magazine, March, 1889.
‡ Sir Stephen Glynne, September 2nd, 1848. § Arch. Camb. 1857, p. 43.

On a tombstone in the churchyard is a quaint inscription—

"Here lieth the body of Poor Betty, who for upwards of 50 years was a Houseless, Wandering Maniac. Died, February, 1824. Y mae gorphwysfa yn y nefoedd."

In the churchyard, a tombstone to the memory of "Robertus Pue de Penrhyn," ob. 1650, bears this hexameter:—

"Nostra sub hoc sculpto pars est vilissima saxo; mens sua fert cælum jure, cadaver humum."

GOGARTH ABBEY.

The site of the abbey was westward of the Great Orme, and at some distance from the church of St. Tudno. It is supposed to have been built in the sixth century, and probably then possessed more lands than at present, as this part of the coast has been washed away to a large extent by the sea since that date (Fig. 197). As a

FIG. 197. GOGARTH ABBEY. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

portion of the manor of Gogarth, or, more correctly, Garthgogo, the abbey buildings belonged to the Bishops of Bangor, from the time of King Edward I. The following quotation from Llwyd's "Mona" will explain how this came about:—

"On St. Mark's Day, 1284, was born Edward, surnamed of Carnarvon, the fourth and eldest surviving son of his royal parents,—a child of great promise, which it was his and England's great misfortune that he lived to falsify.

Gruffydd Llwyd, a Welsh gentleman, the first to bring the intelligence to the king, was knighted for his good news. The Bishop of Bangor, who christened the young Prince, had a splendid fee, no less than a grant of the ferries of Borthwen and Ceunant; the manors [in Carnarvonshire] of Bangor, Castellmai, and Garthgogo; the rocks of Abergeleu, to get up limestone: with the manors of Cantred and Treffos in Mona: to him and his successors for ever."*

In the Victorian era the Bishop of Bangor handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in exchange for a perpetual annuity, the landed possessions of the See of Bangor, and, about 1891, the commissioners sold Gogarth Abbey to Mr. W. F. Mason.

Gogarth Abbey was in ruins in Leland's time (1536-1539), who thus describes it—"Ther is by Conwey on the hither side of Conwey water an arme like a peninsula caullid Gogarth, lying against Priest-holme, and ther be the ruines of a place of the Bisshops of Bangor." The manor of Gogarth extends across the estuary to the Conway side.† The site of the abbey is the property of Mr. W. F. Mason, who has carefully preserved the ruins that remain, and has endeavoured to protect them by a sea-wall (Fig. 198). There are to be seen five complete rooms, together with a corridor. The largest room is rectangular in shape, about 60 feet long by 30 feet broad. In the north-west wall are the stone sills of three windows, and about the centre of each of the long walls a vertical recess, which may have been occupied by the principal supporting the roof. Mr. Mason is of opinion that there are three distinct periods of work. An interesting feature is the portion of a water course, or culvert, constructed to run under some of the walls on the west side of the buildings.

Mr. North‡ considers that the windows had apparently no glass, but were fitted with iron bars and wooden shutters; he states that he came across the centre portion of a two-light window head, plain pointed, and with what appeared to be an external and internal rebate for shutters, and near it was lying a portion of an early string course, all of which have a distinctly 13th-century character, of a similar type to the work of the monks at Aberconwy and Penmon. This 13th-century building can have only been used for a comparatively short time, as it was in ruins when Leland wrote. To the south of these remains, on the very edge of the cliff (Fig. 198), are two fragments of walling,§ of some considerable height and 4 feet 3 inches

* As quoted by Archdeacon Thomas in his "Diocese of St. Asaph."

† Abbeys and Convents of the Vale of Conway, by the late Mr. Thos. Elias.

‡ Ancient Churches of Arllechwedd, by Mr. H. L. North, p. 7.

§ In the year 1885, Mr. G. A. Humphreys saw on the beach, immediately below this walling, the remains of a well-proportioned fire-place.

thick, that must have belonged to an important building forming part of the abbey. An early 14th-century moulding, like that in the arches to the transepts of Conway Church, was also found by Mr. North, who further remarks that the plan of the remains was more like that of a secular building than of a monastic edifice, but that the work, being like that of the monks, is no proof that it was built by them. Mr. Thos. Elias was of opinion that the old screen in St. Tudno's Church was brought from Gogarth Abbey.

In a MS. of Sir John Wynne of Gwydir,* it is mentioned that there was a church at Gogarth previous to the seventh century. The site of this is probably now covered by the sea. Tradition says† that there was a religious house there in the early days of the British church, and that later it was converted into an offshoot of Aberconwy. Gwalchmai‡ says that the abbey is marked in Lewis Morris' maps as a Nunnery, but as against this may be cited the fact that the broad pathway hence up the mountain has always been known as the "Monks' Path."

FIG. 198. CLIFF, NEAR GOGARTH ABBEY. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

* "An Ancient Survey of Penmaenmawr," re-edited by W. Bezant Lowe, 1906.
† The Old Churches of Arllechwedd, by H. L. North, 1906.
‡ The Llandudno Handbook, 1855, p. 38.

CHAPTER X.

BELLS AND FONTS

EARLY CELTIC BELLS.

There are two kinds of ecclesiastical Bells—portable and fixed. Those used in the early Celtic Church belong to the former class, and were ordinary cattle-bells adapted to ecclesiastical purposes. There are still in existence in Wales a few examples of ancient portable hand-bells.* These bells are much more ancient than the ordinary Church bells, and, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, were in use at the time of Germanus and Lupus, about 430 A.D. The earliest mention of a bell (in England), to call a congregation together, is made by the Venerable Bede. Church bells were regarded with feelings of veneration in Wales, and also in those other parts of the British Isles where the Celtic Church flourished. The Welsh and Irish used to think that these bells could effect cures, miracles, etc.

The late Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., said that the original home of ecclesiastical bells of this type was in Ireland, and that thence they spread to Scotland, Wales, Brittany, France, and Switzerland. According to Dr. Joseph Anderson, such bells were made of iron, coated with bronze; they were hammered into shape and then rivetted, and then they were coated with bronze. They were provided with a handle (so that they could easily be swung by hand), and in shape they were tall, narrow, slightly tapering, and four-sided. The ends were flattened, the sides bulged. Later on, the wrought-iron bell was copied in bronze. Three (or possibly four) of these have been found in this district, viz., at Llangwstenin, Llanrwst, and Dolwyddelan, and one outside the entrance to Gwydir.

THE LLANGWSTENIN BELL.

The Llangwstenin bell (Fig. 199) is of cast bronze, without any

* Arch. Camb. Ser. I. by Prof. Westwood, and also Arch. Camb. 1897, p. 271, by E. L. Barnwell.

FIG. 199. LLANGWSTENIN BELL. *Photo. lent by G. A. Humphreys.*

ornament, and the handle has been broken off; the body is 7½ inches high, 5¾ inches by 5⅜ inches across the mouth, tapering to 4 inches by 2¾ inches across the top. It is about ¼ inch thick, with a thickening at the outer edge. The stumps of the original handle remain, and through the top of the bell there are two holes from which the original clapper was hung. The loop is of iron, and is fastened to the bell by an iron rod, passing through the bell and carrying an iron tongue. When struck, the bell gives a deep sound. An old parish clerk stated that it was the church bell till the church was rebuilt in 1843, and afterwards it was put up as a school bell. It is now in the Powysland Museum at Welshpool.

THE DOLWYDDELAN BELL.

The bell of Gwyddelan (Fig. 200), from the Church of Dolwyddelan, is now preserved at Gwydir. It is 9 inches high, and it measures at the base 7 inches by 6 inches, and at the top 6 inches by 3 inches. It is made of sheet metal.*

* Old Churches of Arllechwedd, by H. L. North, B.A., F.R.I.B.A.

THE LLANRWST BELL.

The Llanrwst bell (Fig. 201) is now in the Gwydir Chapel (Llanrwst), in the empty stone coffin of Llywelyn the Great. It is made of bronze, with handle and tongue of iron, and in the centre of each side is a small hole about ½ inch diameter. On one side are the letters "E F" and the date 1635, but this is probably when it was repaired. It is 10½ inches high, and measures at the base 7¾ inches by 5½ inches. On the wide side are the letters "O F F," which may possibly mean " offeiriad."

The bell outside Gwydir Castle may be a modern copy.

FIG. 200. DOLWYDDELAN BELL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

THE SECOND BELL AT ST. MARY'S, CONWAY.

This bell is called the Byrchynshaw bell, from an abbot (of Chester) of that name, who, having held office for forty years, died in 1537. [For legend, see page 302].

FIG. 201. LLANRWST BELL. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

THE LLANRHYCHWYN BELL.

The Llanrhychwyn bell has a number of fleurs-de-lis, with a crowned capital L, to which is prefixed a small "h," the L may refer to Llywelyn the Great, who lived near.* The fact that the letters are stamped, seems to show that it belongs to the earlier part of the fourteenth century.

In Gwytherin Church is a small hand-bell, probably an old Sanctus bell.

SOME EARLY FONTS.

[BY MR. G. A. HUMPHREYS, F.R.I.B.A.]

The Font is necessary for one of the solemn religious rites of the Christian Church, and a study of its development is deserving of more space that can here be allocated. Its evolution coincides with the story of Christian baptism. Commencing at the earliest Christian times, we find the rite of baptism was administered in the open river, lake, or sea. Following this method there was the below-ground baptismal tank, within a baptistery detached from the church. This baptistery was apparently a lineal descendant of the domestic bath-room in the Roman Thermæ and mansion of the Roman aristocracy. In the baptistery, as in the bath-room, the piscina was, at first, a small tank sunk usually two steps BELOW the floor. This was, no doubt, found inconvenient, and therefore the next stage was to

* According to Dr. Raven. See Arch. Camb. Vol. IV, 4th Series.

construct the baptismal tank ON the floor, but still in a detached baptistery building.

The shallow piscina or tank—only two steps below the floor—points to the fact that, contrary to the usually-received opinion, affusion (and not submersion) was the rule of the primitive church. Then, owing to changes of ritual, the wide shallow baptismal tank became unnecessary, and gradually got into disuse, its place being taken by a font WITHIN the church. In A.D. 747, Archbishop Cuthbert, of Canterbury, ordered all priests to baptize regularly, and in the 9th century Pope Leo IV. recommended that every church should have a font, "the Antient usual place" being near the church-door.

Baptism came to mean almost exclusively infant-baptism, and every church was required to possess a font, resulting in great simplification of the ceremonial, and great reduction in the size of the vessel. The regulation promulgated by the Council of Chelsey, A.D. 816, and still in force, fixed the minimum size of the bowl.

Of the fonts used in the Anglo-Saxon church, very little is known, but it is a reasonable conjecture that wood may have been the accepted material, and that therefore they were lost by decay. One of the most interesting wooden fonts in existence is in the collection of Lord Mostyn at Mostyn Hall. It was found in a bog, near Dinas Mawddwy.

The earlier stone fonts, as we now understand the term, were tub-shaped, each made out of one block of stone (often reminiscent, in design, of a wooden original), and rested directly on the floor of the church. Continuing the course of gradual natural development, we next find the heavy stone bowl raised on a low stone plinth or step,—sometimes two steps. There are in North Wales several fonts for which claims are made that they date back to pre-Norman times. Of these, the Llanrhychwyn Font (Fig. 202) is the most interesting, and it is generally accepted as a genuine example.

Norman Fonts are familiar to us by the very barbaric crudity of the design and execution. They are generally larger and more bulky than the native fonts, and are constructed out of two or more stones. In the 12th and 13th centuries, many fonts were mounted on shafts, usually on five shafts, while in the 13th century, marble fonts were introduced in considerable numbers,—often from Purbeck.

By a constitution of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, in A.D. 1236, fonts were required to be covered and locked. In the 14th century, the scale of the ornamental features was reduced to dimensions more suitable to the font as an article of church furniture. Marble went out of fashion, as also the small supporting shafts, and the polygonal form of the bowl predominated. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the font bowl was usually supported by a single shaft or pedestal. The most notable innovation of the 15th century was the re-introduction of figure sculpture, which had been so much in vogue three centuries before.

FIG. 202. LLANRHYCHWYN FONT. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

The most elaborate fonts, the richest covers, and the finest arrangement of steps, occur in East Anglia, all belonging to the latest phase of Gothic architecture. The religious changes of the 16th

century, which caused the destruction of the altar and rood-screen, were also in operation at the west end of the church, though here iconoclasm was less insistent and thorough. Fonts then thrown away were often used for domestic purposes, but many have since been recovered, and now occupy honourable places in the parish churches.

Font Covers had a practical as well as an aesthetic value, and varied in material and design from the flat disc of wood (with its metal handles, bar, and staples) to the elaborate open-work tracery spire, richly painted and gilded. Although originally used simply to cover up and protect the hallowed water from being stolen and employed for "black magic," the font cover developed in the course of centuries into a beautiful structure designed to give dignity to an object which was necessarily limited in size, particularly in the important direction of height. Font covers where especially obnoxious to the Puritans. The Commonwealth ordered the destruction of fonts and font covers, and the substitution of simple basins, many of which remain. These basins were occasionally of silver, but more often of base metal (as tin or pewter). At Essendon, Herts, there is a rather fine Wedgwood basin, and in the early 19th century, Spode supplied several churches with badly-designed stoneware basin-fonts.

FIG. 203. LLANFAIRTALHAIARN OLD FONT, &c.

Those who wish to pursue the subject should read the works of the late Mr. J. Romilly Allen, Dr. Alfred Fryer, Mr. Francis Bond, Mr. F. A. Paley, Dr. J. Charles Cox, Mr. Alfred Harvey, and the

delightful little book of Mr. H. L. North on "The Old Churches of Arllechwedd."

The types of existing local fonts appear to fall into a classification somewhat as follows:—

(*a*) Below-floor Baptismal Tank. At Llanfairtalhaiarn (Fig. 203) there is a baptistery for total immersion, and this has been used a few times in recent years. This, of course, is modern.

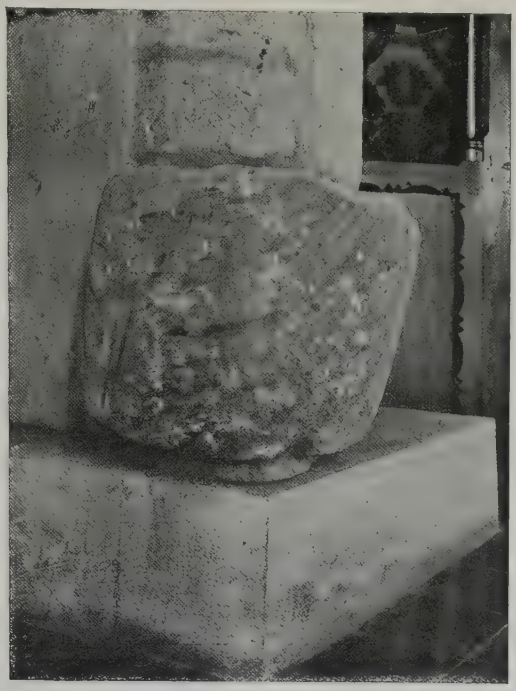


Fig. 204. Llanelian Font. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

(*b*) Above-floor Baptismal Tank.

(*c*) Tub Font. Llanrhychwyn has one of the earliest types of stone font found in this country (Fig. 202). Square in general form, 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 9 inches on top, and 1 foot 8 inches high, the sides are straight-planes slanting inwards from top to base, and the angles are chamfered. At present it rests on a block in which two steps are cut. In the eleventh-century church, it probably rested on the floor, or on a roughly-hewn block of stone to raise it up a little. It might even belong to an earlier church.

Llanelian.—A single block of stone, with some characteristics following the last example, but generally rounder in form and with a well-defined base cut out at the bottom; it stands on a modern plinth-block, which raises it one step above the floor (Fig. 204).

Llangelynin.—This font is formed of a block of stone about 2 feet 3 inches high, resting on the stone-paved floor. Up to about the middle it is square in plan, then, changing to an octagon, it diminishes to the top edge (Fig. 205).

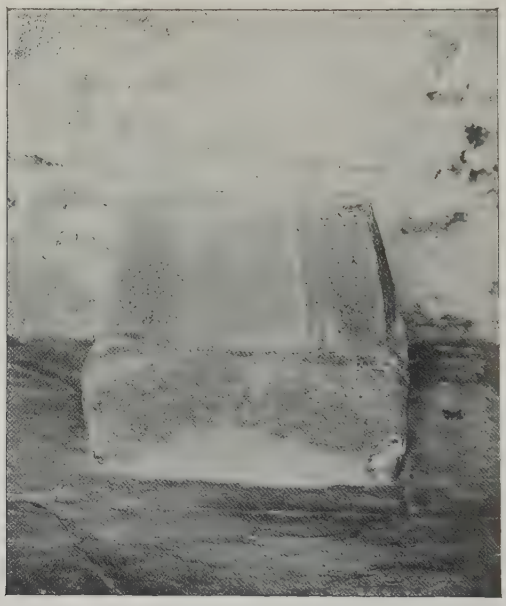


FIG. 205. LLANGELYNIN FONT. *Photo by A. H. Hughes.*

(*d*) TRANSITION. Llandrillo-yn-Rhos.—Octagonal in general form, with curved sides (Fig. 206). There is a plain bowtell (or edge-roll) up each vertical angle, commencing abruptly on the plain octagonal base and finishing under a projecting cornice, which latter consists of a band of tooth-ornament between a plain fillet and a roll member,—the whole reminiscent of very late Norman or Early English work. This font stands on a modern heavy pedestal.

St. Tudno's Church, Llandudno.—The font, made of coarse, reddish sandstone (or fine grit), is circular in plan, and bowl-shape in general appearance. Around the exterior, and about one-

third down from the brim, there is a bead-shaped projection on which, and on the contiguous surfaces above and below, a band of leaf ornament is carved. The leaves have five petals and are connected together by a stalk placed festoon-wise. The font was recovered in 1855 (at the time of the re-roofing of the church) from the Glebe Farm, where it had been used as a washing trough under the pump. It now stands in the north-west corner of the church on a modern pedestal (Fig. 207).

Fig. 206. Llandrillo-yn-Rhos Font. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

(*e*) Font Normally on Five Shafts.

(*f*) Pedestal Fonts. Llangernyw.—This font (Fig. 208) consists of octagonal base, pedestal, and bowl, mounted on a single step. The base is deeply splayed ; the pedestal has a panel, sunk on each face, with trefoil head ; the bowl projects boldly beyond the

pedestal, the faces of the octagon being ornamented with sunk tracery in which the quatrefoil is prominent, with Tudor-flower in the centre. This flower was much used in late perpendicular work, and the whole font follows closely, in general lines, a type of font produced in that period, such as the one at St. Mildred's, Canterbury, but it is crude in comparison and altogether lacking in the refinement of the English example.

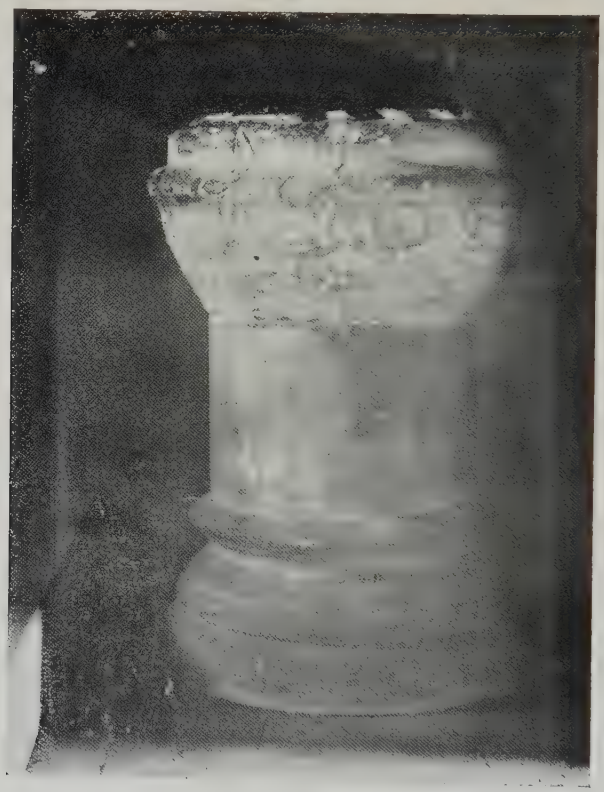


FIG. 207. ST. TUDNO FONT. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

Conway.—From an architectural standpoint, the Conway Font is by far the finest in the neighbourhood. From its heavily-moulded octagonal base, there spring small buttresses supporting the pedestal at each angle (Fig. 209). The panels of the pedestal are moulded and have tracery in the heads. Between the pedestal and the bowl there is a hollow with flowers at the angles. Each panel of the

octagonal bowl is deeply sunk and moulded, while the tracery-work, consisting of a quartrefoil within a circle, with a flower as the centre jewel, gives a richness unapproached in the previous examples. The effect of this thoroughly English Font, of late 15th century design, mounted on a series of three octagonal steps, is very dignified.

(*g*) Pewter or other Metal Basin.

(*h*) Earthenware Bowl.

Fig. 208. Llangernyw Font. *Photo. by Rev. D. W. Davies.*

(*i*) Miscellaneous. Possibly the most interesting of this group is the Font at Penmon Priory, Anglesey, which the late Mr. Romilly Allen said was the base of an Anglo-Saxon pillar-cross. The stone was converted into a font, and was removed to Penmon Church in the middle of last century.

Llanrhos, *alias* Eglwys Rhos.—Archdeacon Thomas, in the 1910 edition of his "History of the Diocese of St. Asaph," writes :—"The font is circular and plain, given by Miss Frances Mostyn. The old font, which had been broken and disused, was a few years ago repaired by the late Lord Dungannon, and is now in the vestry." The old sexton remembers the holy-water stoup which had been

taken out of the north-east corner of the porch, which was designated "The *old* font."

Llanddoget.—"The font is octagonal, on three plinth stones, and stands near the fourth arch."

Fig. 209. Conway Font. *Photo. by A. H. Hughes.*

Llanrwst.—Archdeacon Thomas' terse description reads thus:—"The font is early, on a modern pediment."

Llysfaen.—"The font is very small, octagonal, and of doubtful age,"—such was the font seen by Sir Stephen Glynne, when he visited this church; while Archdeacon Thomas (1874 edition) says the font is of Bath stone, square in form, well designed and worked.

Bettws-yn-Rhos.—This font is the gift of Mr. C. Francis, of London, on the re-opening of the church in 1839. In 1874, the old font lay in the churchyard.

Llanddulas Church has a modern font of Caen stone, richly carved.

Caerhun.—There we find a plain bowl-shaped font of reddish grit, thirteen inches high and twenty-five-and-a-half inches diameter,

with a cavity nine inches deep and nineteen inches diameter, lined with cast lead. It is mounted on a modern pedestal.

Llansantffraid Glan Conway.—This church was restored in 1908, largely through the efforts of Mr. Cuthbert Jones-Mortimer, of Bryn Eisteddfod, when, according to the Archdeacon, "the font of granite, which had lost its lining of lead, was renewed and carved with sacred emblems."

At Llanfairtalhaiarn, there is a stone, which they call a font, square in shape with the top angles chamfered down a short way, and finished with rounded "stops," somewhat characteristic of the Early English period. Three "Fontlets" exist in Conway Church; one was found among church lumber in an attic at the Vicarage; another was built into an ancient wall (see page 301). Single specimens may be seen at Gloddaeth, Gogarth Abbey (Mr. W. F. Mason), Penmon Church, Caerhun Hall, and many other places. In the year 1857, David Jones, of Gogarth, and Miriam his wife, found a beautiful little limestone bowl on the beach immediately below the undermined portion of Gogarth Abbey. There is a drain-hole in the bottom, and the brim of the bowl is shaped; it is now in the possession of the writer of these notes. Some of these specimens *may* have been in use as fonts, but the fact must not be overlooked that (according to Dr. Cox) every homestead once possessed its mortar, or mortars, where vegetables, etc., were pounded for domestic use, and many of the so-called "early fonts" we see in churches, and elsewhere, are either discarded holy-water stoups or domestic mortars.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONWAY VALLEY SPA

From the facts that Roman Baths existed near Caerhun (the ancient Conovium, a station of the 10th Legion), and that the Romans are known to have been acquainted with the medicinal properties of iron, it is not improbable that the Trefriw Chalybeate Wells were in existence in those early days ; in any case, they date back several hundred years. The Wells are situated on the main Trefriw-Conway road, about a mile to the north of Trefriw village. (Fig. 210).

The springs rise in a cave which is cut from thirty to forty feet into the solid rock at the foot of a mountain called Allt Cae Coch,* and there is evidence that as far back as 1753 the caves were open, and the waters running as now. Soon after this date, the debris from mining in the hill, directly above the Wells, blocked up the entrance to the cave, and it was not re-opened till 1833. The exceptionally strong ferruginous properties, and the healing qualities of the waters, attracted sufferers from all parts, and many wonderful cures resulted ; the much-worn stone pathway within the cave bears silent witness to the numerous patients who have frequented the Wells. In early times, the rough rock-hewn trough, within the cave, provided the only means of immersion, and it was not till 1863 that Lord Willoughby de Eresby erected at his own expense the first bath-house. In 1873, the Wells were leased to a local Company, who built the present pump-house, and quite recently a new pump-room and a new suite of baths have been erected.

The waters were analysed by Dr. Waldie in 1844, but it was not till the analysis of Dr. Hassall, published in Dr. Hayward's Guide to Trefriw, that the presence of such a large amount of

* In 1837, there was a sulphur mine on this hill ("A Trip to Conway," p. 18).

TREFRIW CHALYBEATE WELLS.
ANCIENT CAVE
OF THE WELLS.
SHEWING THE HILL-SIDE ENTRANCE AND THE ROCK-HEWN BASINS IN WHICH THE WATERS ARE COLLECTED, WHENCE THEY ARE CONDUCTED TO THE PUMPROOM, BATHS AND THE BOTTLING DEPARTMENT.

FIG. 210. TREFRIW CHALYBEATE WELLS.
[Lent by C. Adamson, Trefriw].

silica was discovered. The results of Dr. Hassall's analysis, which have since been confirmed by Mr. G. Watson Gray, F.I.C., and others, are the following :—

	Grains per Imperial Gallon.	
	No. 1 Well.	No. 2 Well.
Protosulphate of Iron	381·80	171·25
Sulphate of Alumina	49·05	33·96
,, Magnesia	15·90	20·82
,, Soda	3·29	5·45
,, Lime	26·32	32·28
Chloride of Calcium	1·18	0·82
Silica ,, ...	10·43	11·74
Manganese and loss	0·16	0·11
	488·13	276·43
Specific gravity	1·0057	1·0034
Temperature at source	48°F	50°F

The appearance of the water is bright and clear, and it has an acid reaction.

The waters are said to be the richest sulphur-iron waters known, and have wonderful curative properties; this is accounted for by the fact that the iron exists in the form of proto-sulphate; there is no persulphate of iron when first collected. It may be noted that "sulphate" chalybeate waters are, according to Dr. Alexander, far more efficacious than "carbonate" chalybeates. Alumina exists in large proportions, and silica in considerable quantities, whereas only traces of both are found in the majority of iron waters.

The rocks in the vicinity of Lakes Eigiau, Cowlyd, and Crafnant, contain beds of iron-stone, lime-stone, alum slate, and pyrites, and it is by the percolation of water through these, that the Trefriw waters have obtained their wonderful properties.

Not the least important feature of Trefriw Spa is that the waters are bottled and boxed in convenient form for the "Spa cure at Home."

In "A Trip to Conway, etc." (1837), it is referred to as being very efficacious, "the spring is kept under lock and key, and the key is kept at the farm-house close by."

Further particulars of the Trefriw Wells are given in a descriptive booklet and guide, which may be obtained, post-free, from the Manager.

CHAPTER XII.

A SHORT GLOSSARY

OF

MEDIÆVAL AND OTHER WORDS USED IN THE VARIOUS CHARTERS, &c.

ADVOCATIO.—The right of presenting anyone to a vacant benefice; advowson.

AFFORESTARE.—To make into a forest.

AISIAMENTUM.—Easement.

AMOBVR (Amobrage).—A fee paid to the lord on marriage of his female vassal.

AMERCIAMENTUM.—The imposition of a penalty left to the mercy of the lord; arbitrary fines imposed by Courts not of record; a pecuniary mulct.

ANDEGAVIA (now Anjou).—The Andecavi were a Gallic tribe who lived in the district which is now Anjou.

ARERAGIUM (Arerage).—A debt which in law is called Reliquium, *i.e.*, which remains to be paid.

ASSARTUM.—A grubbing up of thickets, etc., in the forest by the roots, and utterly destroying them; the offence of making such a clearing.

ASSISA.—An assize; an assessment; an edict; a mode of trial; a select body employed to carry on this trial; the trial itself; the price of a commodity as fixed by authority; *esse liber de assisis* is to be free from assize proceedings.

ASSISUS.—Assessed.

ATTACHMENT.—An easement (*aisiamentum*) for mutual convenience of a neighbour.

BENEDICTIO.—Benediction, benison, blessing, consecration.

BERCARIUM.—Sheep-fold. Welsh "barcty" or "barkdy"—bark- or tan-house.

BLADUM.—Blade; growing fruit-trees, growing timber-trees, growing corn, or practically any other produce as it grows.

BLODWIT.—A customary fine as an atonement for the shedding or drawing of blood, *i.e.*, *forisfactura sanguinis;* being quit from fine for the shedding of blood (wit.=Latin, *misericordia*).

BONDMAN.—One who bound himself by covenant to serve, and took his name from the word "bond."

BORTHALPENY, or BORDHALPENY.—Money which is paid at fairs (*nundinæ*) for the erection of tables on which to display goods.

BOSCARIA.—Houses for oxen or wood.

BOSCUS.—A wood.

CARIAGIUM, CARRAGIUM.—Carriage.

CARIARE.—To carry.

CARUCAGIUM.—A tax levied at so much a plough; the taxation on a hide of land.

CARUCATE.—Derived from *caruca*,* a plough; has usually been taken to mean a plough-land, or as much as a yoke of oxen, with one plough, can plough in one year.

CHACEA.—Hunting ; the way by which animals are driven to pasture ; chase, which is of the nature of a forest, without a swainmote, hence chase laws.

CLAUSURA.—A field inclosed by fences ; an inclosure ; hence, a tax imposed for inclosing a city,

CLAWDD, CLAUD.—A boundary (consisting, more often than not, in olden times, of a continuing fence, composed of a ditch and banks). In modern Welsh, "clawdd" (pl., "cloddiau").

CLERICUS.—A secular priest.

COMORTHA.—Comorth ; a customary contribution gathered by clerics, at marriages, redemption for murders, etc.

CONVIVIUM.—Meat and drink provided (under compulsion) by a tenant for his lord, once a year or oftener. This applied to the laity (see Procuratio).

CURTILLAGIUM.—Curtilage ; a yard or piece of ground, lying near a dwelling-house, for growing hemp, beans, etc.

DANEGELT.—See Gelt.

DARE IN PURUM ET PERPETUAM ELEMOSYNAM.—To give in pure and perpetual alms, or, in Frank-Almoigne, as lands were commonly given to religious "uses" (not certain or defined), and so discharged from military services and from other secular burdens (*vide* Uses).

DECANATUS.—A deanery.

DEFORTIARE.—To dispossess by violence.

DENARIATA.—The price of a thing in denarii.

DENARIATA TERRÆ.—As much land as is worth 1d. a year.

DIES MARTIS.—Tuesday.

DISWARRENED, DISAFFORESTED.—Thrown open ; reduced from the privilege of a warren (*q.v.*) or a forest to a state of common ground, and hence exempt from the harsh Forest Laws.

DOMANIUM, DEMESNE.—Land not rented to tenants, but in the lord's own occupation.

EBEDEW (Obediew, Obediw, Obeduw,—*pro obitu*).—Fee paid by heirs-at-law on taking up an estate which had relapsed to the lord by the death of the tenant, often a horse or a heifer. Dr. Elis Price, of Plas Iolyn, Pentrevoelas, accepted a goose, instead of a larger animal, from a young widow.

ELEMOSYNA PURA, — is that in which the Prince retains to himself no jurisdiction (nor authority) over the land, and the jurisdiction of the whole of this almoign belongs to the ecclesiastical authority, but no one in Normandy could make a pure almoign out of his own Lay Fee without the consent and agreement of the Prince or Sovereign.

ERIC-FINE.—An Irish word (were-gelt), meaning the fine extorted for the shedding of blood. It may be the same as *Murdredum*.

ESTABLIA.—The obligations of vassals to receive horses of their lord into their stable.

EXACTIO (Exaction) is a wrong done by an officer or by one pretending to have authority, in taking a reward or fee for that which the law allows not.

EXENNIUM.—A reward or payment in the name of a gift.

EXERCITUS.—Sometimes equivalent to the Saxon, Here ; both mean an army, but technically, in Charters, it appears to be short for the Saxon Heregate, a tribute given to the lord for his better preparation towards war, and later called Heriotum, otherwise Heriot or Hariot, *q.v.* In the case of lands given by the king, the Heriotum becomes the relevamen or relief, *q.v.*

* Mr. J. H. Round, the highest living authority on the Domesday Book, records his belief that in "Domesday" the word CARUCA must always mean a team of eight oxen.

EXTORTIO.—Extortion is where an officer extorts more than his due, as excessive toll in millers, or excessive prices of ale.

FARDINGDEAL.—Fardel; a quarter of an acre.

FEODUM, FEUDUM.—Fee; wages given to one as a reward of his office, *e.g.*, of a forester.

FERIA.—A fair; at first occasioned by people resorting to the dedication feast, and therefore, in most places, the ancient customary fairs are on the same day as the "wake" (or Festival) of the saint to whom the church was dedicated.

FERMA.—Rent.

FFEREWYTH, FERDWYTA.—Quittance of murder in the army, and hence Firdwita is a penalty for refusing military service.

FFLEMENESWITE (Flemeneswite, Flemenfirma, Fflemenfrid, Flemesfreicht, Flemenfrith, Fflemenwyth, Flemenwyth).—*Flema*, a fugitive; the admission or reception, of fugitives; the penalty for the reception of fugitives.

FFYTTERWYTE FICHWYCH (Fyrthwite, Ferwych, Fyzwite, or Fyhtwita).—A penalty for fighting—"if anyone shall have struck a person, although he has not drawn blood, the Prior shall have a penalty in this."

FINIS.—A payment made to procure the end of a lawsuit or to secure immunity from molestation, and in that sense a fine (not a mulct by way of punishment). Also a formal conveyance of land by acknowledging a final agreement. [Compare fines upon leases].

FOREIGNER (Foriner).—All except free-born burgesses were styled "foreigners," and in the "three English towns of North Wales—Conway, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris,—the term 'foriners' was especially applied to Welshmen."

FOREST.—Forest differs from a chase in having a swainmote—a court touching matters of the forest, and held by the Charter of the forest three times annually before the "verderors" as judges, *q.v.*

FORISFACTURA.—(The making of a thing outside); forfeiture, or forfeited lands.

FORSTALL, FORESTEL.—The stopping of cattle; an obstruction of road; an assault upon anyone on the king's high road.

FRANK-ALMOIGNE.—See Elemosyna.

GAYWITE.—Ancient dues of the Crown, as supreme feudal lord of the kingdom.

GELT, or DANEGELT.—A land-tax of about 10 per cent. It was first instituted by Ethelred the Unready, for the purpose of buying off the Danes.

GILD, GELD.—A tribute or tax; a compensation, or mulct, for a fault.

GILDA.—A voluntary association for mutual protection for common mercantile aims, or for religious worship.

GILDA MERCATORIA.—Gild merchant. A certain privilege, or liberty, granted to merchants, whereby they were enabled (among other things) to hold certain pleas of land within their precincts.

GRITHBRECH, GRIDBRICH.—A breach of the peace.

GWOBYR ESTYN.—An investiture fee paid on taking office.

GWOBYR MERCHED.—See Letherwite.

HAMSOKEN.—Breaking into houses.

HANGEWYTHA (Hangwith, Hengewyth, Hengwyth).—The penalty for hanging a thief without process of law (Du Cange); a fine for letting a prisoner escape from prison (Thorpe). To be free from *hangwith* was to be free from penalty, or punishment, about the crimes of a thief.

HANSA, HANSE.—A trade guild; an association to secure the safe passage of goods.

HERIOTUM (Heriot, Hariot).—The best animal, jewel, or other chattel due by custom to the lord of the manor upon the death of the copyhold tenant.

HEYWITE.—A custom paid for permission to make and repair hedges, fences, ditches, etc.

HIDE.—As much land as could be measured by a hide cut into thongs; it embraced, therefore, no definite quantity of land, but varied in different places.

HORNGELT.—A tax upon horned cattle.

HUNDREDUM.—An immunity, or privilege.

HUNDREDESPENY (Hnndrepeny).—A guarantee, or payment, by the men of a hundred, to a sheriff of a hundred, or to the chief president. Immunity from this occurs in the privileges of churches.

HYDAGIUM, HIDAGE.—A tax payable to the king for every hide of land. Sometimes hidage meant the being quit of that tax, the tax being then called "Hydegyld."

INFANGENE-THEOF (Infangthef).—The right of judging thieves taken *within* the manor, and to receive the money payments in composition for their crimes.

LATROCINIUM,—Larceny; right of punishing robbers.

LENE.—See Gaywite.

LESTAGIUM (Lestage, Lesting, Lastage).—A custom on the carrying of things in markets and fairs; a custom for wares sold by the last; a custom exacted on a ship's lading; the ballast of a ship.

LETHERWITE (Lederwite, Lairwite, Leirwych, Lecherwite, Legergeldum).—A fine paid for a child born before marriage; a fine or composition paid by inferior tenants, to the lord, for liberty to dispose their daughters in marriage (see Morceta).

LOT.—The share of taxation imposed upon an individual payer towards making up the aggregate required of the community; tribute (A.S.)

MARCA.—A mark. An amount of money now worth 13s. 4d., but in the reign of Henry I. it was only valued at 6s. 1d.

MERCATA.—The quantity of land which is worth a mark (13s. 4d.) a year.

MERENIUM.—Timber.

MESSUAGIUM (Messuage).—A house and ground.

MISERICORDIA.—Mercy, a mulct at discretion and for a non-statutable offence; to be "at the king's mercy" was to lie in such a position that the king might either exercise the right of some moderate punishment or pardon the offender.

MOLENDINUM (Molinum, Molinus).—A mill.

,, AQUATICUM.—A water-mill,

,, BLADONICUM.—A corn-mill.

,, EQUITIUM.—A horse-mill.

,, FULLONICUM.—A fulling-mill.

,, MOLARE.—A grinding-mill.

,, VENTRITICUM (or ad ventrum).—A wind-mill.

MOLENDUM.—Corn sent to a mill.

MOLITURA (Mulitura, Multura).—Sometimes means the same as *Molendum*, but more commonly signifies the toll or "multure" paid for grinding.

M-LIBERA.—Free grinding or liberty of a mill without paying toll.

MORCETA (Marceta, Marcheta, Merchetum, Merchet).—From Welsh "Merchetta." A fine paid to the lord on the marriage of a tenant's daughter (see Gwobr Merched, Letherwite).

MURAGE.—Toll taken of every laden cart, or horse, toward the building or repairing of the walls of a city or town.

MURDREDUM.—A tax imposed for the escape of a murderer.

NATIVUS (Native).—A person born in servitude; a bondman.

NAVAGIUM.—A tax for the passage of ships.

OUTFANGENE-THEOF (Outfangthef).—A privilege of a lord, whereby he was enabled to call to judgment in his own court any man residing in his manor, and taken for felony in another place, *out* of his fee (manor).

PAAGIUM (or Pedagium).—A tribute which is paid by those crossing into a place appointed by the king; money paid for passage through another's jurisdiction.

PANNAGIUM (Panage, Pawnage). The privilege of feeding swine in the woods.

PASCUA.—A place set apart on purpose to feed, and never ploughed; a fattening meadow.

PASSAGIUM.—A tax on passengers; a writ for the keepers of the ports to grant passage over the sea.

PASTURA.—Any place where cattle can feed; a pasture.

PATROCINIUM.—Protection, patronage.

PATROIMIUM.—Protection, patronage; often used of relation of a saint to a church.

PAVAGIUM (Pavage).—A tribute which is guaranteed for the paving of roads.

PERPRESTURA (Pourpresture).—Anything done to the nuisance or hurt of the king's domains or highways, by enclosure or building; endeavouring to make that private which ought to be public; an encroachment.

PERQUISITA CURIÆ.—Perquisities of court. Those profits that come to the lord of the manor, from the court baron, over and above the certain yearly profits of his land, such as Heriots, Amercements, etc.

PISCARIA (Piscary).—A place in which fish are taken, hence the right of fishing in another man's water.

PONTAGIUM.—A toll for the maintaining or re-building of bridges.

PORTIO.—The vicar's stipend out of a rectory.

PRÆPOSITURA.—The office of reeve.

PRÆPOSITUS.—Reeve.

PROCURATIO.—Certain sums of money which parish priests paid yearly to the bishop, or archdeacon, for his visitation; these were anciently paid in victuals, but afterwards were turned into money; this applied to the clergy (see Convivium).

QUIETANTIA.—Quittance.

QUIETUS.—Quit.

QUILLET.—A strip of land, in a field, in different ownership, known in Flint and in some parts of Carnarvonshire, and mentioned in the Charters of the parish of Conway.

RATIO.—An account; judgment in a cause.

REDDITUS.—A restoring or yielding (in law); an acknowledgment that the thing belongs not to himself; rent.

RELEVAMEN (Relevatio, Relief).—See Exercitus.

REPRISA (Reprise).—Outgoings, charges.

REWEINIOG (Rewynok, Rhyfoniog).—Corrupt for Rhuvoniog, from Latin Romanianus, *i.e.*, the land of Rhufon—Romanus.

RHOS (Roos, Ros, Ross).—Table-land, mountain plain, a flat, or gently undulating region elevated above a neighbouring level, either land or sea. The ancient Hundred of Rhos was bounded by the Conway and Clwyd valleys and by Perfedd-wlad (the interior).

RIDING.—A division of a county, under the government of a reeve (or præpositus).

SAK.—The privilege of holding courts, trying pleas and causes, imposing fines, and enjoying the forfeiture of offenders.

SCHIRA (Scyra, Syra).—A province, county, shire. Hence the penalty which is imposed on those who do not come to the shire or county; that immunity in virtue of which any one is exempted from suit and service at the courts of the sheriffs is styled "liber de sciris."

SCOT and LOT.—A customary contribution upon all subjects according to their ability. Whoever were assessed to any contribution, though not by equal portions, were said to pay scot and lot.

SCOTHALA (Scotteshale, Scottala. Scotalium, Scotal).—An involuntary contribution in the king's forest for fear of the displeasure of an officer of the forest. Public compotations at the charge of some, for the benefit of others (Spelman); a forced contribution, levied (in kind) on the pretence or occasion of a festivity.

SENESCHALLUS.—Steward.

SERVITIUM (Service).—Is that service which the tenant, by reason of his fee, oweth unto his lord. It is sometimes called servage, as 1 Rich. cap. 6.

SOK.—The privilege grauted by the king to a subject to administer justice, or execute laws or jurisdiction; the territory, shire, etc., where such jurisdiction and privilege were to be exercised, or where sak, tol, team, etc., were possessed.

SOLIDATA.—The pay of a soldier.

SOLIDATA TERRÆ.—As much land as is yearly worth a shilling.

SOLIDATUM.—The absolute right or property which a man has in anything.

SOLIDUS.—A shilling.

SPADARIUS, (also Spatharius).—Sword-bearer.

SPADONES.—Eunuchs.

STALLAGIUM (Stallage).—Is the exaction or toll for a station in a street or open place, in times of markets.

SUMAGIUM.—A burden; a toll for carriage on horseback.

SUMMAGIUM.—A team of beasts of burden.

TALLAGE.—A general word for taxes proportionally levied upon a man's movable possessions.

TEAM.—Means race, posterity, anything following in order, hence a vouching to warranty; the process by which an accused person, in whose lands lost or stolen property was found, showed from whom he bought it, which aforesaid accused person must show how it came into his possession, and so in a regular "team" or order to the next holder; also the right of judging, restraining, and having bondmen, natives, and villeins, with their issue, foods, and chattels.

THEFBOTE.—Compounding a felony.

TOL (or Thoolwin).—A writ to free from toll the burgesses of any town having a charter, in buying and selling, against the officers of any town or market demanding toll in respect of merchandise; exemption from custom.

TOLL.—Octroi duty.

TUNC (Tung, Tvnc, Twnc, Tunc pound, or Pant twng).—A proportion of tribute money due from a free tenant to the lord, in default of providing supplies in kind. It is still collected as tunc rent in some parts of Wales (See Williams' "Denbigh and its Lordship," pp. 17-20).

USES.—Uses, in mediæval times, were grants of lands made "for the use of" persons or of religious houses, and came to be called "Uses," and as such could be passed on as though they were "personal property," the actual possession of the lands being "real property." In modern times, they have been replaced by "trusts."

VASTUM NEMORUM.—Waste of the forest, is the cutting down of thickets, which may grow up again.

VERAGIUM.—Spots, hence spotted beast. Another meaning is the right of taking sticks or branches (*veras*) in a wood.

VERDARIUS.—An officer of the king's forest, chosen by the king's court in the full county of the same shire with the forest where he dwells and is sworn to maintain and keep the assizes of the forest, and to enrol the presentment of trespass of "vert" and "verion." Vert is everything that grows and bears green leaf within the forest, which may cover a deer.

VICINAGIUM.—The charter of commune concerning a soldier who does not pay his debts to a burgess.

VILLA.—In Wales means Trev, and in England Estate (frequently).

VILLEINS—were the most numerous class of vassals under the feudal system. They belonged to the land, and might not depart thence without the lord's license: adscripti glebæ. They had to do whatever their lord commanded, and could acquire no property in either land or goods. "Villein" originally meant villager (or dweller in a village).

VIVARIUM (Vivary).—A fish-pond; a place to keep living birds, beasts, or fish.

WAPENTACCUS [Wapentachium, Wapentake].—A subdivision of a "riding" (*q.v.*), and practically the same as the "Hundred." An armed muster of the chief men to meet the high constable of the hundred.

WARDA.—Pupillage; wardship; guard or custody; an estate held by the lord in wardship.

WARDPENY.—Pennies accustomed to be paid to the Sheriff or other guardians of a castle for their guard or custody of the castle.

WARREN [Warrenna, Varenna] —A place privileged to keep beasts and fowl of warren, which are hares, conies, partridges, and pheasants.

YARD-LAND.—A verge of land, of from 15 to 40 acres.

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APPENDICES.

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APPENDIX Ia.

DEGANWY, CHARTER OF. Charter Roll, 36 Henry III., m. 19.

Rex Archiepiscopis, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus et voluimus quod villa nostra de Gannoc sit liber burgus in perpetuum: et quod singuli burgensium ejusdem villæ habeant infra burgum illum dimidiam acram terræ ad edificandum et curtillagium faciendum et duas acras terræ arabilis extra eundem burgum pro duobus solidis singulis annis reddendis ballivo nostro qui pro tempore fuerit ibidem ad opus nostrum, videlicet xiid. ad pascha et xiid. ad festum S. Michaelis pro omni servicio.

Concessimus etiam eisdem burgensibus nostris ejusdem burgi et heredibus eorum quod villam de Gannoc claudant fossato et muro.

Et quod habeant gildam mercatoriam cum hansa et aliis consuetudinibus et libertatibus ad gildam illam pertinentibus, et quod nullus qui non sit de gilda illa mercandisam aliquam faciet in predicto burgo nisi de voluntate eorundem burgensium.

Concessimus etiam eis et eorum heredibus quod si aliquis nativus alicujus in prefato burgo manserit et terram in eo tenuerit et fuerit in prefata gilda et hansa et loth et scoth cum eisdem burgensibus per unum annum et unum diem sine Calumpnia deinceps non possit repeti a domino suo sed in eodem burgo liber permaneat.

Praeterea concessimus prefatis burgensibus nostris de Gannoc et heredibus eorum quod habeant soc et sac et thol et theam et infangenethef et quod quieti sint per totam terram nostram de theolonio, lestagio, passagio, pontagio, et stallagio, et de lene et de stanegeld et de gaywite et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et exaccionibus per totam potestatem nostram tam in Anglia quam in omnibus terris nostris.

Et concedimus quod predicti burgenses nostri de Gannoc habeant in perpetuum omnes alias libertates et quietantias per totam terram nostram quas habent burgenses nostri de Mungumery.

Volumus etiam et concedimus predictis burgensibus nostris de Gannoc quod habeant singulis annis in perpetuum unam feriam in predicto burgo scilicet in vigilia, in die, et in crastino Sancti Martini et per sex dies sequentes, et unum mercatum ibidem singulis septimanis per diem Martis cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad hujusmodi mercatum et feriam pertinentibus.

Volumus insuper quod omnes mercatores terrarum nostrarum et mercatores aliarum terrarum qui sunt ad pacem nostram et eorundem mercandisæ ad predictum burgum venientes et ibi morantes et inde recedentes habeant libertatem venire, stare, et recedere tam per aquas quam per terram, et quod habeant liberos introitus in terram nostram et liberos exitus a terra nostra sine omni impedimento ballivorum nostrorum et aliorum, faciendo debitas et rectas consuetudines.

Quare volumus et firmiter precepimus quod predicta villa de Gannoc sit liber burgus et quod predicti burgenses habeant et teneant predictam terram ad ædificandum et curtillagium faciendum et excolendum per predictum servitium, et quod iidem burgenses habeant predictam gildam mercatoriam cum hansa et aliis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad gildam illam pertinentibus, et quod habeant predictam feriam et mercatum cum omnibus libertatibus et quietantiis predictis in perpetuum bene et in pace, libere et quiete, honorifice, plenarie, integre, sicut predictum est salva libertate civitatis nostræ London.

His testibus venerabilibus patribus: Adomaro Wintoniensi electo fratre nostro, Willelmo Wellensi et Bathoniensi, Waltero Norwycensi et Ricardo Cicestrensi, episcopis, Johanne Mannsel preposito Beverlaceusi, Magistro Willelmo de Kilkenny Archidiacono Coventrensi, Bertramio de Crioll, Alano la Zuche Justiciario Cestrie, Roberto Waleran, Gilberto de Segrave, Stephano Banzan, Radulpho de Bakepuz, Nicholao de Sancto Mauro, Johanne de Geres, et aliis.

Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium, xxi die Februarii.

TRANSLATION.

The King, to the Archbishops, &c., greeting. Know ye, that we have granted and willed that our town of Gannoc shall be for ever a free borough, and that each of the burgesses of the same town shall have, within that borough, half-an-acre of land for building and for making the curtilage [thereof], and two acres of arable land, outside the same borough, for two shillings each year, to be paid to our bailiff, who for the time shall have been [appointed] there for our business, namely, in lieu of every service, 12d. at Easter and 12d. at the feast of St. Michael.

We have granted also to the same our burgesses of the same borough, and to their heirs, that they shall inclose the town of Gannoc with a trench and a wall.

And that they may have a gild merchant with the hanse and other customs and privileges pertaining to that gild, and that no one, who is not of that gild, may do any traffic in the aforesaid borough, except with the consent of the same burgesses.

We have granted also to them and their heirs, that, if any nativus of any one shall have remained in the aforesaid borough, and shall have held land therein, and shall have been in the aforesaid gild and hanse, and at lot and scot with the same burgesses, for one year and one day, without challenge, he cannot henceforth be redemanded by his lord, but shall remain free in the same borough.*

Moreover, we have granted to the aforesaid our burgesses of Gannoc and their heirs, that they may have sok and sak, and toll and team, and infangenetheof, and that they may be quit, through our whole land, of toll†, lastage, passage, pontage, and stallage, and of lene danegeld and stanegeld, and of gaywite, and all other customs and exactions, through the whole of our dominion, as well in England as in all our other lands.

And we grant that the aforesaid our burgesses of Gannoc may have for ever through our whole land all other privileges and quittances which our burgesses of Montgomery have.

We will also and grant to the aforesaid our burgesses of Gannoc that they may have each year for ever one fair in the aforesaid borough, that is to say, on the eve, on the day, and on the morrow of St. Martin, and for six days following, and one market there, each week, on Tuesday, with all privileges and free customs to that market and fair appertaining.

We will, moreover, that all the merchants of our lands, and the merchants of other lands, who are within our peace, and their merchandise, coming to the aforesaid borough, and tarrying there, and departing thence, may have liberty to come, remain, and depart, as well by water as by land, and that, by paying due and proper customs, they may have free entrances into our land, and free exits from our land, without any hindrance by our bailiffs and by others.

Wherefore, we will and firmly enjoin, that the aforesaid town of Gannoc shall be a free borough, and that the aforesaid burgesses shall have and hold the aforesaid land for building and making the curtilage [thereof], and for tilling, by the aforesaid service, and that the same burgesses may have the aforesaid gild merchant with the hanse and other privileges and free customs to that gild appertaining, and that they may have the aforesaid fair and market, with all privileges and quittances aforesaid, for ever, well and peaceably, freely, and quietly, honourably, fully [and] wholly, as is aforesaid, saving the privileges of our city of London.

* This nativus paragraph is taken verbatim from the Charter of Montgomery.

† Octroi Duty.

These venerable fathers being witnesses: Adomarus of Winchester our elect brother, William of Wells and Bath, Walter of Norwich and Richard of Chichester, bishops, John Maunsel, Reeve of Beverley, Master William of Kilkenny, archdeacon of Coventry, Bertram of Crioll, Alan la Zouche [Justiciary of Chester],* Robert Waleran [Walrond], Gilbert de Segrave, Stephan Banzau, Radulph [Ralph] de Bakepuz, Nicholas de Santo Manro [Seymour]. John de Geres, and others.

Given by our hand at Westminster. the 21st day of February [A D. 1252].

APPENDIX Ib.

DESTRUCTION OF DEGANWY BY LLYWELYN AP YORWERTH IN 1263 [ANNALES CAMBRIÆ].

Cepit etiam die Sancti Michaelis Castellum de Diganwy in regno fortissimum, prout vulgariter dicebatur, non vi aut bello. sed Castellani acerrima acerbitate et amaritudine famis affecti consilium inierunt cum dicto principe de vita sibi servanda, se ipsos cum castro eidem dantes. In tantum enim affixerat eos famis acerbitas quod oportuit eos inedia ducti famem extinguere carnibus equorum et etiam canum suorum. ut fidem domino regi servarent illaesam, quod si pro rege cœlesti facerent mercedem meruissent habere æternum.

APPENDIX IIa.

THE ORIGINAL CHARTER [12 EDWARD I., No. 15] GRANTED BY EDWARD I. TO THE BURGESSES OF ABERCONWY.

Edwardus dei gra' rex Angliæ Dn's Hiber' et Dux Acquietanie Archiep'is, Ep'is, Abb'ibus. prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciar', vic' pr'posit's, ministris, et omnibus Ballis, et fidelibus suis salutem.

Sciatis Qd volumus, et concedimus, p' nobis et hered' n'ris. qd villa n'ra de Aberconwey de ceter' Lib' Burgus sit, et ho'ies n'ri eiusdem ville lib'i sint Burgenses.

Et qd Constabularius Castri n'ri de Aberconwey, qui p' temp'e fuerit. sit maior Burgi illius, iuratus tam nobis qua' eisdem Burgens', qui, prius prestito Sacramento de Juribus n'ris conservandis, eisdem Burgens' Juret sup' s'ca Dei Evangelia. Qd ip'e lib'tates eisdem Burgens' a nobis concessas conservabit, et faciet fideliter ea quæ ad officiu' maioris p'tinent in eodem Burgo.

Concedim' eciam qd ip'e Burgens' sing'lis annis in festo S'ti Mich'is Arch'i duos Balli'os idoneos et sufficientes de semetip'is eligant, et d'co constabular' Tanquam Maiori suo presentent qui in p'ncia d'cor' maioris et Burgens' Jurent, qd officiu' Ball'ie sue fideliter facient et exeque't'.

Volum' etiam et concedimus Qd d'ci Burgens' h'eant lib'am persona' sua' in Burgo pr'd'cto de o'ibus transgressoribus ib'm, Exceptis casibus vite et membroru', in quibus casibus o'es ta' Burgens' qua' alii imprisonent'r in castro n'ro ib'm.

Veruntamen si aliqui d'cor' Burgens' rectati, accusati, vel indicati fuerint sup' aliqua Transg', in huiusmodi casibus volumus qd ea occaco'e imprisone'tur q'andiu bona' et sufficient' manucapco'em invenerint ad standu' inde recto cora' capitali iustic' n'ro, vel aliis Justiciariis n'ris ad hoc deputat'.

Concedim' insuper eisdem Burgens' qd o'es terræ eidem Burgo ia' assignat' de warrenate & de afforestate sint om'io, et qd Judei in eodem Burgo aliquibus temp'ibus no' morent'r.

Concedim' etiam pro nobis et hered' n'ris eisdem Burgens' lib'tat subscript' vz, qd nullus vic' n'ror' in aliquo se intromittat sup' eos de aliquo pl'it' vel querela, vel occaco'e, vel aliqua re alia ad p'd'ctam villa' p'tinent'. Saluis tamen nobis et hered' n'ris pl'it' corone n're sicut p'dictu' est.

Et qd ip'i h'eant gildam m'catoria' cu' Hansa et aliis consuetudinibus et lib'tatibus ad gildam illam p'tinentibus. Ita qd nullus qui no' sit de gilda illa m'candisam aliqua' faciat in eadem villa nisi de voluntate Burgens' p'dcoru'.

Concedim' etiam eisdem Burgens' qd si aliquis natiuus alicuius in p'fata villa manserit, et terra' in eadem tenuerit, et fuerit in eadem gilda et Hansa et lotus et scotus cu' eisdem ho'ibus n'ris per un' ann' et unu' Die' sine calumpnia deinceps no' possit repeti a dn'o suo sed in eadem villa liber p'maneat.

Preterea Concedim' eisdem Burgens' n'ris qd h'eant Socke et Sacke, Toll et Theam, et Infangentheff; et qd quieti sint p' totam Terra' n'ra' de Theolonio, Lestagio, passagio, muragio, pontagio, et stallagio, et de Lene Danegilde, et gaywite, et o'ibus aliis consuetudinibus, et ex-

* Adam or Alan de la Zouch, an English Baron, to whom Prince Edward, Earl of Chester, farmed all the lands, granted him as Earl, between Chester and Conway.

accionibus, p' tota' potestate' n'ram, tam in Anglia, q'am in o'ibus aliis terris n'ris, et qd ip'i vel eoru' bona quocu'q' locorum in terra vel potestate n'ra inventa, no' areste't'r p' aliquo debito, de quo fideiussores aut principales debitores no' extiterint, nisi forte ip'i debitores de eoru' sint co'ia et potestate h'entes unde de debit' suis in toto vel in p'te satisfacere possint, et d'ci Burgen' n'ri creditoribus eoru'ndam debitor, in Justicia defuerint, et de hoc rationabiliter constare possit.

Et qd iidem Burgenses n'ri pro transgressione, seu forisf'c'ur' servienciu' suoru', catalla et bona sua in manibus ip'oru' invent' aut alicubi locoru' per ipsos s'rvientes deposita, quatenus sua esse sufficienter p'bare poterunt, no' amittant.

Et etiam qd si idem Burgens' aut eorum aliqui infra terra' et potestate' n'ram testati decesserint vel intestati, nos vel hered' n'ri bona ip'orum confiscari no' facie mus quin eor' hered' ea integre h'eant, Quatenus d'ca catalla d'coru' defunctoru' fuisse constiterit, du' tamen de d'cis hered' noticia aut fides sufficienter h'eant'.

Et qd Burgens' nostri p'dc'i no' convinca't'r p' aliquos forinsecos sup' aliquibus appellis, rectis, iniuriis, transgressionibus, criminibus, calumniis, et demand' eis imposit' aut imponend' a Caern'von usq'e ad aqua' de Cloid, sed sol'modo p' Burgens' n'ros p'dictos, nisi de aliqua re tangent' co'itatem Burgi p' d'c'i, et tunc in casu illo deducant'r sc'dm' lib'tat' app'batas et hactenus rationabiliter usitatas in ciuitate n'ra Herfordie.

Quare volum' et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et hered' n'ris, qd villa n'ra de Aberconwey de cetero liber Burgus sit, et ho'ies n'ri eiusdem ville lib'i sint Burgens', et qd Constabular' Castri n'ri p'd'ci de Aberconwey, qui p' tempore fuerit sit Maior Burgi illius, iuratus tam nobis qua' eisdem Burgens' qui prius p'stito sacramento de iuribus n'ris conservand' eisdem Burgens' Juret sup' sc'a Dei Evangelia qd ip'e lib'tates eisdem Burgen' a nobis concessas conservabit, et faciet fideliter ea que ad officiu' Maioris p'tinent in eodem Burgo.

Concedim' etiam qd ip'i n'ri Burgen' singulis an'is in festo S'ti Mich'is Arch'i duos Balli'os idoneos et sufficientes de semetipsis eligant, et d'co Constabulario tamq'am Maiori suo presentet, qui in p'ntia p'dc'oru' maioris et Burgen' jurent qd officiu' Ballie sue fideliter facient et exequent'.

Volum' etiam et concedim' qd d'ci Burgen' h'eant libera' Persona' sua' in Burgo p'co' de o'ibus transgressionibus ibide' exceptis casibus vite et membroru' in quibus casibus o'es tam Burgen' quam alii imprisone't'r in Castro nostro ibidem.

Veruntamen si aliqui d'coru' Burgen' rectati, accusati, vel indicati fuerint, sup' aliqua transgressione in huiusmodi casib' Volumus qd ea occ'o'e imprisone't'r qua'diu bona' et sufficientem manucaptione' invenerint ad standum inde recto cora' capital' iusticiar' n'ro, vel aliis juisticiariis nr'is, ad hoc deputato.

Concedim' insup' eisdem Burgens' qd oe's terras eidem Burgo iam assignat' dewarrannate, et de afforestate sint om'o, Et qd Judei in eod' Burgo aliquib' temp' no' morent'r.

Volum' etiam et concedimus p' nobis et hered' n'ris qd p'd'ci Burgens' h'eant o'es alias lib'tates et lib'as consuetudines sup'ius expressas bene et pacifice absq' occ'one vel impedimento n'ri vel hered' nroru' Juisticiari' vicecomit' aut alior' Ballivor' seu ministror' n'roru' quoru'cu'q' imp'petuu' sicut p'dc'm est.

Hiis Testibu Ven'able' pr'e R Bathonien' et Wellen' Ep'o Cancellario n'ro, Ric'o de Burgo Com' Ultan' Thoma de Clare, Ric'o de Brus, Reginaldo de Grey, Nico'lao de segraue, Petro de Champnent, Joh'e de monte alto, et aliis. Dat' p' manu' n'ram apud ffiint octavo dei Septembris Anno Regni n'ri duodecimo.

TRANSLATION.

Edward by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers, and all his Bailiffs, and his lieges greeting: Know ye that we will and do grant for us and our heirs that our town of Aberconwey shall be henceforth a free borough and that our men of the same town shall be free burgesses, and that the Constable of our Castle of Aberconwey for the time being, shall be the mayor of that borough, sworn as well to us as to the same burgesses, who, having first taken the oath to preserve our rights, shall swear to the same burgesses, upon the Holy Gospels of God, that he will preserve the liberties granted by us to the same burgesses, and will faithfully do those things which appertain to the office of the Mayor in the same borough. We grant also that the burgesses themselves may every year, on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, choose out from among themselves, and present to the said Constable, as their mayor, two fit and sufficient bailiffs, who, in the presence of the said mayor and burgesses, shall swear that they will faithfully perform and execute the office of their bailwick.

We will also and do grant that the said burgesses may have a free prison of their own in the borough aforesaid for all trespassers there, except cases of life and limbs, in which cases all, as well burgesses as others, shall be imprisoned in our Castle there.

Nevertheless, if any of the said burgesses shall have been charged, accused,

or indicted upon any trespass, in such cases we will that on that occasion they be not imprisoned so long as they shall have found good and sufficient mainprise to stand their trial therein before our chief justiciary, or other our justiciaries deputed therefor. Moreover, we grant to the same burgesses, that all lands now assigned to the same borough shall be altogether diswarrened and disafforested, and that Jews shall not tarry at any times in the said borough. We grant also for us and our heirs, to the same burgesses, the liberties below written, namely, that none of our sheriffs shall intermeddle in anything concerning them in respect of any plea, or plaint, or cause or any other thing, to the town aforesaid appertaining. Saving, nevertheless, unto us, and our heirs, the pleas of our Crown as aforesaid. And that they may have a Gild Merchant, with hanse and other customs and liberties to that gild appertaining, so that no one, who is not of that gild, may do any traffic in the same town except with the consent of the burgesses aforesaid.

We grant also to the same, that if any nativus* of any one shall have remained in the aforesaid town, and shall have held land therein, and shall have been in the aforesaid gild and hanse, and at lot and scot with same, our men, for one year and one day, without challenge, he cannot henceforth be redemanded by his lord, but shall remain free in the same town. Moreover, we grant to the same our burgesses that they may have sok and sak, tol and team, and infangenetheof, and that they may be quit, through our whole land, of toll,† lastage, passage, murage, pontage, and stallage, and of lene Danegeld and gaywite, and all other customs and exactions throughout the whole of our dominions, as well in England as in all our other lands; and that they or their goods, found in any place soever in our land or dominion, shall not be arrested for any debt for which they shall not be sureties or principal debtors, unless perchance that the debtors themselves be of their commune and power, having wherewith they can give satisfaction for their debts in whole or in part, and that the said our burgesses may have failed in justice to the creditors of the same debtors, and concerning this the certainty of this can be reasonably established, and that the same our burgesses, for trespasses or forfeiture of their servants, shall not lose their own chattels and goods found in the hands of the same, or deposited elsewhere by the servants themselves, so long as they shall be able to sufficiently prove them to be their own. And also, that if the same burgesses, or any of them, shall have died within our land and dominion, testate or intestate, we or our heirs shall not cause their goods to be confiscated, but that their heirs may have them entirely so long as it shall be plain that the said chattels belonged to the said deceased, provided, nevertheless, that knowledge or belief be sufficiently had concerning the said heirs. And that our burgesses aforesaid may not be convicted by any outsiders upon any appeals, suits, injuries, trespasses, crimes, challenges [or] demands, laid or to be laid upon them from Carnarvon up to the water of Cloyt, but only by our burgesses aforesaid, except with regard to any matter touching the community of the borough aforesaid, and then in that case they shall be prosecuted according to the liberties approved, and up to this time reasonably used in our city of Hereford. Wherefore we will, and for us and our heirs do firmly command, that our town of Aberconwey shall henceforth be a free borough, and our men of the same town shall be free burgesses; and that the Constable of our aforesaid Castle of Aberconwey, for the time being, shall be mayor of that borough, sworn as well to us as to the same burgesses, who having first taken the oath to preserve our rights, shall swear to the same burgesses, upon the Holy Gospels of God, that he will preserve the liberties granted by us to the same burgesses, and will faithfully do those things which appertain to the office of the Mayor in the same borough. We grant also that the same burgesses, every year, on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, may choose out from among themselves and present to the said Constable as their Mayor, two fit and sufficient bailiffs, who in the presence of the said mayor and bur-

* See Glossary. This passage down to "the same town" is almost an exact copy of the Charter of Henry III. to the burgesses of Deganwy, 1252.

† Octroi duty.

gesses shall swear that they will faithfully perform and execute the office of their bailwick. We will also, and do grant, that the said burgesses may have a free prison of their own in the borough aforesaid for all trespassers there, except cases of life and limbs, in which cases all, as well burgesses as others, shall be imprisoned in our Castle there. Nevertheless, if any of the said burgesses shall be charged, accused, or indicted, for any trespass in such cases, we will that for that cause they be not imprisoned so long as they find good and sufficient mainprise to stand their trial therein before our Chief Justiciary, or other our Justiciaries deputed therefor. We grant, moreover, to the said burgesses that all lands now assigned to the same borough shall be altogether diswarrened and disafforested, and that Jews shall not tarry at any times in the same borough. We will also, and for us and our heirs do grant, that the aforesaid burgesses may have all other the liberties and free customs above expressed, well and peacefully, without let or hindrance of us or our heirs, Justiciaries, sheriffs, and other our bailiffs or ministers whomsoever, for ever, as aforesaid. These being witnesses : the Venerable Father R[obert Burnel], Bishop of Bath and Wells, our Chancellor; Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; Thomas de Clare; Richard de Brus ; Reginald de Grey ; Nicholas de Segrave ; Peter de Chaumpvent ; John de Montalt and others. Given by our hand at Flint, the eighth day of September, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.

APPENDIX IIB.

LIST OF CHARTERS, ETC., RELATING TO THE TOWN OF ABERCONWAY.*

CHARTERS.

12 Edward I., No. 15 Charter for the town of Aberconway.

9 Edward II., No. 9 (12th May, 1316). Charter to the Burgesses of Aberconewey, granting to them the town, two mills, lands, etc.

5 Edward III., No, 87. Charter for the Burgesses of Aberconwey. (This inspects and confirms the charter of 12 Edward I., No. 15).

CONFIRMATION ROLLS.

1 Richard III., p. 1, No. 5. For the town of Aberconewaye.

4 Henry VII., p. 2, No. 14 For the burgesses of the town of Aberconwey,

1 Henry VIII., p. 4, No, 11 and 12. For the burgesses of the town of Aberconeweye.

1 Edward VI., p. 1, No. 3. For the same. This is an inspeximus and confirmation of charters of previous kings, all confirming the original charter of 12 Edward I.

PATENT ROLLS.

31 Henry III., m. 6. Peace between the King and Owen ap Gruffin, and concerning the bounds of the whole river of Conway granted to the King.

6 Edward III., p. 3, m. 12. Wm. de Swynmore to arrest all timber, etc., taken by men of Conewey, Creudyn, etc., in the King's forest, Snowdon, and conveyed away by the river Conewey.

2 Richard II., p. 2, m. 3. A very ample confirmation of liberties for the Burgesses of Aberconway.

4 Edward IV., pt. 3, m. 5. Ample liberties confirmed to the burgesses of Aberconway.

* See Report of Searches made at the Public Record Office in respect of the Town of Conway, or Aberconway, contained in a paper read by T. B. Farrington, Borough Surveyor of Conway, and read at the Conway Congress of the Brit. Archæol. Assoc. August 20th, 1897, and printed in the Journal of that Assocation for 1898, Vol. IV, New Series.

2 Henry IV., pt. 3, m. 24. Pardon to William ap Tudor and Rees his brother, for that they with many others took the Castle of Conway, and burnt the town.

14 James I., p. 10 (29th April). Grant to Charles, Prince of Wales (*inter alia*), the fee farm of the Lordship, Manor, Castle, and Town of Conway.

3 Charles I., p. 37. For Edward, lord of Conway. etc., the Castle of Conway; possessions of the Principality of North Wales, to hold in socage. Rent 6s. 8d.

ORIGINALIA ROLLS.

These contain duplicates of the Charters on the Charter Rolls, and Confirmation Rolls, to the town of Aberconway. There is also a reference to a Charter of 18 Edward I., that the burgesses shall be free from toll.

9 Edward II., m. 18. The King granted to his burgesses of Aberconewey, the town of Aberconewey, two mills, certain lands, and the place of a mill next the King's Castle, which they formerly had at the King's will for £31 3s. 9¾d. yearly. To hold to them, their heirs and successors, with farms, rents, etc., rendering yearly 60 marks therefor, etc.

EXCHEQUER SPECIAL COMMISSIONS, No. 6914.

9 George I Settlement by Commissioners of the bounds of the Port of Conway.

MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES.

Rotulus Walliæ, 12 Edw. I., m. 4, No. 15. Confirmation for the burgesses of Aberconway.

CHAPTER HOUSE, COUNTY BAGS, WALES.

Bag of Miscellanea No 5 & 7.

Petitions of the Burgesses of Carnarvon, Conwey and Bewmersh to Cardinal Wolsey, praying a grant of certain privileges, according to articles specified in their petition. (Henry VIII).

BOX 143, B., No. 3.

Conway, Particulars of expenses of building a ship and boat there by the Prince's directions (no date).

IBID, No. 21.

Conway Castle. Roll of payment for works there 5 Edw. III. (5 MSS.). Date really 4 Edw. III., and the roll consists of 8 long and narrow membranes, stating the weekly payments made to the workmen, and for materials.

EXCHEQUER DEPOSITIONS.

9 James I, 1610-11. East 29. Sir John Wynn, Knt., *v.* Richard Bulkeley, Thos. ap Hugh ap Robert, Rowland Rees. The King's four weares and the fishing of the River Conway, in the hundred of Nantconway, rented by Plaintiff and the erection by defendant of new "hiddels" or weares, without license, and to the detriment of fishing.

9 James I, 1611, Michaelmas 30. Sir J. Wynn, Knt., and Bart, *v.* Sir Ric. Bulkely, Knt., Rowland Rees, Thos. ap Hugh, Right of fishing in the river of Conway, the ferry of Tal-y-Caven on such river and the kind of nets used in fishing.

Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt.

Miscellanea $\frac{68}{19}$

Petition of the burgesses and inhabitants of the King's English towns of Carnarvon, Conway and Bewmaresse to Cardinal Wolsey against "the Welshmen foreign inhabitants in North Wales" to whom certain liberties had been granted by King Henry VII. The burgesses set forth encroachments on their own liberties. They "pay to the King yearly in fee farm, £40 4s. 6d."

By the Charter granted to the said Burgesses "no foreigner shall brew nor bake bread, nor ale to sell, or occupy any manner liberty within eight miles from the said towns."

By a Statute made after the Rebellion of Wales, "no Welshman was to be appointed to any important office, etc."

Welsh Roll 14. 23 Edward I.

18 Edward I., m. 8. That the burgesses of Aberconway may be free from toll throughout the realm. 8th Feb.

Ibid. Grant to Robert le Despenser of the custody of the lands which were of Michael de St. Edmuned, in Ayros and Aberconwey.

APPENDIX IIc.

CHARTER ROLL, 9 EDWARD II., No. 9 (May 12th, 1316).

TRANSLATION.

Edward by the grace of God King of England Lord of Ireland and Duke of Acquitanie to Archbishops Bishops Abbots Priors Earls Barons Justices Sheriffs Reeves Ministers and all his Bailiffs and faithful men, Greeting :

Know ye that we have granted and by this our charter confirmed to our Burgesses of Aberconewey the same Town of Aberconewey two mills lands and one place of a certain mill next our Castle of the Town aforesaid which they formerly held at our will for thirtyone pounds three shillings nine pence one halfpenny and one farthing yearly to be rendered to us at our Exchequer of Kaernarvan To have and to hold to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors being Burgesses of the same Town with the farms rents and all other issues profits and easements to the same Town mills lands and place in any manner belonging of us and our heirs at fee farm for ever rendering to us and our heirs for the aforesaid Town mills lands and place every year at the said Exchequer fifty marks at two terms of the year (that is to say) one moiety at the feast of Saint Michael and the other moiety at the feast of Easter Wherefore we will and firmly command for us and our heirs that the aforesaid Burgesses their heirs and successors for ever shall have and hold the aforesaid Town mills lands and place with the farms rents and all other issues profits and easements to the same Town mills lands and place in any manner belonging of us and our heirs at fee farm rendering to us and our heirs for the aforesaid Town mills lands and place every year at the said Exchequer fifty marks at two terms of the year (that is to say) one moiety at the feast of Saint Michael and the other moiety at the feast of Easter as it is aforesaid. These being witnesses the venerable fathers W. Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of All England J. of Norwich and W. of Exeter Bishops John of Britany Earl of Richemond Hugh le Despenser senior Roger de Mortimer of Wygsmore John de Crombwelle Steward of our Household and others Given by our hand at Westminster on the twelfth day of March in the ninth year of our reign.

There is a summary of the above in the "Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium," 9 Ed. II., Roll 18, as follows :—

"Rex concessit et confirmasset burgensibus R. de Aberconewey villam illam de Aberconewey duo molendina certas terras et unam placeam cujusdem molendini juxta castrum R. villae praedictae quae prius tenuerunt ad voluntatem R. pro triginta et un is libris tribus solidis novem denarius uno obolo et uno quadrante annuatim tenuendas eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis Burgensibus ejusdem villae cum firmis redditibus etc reddito inde annuatim quinquaginta marcas, etc."

APPENDIX IId.

CHARTER 5 EDWARD III., 82.

[Edwardus, Die gratia Rex Angliæ], Dominus Hiberniæ, et Dux Aquitaniae, Archiepisco-

pis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus,[Prepositis, Ministris, et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis] salutem. Inspeximus cartam celebris memoriae domini Edwardi quondam Regis Angliae, avi nostri, in haec verba . . . . Nos autem concessiones praedictas ratas habentes et gratas eas per nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est dilectis nobis nunc [Burgensibus Burgi proedicti concedimus et confirmamus sicut carta proedicta] rationabiliter testantur et prout eidem Burgenses et eorum predecessores [Burgum praedictum hactenus tenuerunt et libertatibus et quietantiis praedictis rationabiliter usi sunt et gavisi. His testibus W. Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Angliae primate, Thesaurario nostro, J. Win[toniensi Episcopo, Cancellario nostro, H. Lincolniensi episcopo, Johanne, Comite Cornubiae, fratre nostro, Thoma, Comite Norfolciensi] et Marescallo Angliae, Henrico Comite Lancastriae, Senescallo Angliae, Willelmo de [Monte alto, Randulpho Nevyle, Senescallo hospitii nostri, et aliis. Datum per manum uostram apud] Wyndesore vice [simo die] Februarii anno regni nostri quinto.

CHARTER, 5 EDWARD III., 82.

TRANSLATION:

Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, and all his Bailiffs and faithful lieges, greeting, We have inspected the Charter of the Lord Edward of famous memory, formerly King of England our grandfather in these words [here the King quotes at full length the Charter, 12 Edw. I., 15, which is given elsewhere in Appendix IIa]. . . . Now we holding firm and established the grants aforesaid do grant and confirm them for us and our heirs as much as in us is to our beloved the present Burgesses of that Borough as the Charter aforesaid reasonably testifies and as the same Burgesses and their predecessors have hitherto held the Borough aforesaid and reasonably used and enjoyed the liberties and acquittances aforesaid.

These being witnesses, the venerable father William,* Archbishop of York, Primate of England, our Treasurer; John,† Bishop of Winchester our Chancellor; Henry,‡ Bishop of Lincoln, John,§ Earl of Cornwall, our brother Thomas,‖ Earl of Norfolk and Marshall of England; Henry,¶ Earl of Lancaster, Steward of England; William de Montaut; Ralph de Neville,†† Steward of our household, and others. Given by our hand at Wyndesore the twentieth of February in the fifth year of our reign.

APPENDIX IIe.

TRANSLATION OF PROCEEDINGS ON A QUO WARRANTO AGAINST THE BAILIFFS AND BURGESSES OF CONWAY IN 44 EDW. III., 1370.

The Register commonly called
"The Record of Caernarvon,"
Harley MS. 696.

Among the Pleas of the Crown before Richard de Stafford and his associates Justices of the Lord [Edward] last Prince of Wales in North Wales at Conewey in the 44th year of the reign of King Edward the Third.

Here follows concerning Pleas of Quo Warranto before the aforesaid Justices in Eyre.

Shareshall

The Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Town of Conewey were summoned to make answer to the Lord Prince of a plea by what warrant they claim that

* William de Melton (1316-1340), Treasurer from 1326-1331.
† John de Stratford (1323-1333), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1333-1348, Chancellor 1330-1334, and 1335-1337.
‡ Henry de Burgersh, (1320-1340).
§ John Plantagenet, created 1328, died 1336.
‖ Thomas Plantagenet [Thomas de Brotherton], was granted Roger de Bigod's surrendered Earldom in 1313, and died 1338.
¶ Henry Plantagenet, 1327-1345.
†† Lord Ralph de Neville [with his son John] defeated King David Bruce at Neville's Cross, Oct. 17th, 1746; he was Governor of Berwick [1356], died Aug. 5th, 1367, and was buried in Durham Cathedral.

the Town of Aberconewey is a free Borough and that the Men of the same Town are free Burgesses and that the Constable of Aberconewey for the time being is Mayor of that Borough being sworn as well to the Lord Prince as to the same Burgesses and that they have the election of two Bailiffs every year on the feast of Saint Michael to be presented to the said Mayor and who in his presence shall take oaths faithfully to do and execute all things which belong to their office And to have their free prison in the Borough aforesaid for all trespassers there except in cases of life and limbs And that if any of the said Burgesses shall be charged accused or indicted upon any trespass they shall not be imprisoned on that account if they find good and sufficient mainprise to stand to right therein before the Chief Justice of the Lord Prince or any other Justice deputed for this purpose And that Jews shall not dwell in the same Borough at any times And that all the lands assigned to the same Borough by the Lord Edward late King of England great-grandfather of the Lord Prince that now is are diswarrened and disafforested altogether And that no Sheriff of the Lord Prince may intermeddle in anything touching the Burgesses aforesaid in respect of any plea plaint or cause or any other matter appertaining to the aforesaid Town except pleas of the Crown And to have a Gild Merchant with hanse and other customs and liberties to that Gild appertaining So that no one who is not of that Gild may make any merchandise in the same Town unless it be with the consent of the Burgesses aforesaid And that if any bondman of anyone shall dwell in the aforesaid town and all land therein and shall be in the aforesaid Gild and hanse and [at] lot and scot with them for one year and one day without challenge he cannot thenceforward be redemanded by his Lord but may remain free in that town And to have soc and sac tol and team and infangenethef And that they are quit throughout all the Prince's land of toll lastage passage murage pontage and stallage and from lene Danegeld gaywite and all other customs and exactions throughout all the Prince's power And that they or their goods wheresoever found in the land or power of the Prince may not be arrested for debt for which they shall not be sureties or principal debtors unless the debtors themselves be of their community and power having wherewith they can satisfy their debtors in part or in the whole And that [if] the same Burgesses or any of them shall decease testate or intestate within the land and power of the Prince, the Prince or his heirs shall not cause their goods to be confiscated but that their heirs shall have the same entirely so far as it shall appear that the said chattels belong to the said deceased so nevertheless that knowledge or belief be sufficiently had [of] the said heirs And that they may not be convicted by any foreigners upon any appeals charges injuries trespasses crimes challenges or demands charged or to be charged to them from Kaernarvon to the water of Cloyt but only by burgesses of Conewey save concerning any matter touching the community of the Borough aforesaid and in that case they shall be judged according to the liberties approved and hitherto reasonably used in the city of Hereford And that they have the Town of Aberconewey and the two mills the lands and one place of a certain mill next the Castle of the Town aforesaid which they formerly held at the will of the Lord the King Edward Conqueror of Wales at fee farm to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors being Burgesses of the same Town with the farms rents and all other issues profits and easements to the same Town mills land[s] and place in any manner belonging &c. contrary to the state and dignity of the Lord Prince &c.

And the aforesaid Bailiffs and Burgesses come And as to this that they claim to have the Town of Aberconewey mills lands and place of a mill at fee farm &c. they say that the Lord Edward late King of England grandfather of the Lord Prince that now is then being Prince of Wales by his letters patent granted to them the aforesaid Town mills lands and place to hold to them and their heirs at fee farm for ever And they produce here the same letters patent which testify the premises in these words:

And as to all the other liberties before named they say that the Lord

Edward late King of England great-grandfather of the Lord Prince that now is while the Principality of Wales was in his hand by his letters patent granted the same liberties to the Burgesses of the Town aforesaid who then were To have and to hold to them and to their heirs and successors for ever Which same letters the Lord Edward that now is King of England while the aforesaid Principality was in his hand inspected and he granted and confirmed them by his charter for him and his heirs And they produce here the same letters [patent] of the Lord Edward King of England that now is in these words:

And by that warrant they claim the liberties aforesaid. And John de Delves who sues for the Lord Prince &c. says that in the last Iter of the Justices holden in the parts of North Wales (that is to say) on Thursday the feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude in the eighth year of the reign of the Lord the King that now is before . . . . Thomas de Aldon and his associates Justices then and there Itinerant the Burgesses of the Town aforesaid did not then claim the aforesaid liberties Wherefore for that non-claim he prays that all the liberties aforesaid may be taken into the hand of the Lord Prince &c. And the aforesaid Burgesses do not deny this Therefore let the liberties aforesaid be taken into the hand of the Lord Prince &c. And hereupon the same Bailiffs and Burgesses pray [to have] the same liberties by plevin &c. and they made a fine to the Lord Prince for having the same again by six shillings and eight pence by the pledge of John Godynogh and William Adqriet whereby those liberties are redelivered to them &c. And hereupon the same John who sues &c. prays that the aforesaid Bailiffs and Burgesses may show and declare to the Court what and what kind of profit they claim by the aforesaid general words &c. They say that as to having the Town of Aberconewey mills lands and place herein named with farms rents &c. at fee-farm &c. this is sufficiently expressly and manifestly declared in the aforesaid charter made to them thereof &c. And they say that by the aforesaid grant of a free prison &c. they claim the custody of the prison of the Town aforesaid which is the prison of the Lord Prince And to have in the same prison the custody of all trespassers against the peace within the same Town as well of men being inhabitants as of foreigners And to have and receive from everyone so imprisoned when he shall have been delivered four pence And by that clause that all the lands assigned to the same Borough shall be diswarrened and disafforested they claim that they shall not be amerced or molested for any newly ploughed lands assarts [or] buildings of houses nor for the taking of wild animals of whatsoever kind they may be in the land aforesaid And by that clause that no Sheriff shall intermeddle in anything &c. they claim that they have the returns of all writs and precepts and the executions of the same to be made by their Bailiffs concerning matters arising within the same Town And to have their Court from three weeks to three weeks to be holden by their Bailiffs and the cognisance of all pleas debts covenants trespasses and all other Contracts arising within the same Town except pleas touching free tenement and pleas which appertain to the Crown And by that clause that they shall have a Gild Merchant &c. they claim that all men dwelling in the aforesaid Town and wishing to enjoy the liberties of the same shall be sworn before the same Burgesses justly to maintain the rights and liberties of the same Town &c. and they shall give to the common utility of the town a certain custom called "hans" And after they shall have done this and shall have paid lot and scot with them they shall be free Burgesses &c. and can freely buy and sell there and enjoy all the privileges and liberties of the same Town without contradiction of any man And by the aforesaid word Soc they claim attendance at their Court aforesaid of all men residing within the Town aforesaid if they shall be impleaded or when their presence shall be necessary And by that word Sac they claim the cognisance of such pleas and by that word Tol to receive toll by their Bailiffs as the Bailiffs of the Lord Prince of all things bought or sold within the same Town for which such toll ought of right to be taken in fair or market And by that

word Infangenethef they claim that if any man shall have been taken with the theft within the same Town at the suit of any party who shall choose to prosecute against him by appeal immediately the same Bailiffs and Burgesses shall cause a day to be appointed for holding their Court (that is to say) within three days or on the third day &c. and the same person so appealed shall be arraigned before them and if he shall choose to put himself on an inquisition it shall be admitted and if he shall be found guilty he shall be judged and hanged And by that clause that they shall be quit of toll &c. they claim that they shall not pay toll for any merchandises or wares by them bought or sold in whatsoever fairs or markets in Wales or elsewhere And by those words lestage murage pountage and gaywite— that nothing shall be taken from them for such customs either from their goods or merchandises by land or by sea nor for the making of bridges or walls And by that word lene that they shall pay nothing in any fair or market to the ministers called lenelokers And as to all other liberties &c. they say that they are sufficiently expressly declared in the aforesaid Charter &c.

And John who sues &c. says that in the aforesaid charter it is contained that the aforesaid King great grandfather &c. granted to them a free prison &c. granting to them no certain benefit and in the declaration aforesaid they have claimed from every prisoner when he shall have been delivered four pence which is manifestly against the common right (that is to say) that anyone imprisoned for trespass should pay anything to the Keeper of the prison when he shall have been delivered Wherefore he prays judgment and that that liberty be taken into the hand of the Lord Prince &c. And that the same Burgesses may be charged with such profits so unjustly received and may answer [therefor] &c. And as to this that they claim the returns of writs and precepts &c. he says that the aforesaid Lord the King did not grant to them any such liberty by express words or by the law of interpretation for that that clause aforesaid (that is to say) that no Sheriff should in anywise intermeddle touching the same Burgesses in respect of any plea or plaint or cause that grant cannot refer to anything else save that the same Sheriff should not intermeddle [by] any office of holding plea in the same Borough or elsewhere concerning debts or other contracts in the same arising and can in now have relation to executions by writs or precepts directed to the Sheriff or other bailiffs Wherefore he prays judgment and that that liberty be taken into the hand of the Lord Prince &c. And if it appear to the Court that notwithstanding the allegations aforesaid the said charter may suffice for a warrant to them he says that the aforesaid Bailiffs and Burgesses have badly used the liberties aforesaid taking by extortion divers redemptions and sums of moneys from men coming to the aforesaid Town and holding pleas of the Crown imprisoning men indicted for felony and in divers other manners contrary to right and reason and in other manner than is granted to them by the aforesaid charter And this he is prepared to prove for the Lord &c.

And the aforesaid Bailiffs and Burgesses say that since all the liberties by them above claimed having the returns of writs &c., are contained by express words in the charter aforesaid and as to the returns of writs there is in the same charter such a clause that no sheriff shall intermeddle in anywise concerning any matter arising in the aforesaid Town whereby it is necessarily required that all executions which are to be made by the Sheriff in the same Borough except as to matters touching the Crown shall be made by the Bailiffs of the same Borough and not by others By virtue of which clause always from the time of the making of the charter aforesaid all Sheriffs &c. have made full return to them Whereof they pray judgment and that all the liberties aforesaid contained as well in the first charter as in the second may be allowed to them They say also that they have well and in just manner used all the liberties aforesaid and that they have taken nothing by extoration or in any other than just manner And as to this they put themselves upon the country And John who sues &c. likewise.

And because it appears to the Justices here that all the liberties aforesaid

by virtue of the charters aforesaid are to be allowed to the aforesaid Bailiffs and Burgesses. It is consedered that the aforesaid Bailiffs and Burgesses may go therefrom without a day, Saving the right of the Lord Prince [if] again &c. And it is commanded to the Sheriff that he cause to come at Conewey on Monday the morrow of Holy Trinity twelve men &c. by whom &c. and who are not [related] by any [affinity] to the aforesaid Bailiffs and Burgesses &c. to recognise &c.

APPENDIX IIf.

NEW CHARTER FOR THE BOROUGH OF CONWAY 40 VICTORIA (December 22nd, 1876).

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas by an Act passed in the First year of our reign, intituled "An Act to amend an Act for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales," it was enacted, that if the inhabitant householders of any town or borough in England or Wales should petition us to grant to them a Charter of Incorporation, it should be lawful for us by any such Charter, if we should think fit by the advice of our Privy Council to grant the same, to extend to the inhabitants of any such town or borough within the district to be set forth in such Charter all the powers and provisions of an Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, intituled "An Act to provide for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales," whether such town or borough should or should not be a Corporate Town, or Borough, or should or should not be named in either of the schedules to the said Act to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales:

Provided nevertheless, that notice of every such Petition and of the time when it should please us to order that the same be taken into consideration by our Privy Council should be published in the London Gazette One month at least before such Petition should be considered, but such publication should not need to be by Royal Proclamation:

And whereas after the passing of the said first mentioned Act the inhabitant householders of the Town and Ancient Parliamentary Borough of Conway in the County of Carnarvon did petition us to grant a Charter of Incorporation to the inhabitant householders of the said Town and Ancient Parliamentary Borough:

And whereas notice of such Petition and of the time when the same was ordered by us to be taken into consideration by our Privy Council was accordingly duly published in the London Gazette One month at least before such Petition was so considered:

And whereas the Mayor, Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of the ancient parliamentary Borough of Conway did petition us to grant to the inhabitant householders a Charter of Incorporation under the said Acts in lieu of the existing Charters, under which the said Mayor, Bailiffs and Free Burgesses now hold lands, hereditaments and other properties, including the right of holding Fairs, and acting as Harbour Authorities in and for the said Borough:

And whereas the said Mayor, Bailiffs and Free Burgesses have requested that all the public buildings, messuages, lands and hereditaments, of whatsoever tenure or description, whether corporeal or incorporeal, and all rights or privileges whatsoever, including the right of holding fairs, and harbour authorities, of and in the said Borough granted them, under their existing charters, and also all the moneys or funds, securities for money, deeds, books, writings, maps, plans and personal estate whatsoever, and the benefit of all

covenants and all claims which belong to or are vested in the said Mayor, Bailiffs and Free Burgesses should be vested in the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses acting under the Charter of Incorporation :

And whereas afterwards our Privy Council did proceed to consider the said Petition, and having fully considered it have advised us to grant this Charter of Incorporation to the inhabitants of the said town and ancient Parliamentary Borough of Conway within the district comprising the Parliamentary Borough of Conway as settled by an Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the 2nd and 3rd years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, intituled " An Act to settle and describe the Divisions of Counties and the Limits of Cities and Boroughs in England and Wales in so far as respects the Election of Members to serve in Parliament," and therein described as " The Old Borough of Conway," " County of Carnarvon :"

We therefore as well by virtue of the powers and authorities vested in us by virtue of our Royal Prerogative, as by virtue of the powers and authorities given to us by the said recited Act of the First year of our reign or any other Act of Parliament and all other powers and authorities enabling us in this behalf, by the advice of our Privy Council, Do hereby grant and declare That the inhabitants of the said Town and ancient Parliamentary Borough of Conway within the limits as settled by the said Act passed in the 2nd and 3rd years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth as aforesaid, and their successors, shall be for ever hereafter one body politic and corporate in deed, fact and name, and that the said body corporate shall be called the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Conway, and then by the name of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Conway into one body politic and corporate, in deed, fact and name, we do for us, our heirs and successors, elect and constitute by these presents :

And we do grant to the said body politic and corporate that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession, and be for ever hereafter persons able and capable in law to have and exercise and do and enjoy and that they shall have and exercise and do and enjoy all the acts, powers, authorities, immunities and privileges which are now held and exercised, done and suffered by the several Boroughs named in the Schedules to the said Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, under and by virtue of the said Act, and of all other Acts of Parliament made and passed for altering, amending, or enlarging the said Act and the powers and provisions thereof, or in anywise relating thereto, which said Act and the other Acts so made and passed for altering, amending or enlarging the same, are hereinafter referred to as the said Acts :

And we do hereby extend to the inhabitants of the said Parliamentary Borough of Conway all the powers and provisions of the said Acts :

And we do further will, grant and declare that the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Conway and their successors shall and may for ever hereafter have a Common Seal to serve them in transacting their business, and also shall and may use and assume armorial bearings and devices, which shall be duly entered and enrolled in the Heralds' College :

And we do further will, grant and declare that the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, and their successors shall be able and capable in law to purchase, take and acquire such lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever situate, lying and being within the said Parliamentary Borough as shall be necessary for the site of the buildings and premises required for the official purposes of the Corporation, to have and to hold the said lands, tenements and hereditaments to the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses and their successors for ever ;

And we further will, grant and declare that the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses and their successors for ever shall and may take all the public buildings, and all other messuages, lands and hereditaments of whatsoever tenure or description, whether corporeal or incorporeal, and all rights and privileges whatsoever, including the right of holding Fairs and Harbour Authorities of and in the said Borough, and also all the moneys or funds, securities for moneys, deeds, books, writings, maps, plans and personal estate of whatsoever nature, and the benefit of all covenants, and all claims which belong to or are now vested in the said Mayor, Bailiffs and Free Burgesses :

And we further will, grant and declare that the Council of the said Borough of Conway shall consist of a Mayor, Four Aldermen and Twelve Councillors, to be respectively elected at such times and places, and in such and the like manner as the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors for the Boroughs named in the Schedules to the said Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, are now elected under the provisions of the said Acts, except that the first Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors, and the first Auditor and Assessors for the said Borough of Conway shall be respectively elected at such times and in such manner as hereinafter mentioned ; and that the said Mayor, Aldermen, Councillors, Auditors and Assessors so to be elected for the said Borough shall respectively have the same qualifications, and have, exercise and enjoy all the powers, immunities and privileges, and be subject to the same duties, penalties, liabilities and disqualifications as the Mayor, Aldermen, Councillors, Auditors and Assessors of the several boroughs named in the Schedules to the said Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, now have, exercise, enjoy and are subject to under the said Acts, so far as the same are or may be applicable to the said Borough of Conway :

And we further will, grant and declare that the title and qualification of the Burgesses of the said Borough of Conway shall be the same with regard to the said Borough as the title and qualification of the Burgesses of the Boroughs named in the Schedules to the said Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth years of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, now are with regard to such Boroughs under the said Acts, and that all persons possessing such title or qualification with respect to the said Borough of Conway shall be entitled to be placed upon the Burgess List hereinafter mentioned :

And we further will, grant and declare that the said Parliamentary Borough of Conway shall be one Ward :

And we further will, grant and declare that the said Ward shall elect Twelve Councillors :

[Then follow provisions for the making of the first Burgess List and holding the first elections under the Charter, and for the appointment as first Town Clerk].

Of our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Edwards Parry of the said Town of Conway, Solicitor's Clerk, and in case of his death, inability, incapacity, refusal or default, then our trusty and well beloved William Thomas, of the same Town, Bank Manager. The first returning officer to be our trusty and well-beloved Sir Richard Lewis MostynWilliams Bulkeley, Baronet, the present Mayor of the said Town and Borough, and in case of his death, inability, incapacity, refusal or default, then our trusty and well beloved Charles Williams Bulkeley, Esquire.

In witness whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 22nd day of December, 1876, in the 40th year of our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

Candew.

APPENDIX IIg.

WARRANT FOR THE CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE AND TOWN OF CONWAY.

Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting :

Know ye that, We, of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have given, granted, and by these presents do give and grant, into our trusty and well-beloved The Mayor for the time being of the Town of Conway, in our Principality of Wales, the office of Constable of Our Castle and Town of Conway in Our County of Carnarvon in Our Principality of Wales aforesaid, And him the said Mayor for the time being of the Town of Conway, Constable of Our Castle and Town of Conway aforesaid, We do make, ordain, create and constitute by these presents, to hold the same during Our pleasure, without salary, or other emoluments, from Our Land or other Revenues, but otherwise with all liberties, privileges, and advantages to the said office belonging or appertaining, in as full, ample and beneficial manner to all intents and purposes as Richard Mostyn Lewis Bulkeley, deceased, held and enjoyed or of right ought to have held and enjoyed, in and for the exercise and occupation of the said office. Lastly, We will and command that these Our Letters Patent or the Inrolment thereof shall be in and by all things good, firm, valid, sufficient and effectual in the law, any omission, imperfection, defect, matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness Ourself at Westminster the thirteenth day of March in the forty-eighth year of Our Reign.

By Warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual,

Muir Mackenzie.

The inscription on the Borough Seal—

E : DE : CONEWEY : SY : PROVESTRI,

probably reads as follows :—

EDWARDUS : DEDIT : CONEWEY : SIGILLUM : PROVESTRI,

and this, broadly translated, means—"Edward gave Conway the Seal for the Provost." At the period of the original Charter, the Crown appointed the "Constable of the Castle and Town of Conway." He was *ipso facto* "Mayor." Now, under Queen Victoria's Patent, the Mayor is *ipso facto* "Constable of the Castle and Town of Conway." This will account for the occurrence of the word "Provestri" on the Borough Seal, and this is especially deserving of mention, as this office is a unique one among "Mayors."

The Borough Seal—a triple-towered fortification on waves of the sea—is illustrated on page 328.

APPENDIX IIIa.

A COPY OF HERLE HIS COMMISSION [1553].

Of the Cunstableshipe of the Castell of Conwey and Stewardshipe of the Abbye of Bardesey.

Maria dei gra' Anglie ffrauncie et hib'nie Regina fidei Defensor et in terra Eccl'ie Anglicane et hib'nice Supremum Caput.

Omnibus ad quos p'sentes l're p'uen'int sal'tem.

Sciatis qd nos in consideraco'e boni et fidelis seruicij nobis p'dil'cum servientem n'rum Joh'em herle unu' de lez Quiries Stabuli n'ri ante hac impens' de g'ra n'ra Sp'iali, certa scientia et mero motu n'ris Dedimus et Concessimus ac p' p'ntes Damus et Concedimus eidem Joh'i herle officiu' Constabularii sive Custodis Castri n'ri de Conwey in Com' n'ro Carn'von infra princip'itatem n'ram Northwalli' Ac etiam officiu' senescalli et Custodis curiaru' omn' et singloru' Din'or' manerioru, terr' ten'toru' possessionu' et hereditamentoru' n'roru' quoru cu'q' nup' monasterio de Bardesey in eodam Com' Carn'von quoqu'odo spectan' vel p'tinen' aut p'cell' possessionu' inde nup' existen'. Quequidam officia ffranciscus Comes Hunt's nup' h'uit, ac ad p'sens in dono et disposico'e n'ris legittimo modo existunt, ac ip'm Johanem herle Constabularii et Custode' Castri n'ri de Conwey p'd. Ac Senescalli p'd maneri' din'oru' terraru' ten'toru' et ceteroru' p'missoru' p'd monasterio de Bardsey spectan' et p'tinen', facimus ordinauimus et constituimus p' p'sentes h'endi gauden exercend' et occupand' officia p'd' et eorum utru'q' p'fato Joh'i herle p'se vel p' sufficientem Deputatu' su' sive Deputatos su' sufficientes ad Termin' et p' termino vite eiusdem Johanis herle.

Et ulterius de uberiori g'ra n'ra dedimus et concessimus ac p' p'ntes damus et concedimus eidem Johan' herle p' exercicio et occupaco'e d'cti off'cii Constabularii Castri p' vad' et ffeod' Quinquaginta libraru' p' Ann' ac pro exercicio et occupaco'e Dic officii Senescall' p'd manerioru' terraru' ten'toru' et ceteroru' p'missoru' D'co nup' monasterio spectan' et p'tinen vadu' et feod' lxjs. legalis monet' Anglie p' Ann' habendu' et gaudend' eadem vad' et feod, et eoru' utru'q' p'fato Johan' herle et assign' suis ad termin' et pro termino vite ip'ius Joh'nis herle p'cipend' animatim p'd feod' qu'quaginta libraru' de exitibus p'ficuis et revenucoibus principali'tis n're Northwall' p'd p'ueniend' et cressen' p' manus Can arij seu Receptoris n'ri ibim' p' temp'e existen' ad festa S'ci Mich'is arch'i et anunciaco'is b'te Marie virginis p' equales porco'es' ac p'cipiend' anuatim p'd vad' lxjs. p' manus Ballioru' firmarioru' tenentiu' seu alioru' occupator' p'missoru' p'd nup' monasterio p'tinen' p'tempore de existen' de exitibus et revenucoibus eoru'dem p'missoru' ad festa p'd' p' equales porco'es una cu' o'ibus aliis p'ficius comoditat' et advantagiis d'cis officiis seu eoru' alteri quoquomodo spectan, & p'tinen' in tam amplis modo et forma p'ut ffranciscus Comes Hunt' aut aliquis alius sive' aliqui alii d'ca officia seu eor, utruq' ante hac h'eus seu gaudens h'entes seu gaudentes h'uit p'cipit vel gavisus fuit, h'uerunt p'ceperunt vel gavisi fuerunt p'exercicio eodem officior' seu eor' alterius.

Et ulterius de ampliori g'ra n'ra dedimus et concessimus, ac p' p'sentes damus, et concedimus, eidem Joh'ni herle tot et tantas Denar' sum'as ad quot et quantas d'ct' seperalia vad' et feod' et eoru' utru'q' a festo annunc' b'te Marie virginis ultimo p'terito huc usq' se extendunt et attingunt, h'endi eidem Joh'ni herle ex dono n'ro p' manus Can'arium Balioru' seu firmarioru' p'd absq' compoto seu aliquo alio p'inde nobis hered' vel successor' n'ris quomodo reddend' solvend' vel faciend' eo qd expressa mentio de vero valore anuo aut de aliquo alio valore vel certitudine p'miss'sive eorum alicuius aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus p'nos vel p' aliquem p'genitor n'ror' p'fato Joh'ni herle ante hec tempora fact' in p'sentibus minime fit existit aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinaco'ne, p'visione, restricco' ne inde in co'trario fct,' edit' ordinat', sive p'viss', aut aliqua alia re causa vel matteria quacunq, in aliquo modo non obstant.

In cui' rei testimoniu' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipsa apud Westm' Decimo die Octobris Anno Regni primo.

APPENDIX IIIb.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF CONWAY CASTLE IN THE TIME OF JAMES I.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., quotes a letter of the time of James I, which gives an account of the state of Conway Castle at that time. With modernised spelling it runs as follows :—

"The King's Castle of Conway, in the county of Carnarvon, is in great ruin and decay, whereof the greatest part hath been down and uninhabitable for many ages past; the rest of the timber supporting the roof is all, or for the most part, rotten, and groweth daily by wet more and more in decay, no man having dwelt in any part thereof these thirty years passed; the leads are for a great part gone, the main wall, being of ragged, hard, and small stones, is of no value or worth; there is no land confessed to belong thereto, without the wall thereof; within it is of small compass, builded on a rock pile-wise, all which, at the entreaty of Mr. Huggen, we have thought good to certify to your Honour." †

APPENDIX IV.

A SUMMARY OF A GRANT TO RICHARD OWEN AND HIS HEIRS.

Patent Roll, 3 Charles I., Part 37, No. 1, recites a number of indentures previously dealing with the lands intended to be demised, the last of these indentures being one dated 16 May, 3 Charles I., granting to "Richard Okeley of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, Esq., and John Williams of Bugden, in the County of Huntingdon, Gentleman" [otherwise, Archbishop of York], for the remainder of an unexpired term of 99 years (dating from Michaelmas, 1616), granting to them in consideration of yearly rents and other services, the premises in question. By this present indenture the King now ratifies the indenture of 16 May last past, and by these presents releases the aforesaid grantees from arrearages of rents, etc., and from suits, impeachments, and demands therefor.

Furthermore, in consideration of the sum of £200 paid at the receipt of the Exchequer of Westminster, by Richard Owen, Esq., the King confesses himself fully satisfied, and gives and grants "as fully, freely, and entirely, and in as ample a manner and form as all and singular the same premises, or any parcel thereof, came, or ought to have come, to the hands of him, or to the hands of any of his progenitors, or ancestors, late Kings and Queens of England," all royal mines and mines of lead and tin excepted :—

ALL THAT THE

1. Vill of Penlassock, in the Commote of Cruthin, and the passage of boats, called the ferry boats of Conwey and Craven Gronant, formerly held by Anthony Weldon and then by William Payne. This is mentioned to be of the yearly rent value of £4.
2. Tenement, etc., in Erianus, in the Commote of Issaph (*David ap Rees ap Richard).
3. One other tenement there (*Robert ap John ap Griffith ap Thomas).
4. The parcel of land called Kay Iolyn (*Hugh Robins).
5. The Close, etc., of Caer Maelli (*J. Owen ap Richard).
6. The Close of Caer Craghe (*J. Owen ap Richard).
7. The meadow near the water of Afon y Griffith otherwise y Griffin (*Ellis ap William).
8. One other parcel of land, etc., lying near among the lands of Hugh Hookes (*Lawrence ap Robert). All and singular which premises, etc. [Nos. 2-8], are situated in the vill and fields of Erianus, and are mentioned to be of the yearly rent or value of £4.

9. *a* Two messuages in Erianus (*William ap Williams), Pen y ralt and Tan y ralt.
   b Messuages (*Evan Griffin).
   c The parcel of land called Dwyfrild (*William ap Williams).

† Family Excursions in North Wales, p. 109 (1860).

* The names thus marked are those of former occupiers.

d. The five parcels of land in Erianus aforesaid called Yr Erwie (*William ap Hugh).

e. The parcel of land called Glabwith (*John ap Owen ap Richard), and the parcel of land, etc., called the Erowie, near the King's highway from Dakla.

f. The Close called Dakla (*John Owen).

g. The Close called Glabwith (*John ap Owen ap Richard).

h. The Close called Gwelie (*John ap Owen ap Richard).

l. The Close called Kay Tyr Twitiz Bowynne in Erianus aforesaid (*Glyn Peake).

All which last (*a.-l.*) are mentioned to have been of the yearly rent or value of £3, and all and singular which premises are above mentioned "to be parcel or the possessions of the Principality of North Wales," TO HAVE, HOLD, AND ENJOY the aforesaid messuages, etc. (except before excepted), unto the said Richard Owen, his heirs, etc., and to be holden of the King, his heirs, and successors, as of his Principality of Wales, in free and common soccage, and not in chief, nor by knight's service, without any rent thereof to be rendered to the King, etc., during the residue of the aforesaid term of 99 years; and, after the expiration of the same term, Rendering yearly to the King, his heirs, etc., for the aforesaid vill of Penlassock, ferry boats, etc., and premises in Erianus, etc., for the three yearly rents of £8, £8, and £6, being double the ancient rents, amounting in all to £22, to be paid at Michaelmas and Lady Day, paying in addition from thenceforth all customs, etc., due to the King and his heirs, and, if forty days in arrear in respect of each or any of these three rents, it is lawful for the King and his successors to distrain upon the premises in question, and to retain the distress, until fully paid, and, if a month elapses after the forty days, Richard Owen and his heirs shall pay a fine of £5 as a penalty in respect of each such rent and beyond each such rent, for every month, and further the King wills and acquits Richard Owen, his heirs, and the aforesaid vill, land, etc., rents from all manner of corrodies, rents, fees, services, etc., except rents, etc., reserved in the Indenture, and except penalties, arrearages, etc., wherefore the King commands his Treasurer, Chancellor, and Barons of the Exchequer, of him, his heirs, etc., that the Auditor, Receivers, etc., on the sole showing of these letters, or an enrolment, shall fully discharge Richard Owen, etc., from all manner of corrodies, etc., the aforesaid rents, penalties, and arrearages excepted, and without any confirmation, notwithstanding the misnaming or non-naming, mis-reciting or non-reciting, or any defaults in misnaming, etc., of any of the aforesaid presents, and notwithstanding the improvement in value, and the statutes passed by Parliament in 18 Henry VI. and 1 Henry IV., or any estate tail made by the King, his progenitors, etc., or any indenture or annexation by the King's late father, or other Kings, or Queens, of England, and, further, the King wills that, if the aforesaid Richard Owen shall not cause these letters patent to be enrolled before the Auditor of the County of Carnarvon within six months after the date of these presents, then the said Richard Owen shall pay a penalty of £5.

LIST OF INDENTURES RECITED, AND GRANTEES THEREUNDER.

7 July. 7 Elizabeth (1565). To Anthony Weldon, Clerk Controller of the Household.

7 Feb. 24 Elizabeth (1582). To David ap Rees ap Richard, Richard ap David, and William ap David ap Rees.

7 Feb. 24 Elizabeth (1582). To Mavenwy (daughter of Robert John Williams) and Mary Stodard.

12 Oct. 32 Elizabeth (1590). To William Payne, Groom of the Chamber.

10 Jan. 14 James I. (1617). To Sir Francis Bacon, Kt., Sir John Dackombe, Kt., Thomas Murray, Esq., Sir James Fullerton, Kt., John Walker, Esq., and Thomas Trevor, Esq.

* The names thus marked are those of former occupiers.

30 Jan. 20 James I. (1622). To Ellis Wynne, Esq. (on nomination of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln).

10 Dec. 22 James I. (1624). To "John Mostyn and William Hookes Esquires, at the nomination and appointment of the Rev. Father in Christ, John, Bishop of Lincoln, late Keeper of the Great Seal of England."

16 May. 3 Charles I. (1627). To Richard Okeley of Westminster in the County of Middlesex, Esq., and John Williams of Bugden, in the County of Huntingdon, Gent.

APPENDIX V.

A COPY OF PART OF THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF THE LATE LEWES OWEN, ESQ., DECEASED.

I give and bequeath unto the aforesaid Hugh Williams and Henry Jones, and to there heirs for ever, Jointly all my Rectory of Conway, and right of patronage to the Vicar of Conway, and all my Tythes in Conway & Glethaieth, with their appurtenance, in the County of Carnarvon, to the uses following (that is to say) that they the said Hugh Williams and Henry Jones and their heirs shall let and sett the Rectory Tythes and Premises last mentioned to the utmost value, which shall be yearly for ever laid out and bestowed in Woollen and Linnen Cloaths, to be cutt out into gowns shirts and smocks, with stockings & shoes, and the same to be given every Allhollan day yearly for ever unto poor men and women dwelling in the Town of Conway, and in the three parishes in the Comott of Crythin, viz't each of them a gown, a shirt, or a smock, a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings to the value of twenty shillings, or thereabouts, at the discretion of the said Hugh Williams, Henry Jones, and Robert Salsbury and their heirs, and of ye Vicars and Churchwardens of the four several parishes of Conway, Eglerosse, Llangwstenin, and Llandidno, there for the time being, each poor man or woman being three score years old at the least, Except they be starke blind, and they or any four of them to certify under their hands before the feast of Christmas in every year unto the Bishops of the Diocese where the said tithes lie that they have performed this my bequest according to the true intent of my will. And I further will that those persons who shall by force of this my will enjoy my lands in Eglecrosse and Llynsteninge, shall for ever pay to the poor of the said Two Parishes Twelve pence a piece weekly in Bread, as they have always by me received the same; Le. Owen. Signed sealed and published by the said Lewes Owen as his last will & Testament 4th day of Sept. 1623, in the presence of Toby Mathew, Rice Lane, ser's.

APPENDIX VI.

REFERENCES TO THE FERRY AT CONWAY. (See Pages 246-50).

CLOSE ROLLS.

18 Edward I., or II., m. 1. Ferry over the water there for which the tenants there pay to the King eight marks yearly "and for repairing the boat thereof."

8 Edward II., m, 7. Order to expend £100 in repairing the King's Quay of Conewey.

19 Edward II., m. 29. Order to spend 100 marks in repairing the Quay at Conway. If that sum is not sufficient, the Chamberlain is to cause the burgesses to repair what remains of the Quay at their own cost.

18 Richard II., m. 35d. Matthew Swetenham gave to Sir John Notyngham and others all his estate in London and certain places in Cheshire, with a ferry in Conweye in Wales.

PATENT ROLLS.

1 Edward II., pt. 2, m. 27. Grant to Henry Farndon of the Ferry of Aberconewey.

2 Edward II., pt. 1, m. 20. Safe conduct for the master of the King's ship called the *Cog*, of St. Mary of Coneweye, etc.

4 Edward II., pt. 2, m. 7. The [Mayor] Bailiffs, good men and commonalty of Conway, are to provide one ship for the King's service against Robert de Brus, etc.

1 Edward III. "in 2, p. 3" (bargia nostre passagii). The Custody of the King's ferry there with all its profits granted by the King to Richard le Gayt for life, Jan. 18th.

19 Edward III., p. 1, m. 7. The custody of the same granted to Henry Farndon (?) for life.

Patent Roll (?) p. 2, m. 27. Custody of the Ferry over the water of Coneway and Gannock granted to Phillip de Preston.

4 Edward III., p. 2, m. 17. Appointment of a keeper of the ferry over the river between Conewey and Gannok.

7 Elizabeth, p. 10. Lease to Anthony Weldon, ferry boats at Conway, etc.

32 Elizabeth, p. 20. Lease to William Payne of the Ferry Boat at Conwey and Cavan Gronant of the Principality of North Wales, Rent £4.

34 Elizabeth, p. 11. Peter Cawston, lease of a water-mill at Treffrewe and the fishery of the river Conway in Nant Conway.

4 James I., p. 9. Lease to Sir Thomas Lake for 40 years, in reversion of a water-mill at Treffrewe, meadow and the fishery of the water of Conway in the commote of Nanconway ; possessions of the Principality of North Wales.

3 Charles I., p. 37. For Richard Owen, ferry boats at Conway, etc. possessions of Principality, to hold in socage, at rents.

Chapter House, County Bags. Wales.

Box 143, B. No. 3.

Conway. Particulars of the expenses of building a ship and boat there by the Prince's directions (No date).

APPENDIX VII.

THE ORIGINAL CHARTER GRANTED TO THE ABBEY OF ABERCONWAY, BY LLYWELYN AP IORWERTH, PRINCE OF N. WALES.

(From Dugdale's Monasticon).

ABERCONWEYENSIS ABBATIA IN AGRO CARNARVONENSI. FUNDATA ANNO MCXCVIII.

Notum sit omnibus sanctae matris ecclesiæ filiis, tam presentibus, quam futuris, quod ego Lewelinus Gervassi filius totius Northwalliæ Princeps, intuitu divine pietatis, pro salute animæ meæ & animarum omnium antecessorum & haeredum ac successorum meorum dedi & concessi, atque presenti Carta mea confirmavi pro me et haeredibus ac successoribus meis, in puram & perpetuam eleemosinam imperpetuum Deo & Sanctae Mariae & monachis de Aberconwey, sub regulari habitu Deo servituris, locum ipsum in quo idem monasterium fundatum est, per hos scilicet terminos. Ascendendo de flumine Conwy usque ad Abergeffyn, deinde totum fluvium Geffeyn usque ad quoddam claud juxta Gweridros, hinc divertendo ad dextram per illud claud lapidibus signatum usque ad rivulum Perhey, hinc ascendendo per illum rivulum usque ad quoddam claud juxta Coetmaur, hinc per illud claud usque ad quandam rupem prope hinc per altitudinem collium petrosarum usque ad os Christiani, hinc descendendo usque ad mare & deinde per flumen Conwy, usque ad Abergeffyn. Dedi eciam et concessi atque confirmavi eisdem Monachis has terras apud Creudyn, per hos videlicet terminos. Ascendendo de Conwy usque ad quendam fonticulum existentem in extrema parte terræ arabilis monachorum apud Hemiron ; Hinc per superiorem partem terrae ab eisdem

cultæ usque ad lapides grandes existentes in Erw-voruran, inde usque ad communem viam, hinc per ductum viae usque ad claud supra Erwedus, hinc usque ad caput Carrec-Wyber, hinc per superiorem partem Ryuoryn, et terræ arabilis Monachorum usque ad extremam partem Gwernegof, hinc per alveum desubtus Gwernegof usque ad terram Crocuryn; hinc per lapides in termino constitutos usque ad rivulum juxta Eglwys-Ros, hinc per ductum rivuli usque ad alveum qui est in extrema parte prati monachorum subtus Crocuryn, hinc per ductum alvei usque ad decensum rivuli qui est inter Bodesgallen & Brongoch, & descendit in dictum alveum. Hinc usque ad fontem quendam, hinc per rupem proximam desuper pendentem usque ad lapidem quem vocant quadratum, hinc usque ad rupem in qua est fovea, hinc usque ad Carrecereu, hinc usque ad secundam rupem ultra Carrecwalth, hinc per superiorem partem terræ cultae monachorum usque ad claud inter Trefwarth & Callauwerth, & sic per ductum illius claud usque ad paludem subtus, hinc per extremam partem terræ arabilis monachorum usque ad nemus Eardur filii Kendelu, hinc per claud usque ad caput illius claud. Inde per ripam paludis inter terram arabilem & paludem usque ad Argaevelin, hinc per ductum aquæ usque ad Conwy. Concessi eciam eisdem monachis totam aquam Conwy & ejusdem aquae transitum atque piscariam de Abergeffyn usque Aberconwy. Concessi insuper & confirmavi eisdem monachis Frywlwyd per hos scilicet terminos. Ascendendo de mari per medium cujusdam fossae in terminum factae usque ad fluvium Karroc, hinc per medium Karroc usque ad rivulum Chwilogen, hinc per medium Chwilogen usque Blaen-chwilogen, hinc ascendendo per paludem usque Pwllberwr, hinc per alveum paludis usque Gwernebleideu, hinc per medium Gwernebleideu usque Wennbanc, hinc per medium Wennbanc descendendo per quendam rivulum fluentem per quendam valliculum usque ad fluvium Dwynech, & sic descendendo totam aquam Dwyuech & molendinum atque piscariam totaliter & integre usque ad fluvium Dwyuaur, deinde per medium aquae Dwyuaur, cum medietate piscarie, usque ad mare, & abhinc per litus usque ad fossam supradictam.

Concessi eciam & confirmavi eisdem monachis Kwin per hos videlicet terminos. Ascendendo de Hensarngwin juxta Pentyrch per quendam alveum usque ad fluvium Keiloc. Hinc per medium Keiloc usque ad quendam rivum fluentem de Sichnanc, hinc per illum rivum usque ad claud-seri, hinc descendendo per aquam fluentem de claud-seri usque Blaen rivi Efelanc, hinc per medium rivi Efelauc usque Rytefelauc. Hinc ascendendo per quendam alveum usque Rytnerthvoessen, hinc per extremum alveum ultra Bryn-Brych & Enys-Las usque ad fluvium Karroc, & abhinc descendendo per quendam alveum usque Hensarngwin. Dedi eciam & confirmavi eisdem Redenocuelen, per hos videlicet terminos; ab illo loco quo fluvius Karroc fluit juxta quendam fontem existentem prope Llanwnda usque ad quendam alveum qui est inter Gefenys Vechan & Enys Keubren versus Gerthic, hinc divertendo ad dexteram per quendam alveum ultra Enys-Keubren usque Werndofyn, hinc per medium Werndofyn descendendo usque ad fluvium Gwyleyt, hinc per medium Gwyleit usque Aberkarroc juxta Morva-Duillen, & sic ascendendo per medium aquae Karroc versus Llanwnda usque ad dictum locum juxta praedictum fontem.

Concessi eciam & confirmavi eisdem Nankall per hos scilicet terminos. Ascendendo de Aberkall per fluvium Kall usque Brieth-du, hinc usque ad altitudinem Llwytmaur, hinc ad cacumen montis Llwytmaur usque Blaengwennyd Gwyneon. Hinc usque Blaen-Meyc, hinc descendendo per medium Meyc usque Dwyuech; & ab hinc per aquam Dwyuech usque Aber kall. Concessi insuper eisdem & confirmavi Kellhineoc, per hos scilicet terminos. Ascendendo de Meney per fluvium Braint usque Aber-Pwllewyrran, hinc per medium aquae Pwllewyrran usque Sarnigerd, hinc per quoddam claud lapidibus signatum usque ad quoddam stagnum juxta Trefarthen, hinc per medium illius stagni usque Clauderadwy, hinc per illud claud usque ad litus, hinc directe usque ad alveum Meney, & sic per medium aquae Meney usque Aber-Breint.

Concessi eciam & confirmavi eisdem molendinum de Talebont cum pertinentiis; aquam quoque & fossam de Sarny Velyn usque Carreg-Elgar, atque viam communem omni tempore de Kellhineoc usque ad molendinum praedictum sine impedimento cujuscunque. Dedi eciam & confirmavi eisdem Bodgedwyd, per hos videlicet terminos. Ascendendo de quadam parva insula existente in Llyn-coron per medium claudyago usque Carnedd-Yorwerth. Hinc divertendo versus Aberfraw per quoddam claud lapidibus signatum usque Wenn-wenn. Hinc per claud quoddam lapidibus signatum usque Murdynen-kefnerth. Hinc directe versus Henllys usque Korsenllys. Hinc divertendo ad dexteram per medium alvei usque Rytdu. Hinc per medium illius alvei usque Abergoner garanen, prout descendit in Korscallellyn. Hinc ascendendo per Gonergaranen juxta quoddam claud lapidibus signatum usque Wen-las. Hinc per medium Wen-las usque Wenn-vaur. Hinc ascendendo per alveum usque Fynnony-Meyirch. Hinc per quoddam claud lapidibus signatum usque ad latus Bodwrdyn. Hinc per ductum lapidum usque Cerric-poethion. Hinc per quoddam claud divertens versus Trefdraeth usque ad latus Trefdraeth. Hinc per medium alvei existentis in confinio Trefdraeth per medium Korsygirvran usque Pylleu-Haloc, & ab hinc per alveum usque ad prædictam insulam. Dedi eciam & confirmavi eisdem plateam de Lamnaes per terminos suos cum omnibus pertinentiis suis.

Concessi insuper & confirmavi eisdem monachis Voelas-Keirnauc & Llanveir-Ryt-castell per hos videlicet terminos. Ascendendo de Abergwrysganc per fluvium Gwrysganc usque ad quoddam latum vadum in Blaengwrysganc. Hinc per alveum usque Maenesartyr. Hinc usque Cerric-Llwynogod. Hinc usque Carnedrun. Hinc usque ad fontem subtus Moel-seissauc. Hinc usque ad summitatem Moel-seissauc. Hinc usque blaen gwenn eneas. Hinc descendendo per alveum usque Henrytbeli. Hinc per fluvium Kaletwyn usque Blaen Kaletwyn subtus Kors-garanen. Hinc directè ducta linea usque Esgynvaen-gwgan. Hinc usque Llyn-alwen. Hinc per medium Llyn-alwen & medium fluvii Alwen usque Rytgwynn. Hinc per Nant-heilynsets usque ad quandam valli-culam divertentem ad sinistram, & per illam valliculam ascendendo usque ad capud cujusdam alvei profundi subtus Brondengynllwyn. Hinc relinquendo Brondengyn-llwyn ad dexteram intra terminos monachorum per vallem usque blaen-Llaethauc. Hinc per medium Llaethauc usque ad fluvium Nuc. Hinc per medium Nuc usque ad fluvium Conwy & per medium aque Conwy usque ad Aber-gwriscanc.

Concessi etiam & confirmavi eisdem Llynkemer, per hos scilicet terminos ; ascendendo per Llynkemer per fluvium Alwen usque Aber Drywes. Hinc per medium aque Drywes usque Bonerelicbras. Hinc usque Nant Ringhylleyt. Hinc ad fluvium Breint & per medium Breint usque Llynkemer.

Concessi etiam & confirmavi eisdem Llethwed-krynllwyn per hos scilicet terminos, a Pwlle propinquiori Taldinas-Dindunant contra Alwen usque ad locum ubi rivulus descendit in Alwen de bwlchdinewyt. Inde contra eundem rivulum usque Bwlchdinewyt. Inde per discensum rivuli ex alia parte montis versus Kerricedrudeon usque ad Enyserheid. Hinc a superiori parte ejusdem Enys per paludem usque ad rivulem ulteriorem fluentem de quondam* fonte. Inde per longitudinem cujusdam valliculæ usque ad caput magnæ paludis versus orientem. Hinc per longitudinem illius paludis usque ad rivulum decurrentem de fonte ulteriori versus orientem ê regione Alwen, & ab eodem fonte usque ad claud inferius subtus viam. Inde per longitudinem illius claud ad Helicl wynen apud blaen-nant quod descendit versus Alwen. Inde usque ad Kerricllwydeon versus aquilonem in supercilio cujusdam collis. Hinc usque super blaen vallis qui descendit versus dinas dundunant. Hinc per ejusdam vallis longitudinem usque ad supradictum Pwlle juxta Tal ipsius dinas.

Concessi insuper & confirmavi eisdem monachis has terras apud Nanhoenem, scilicet gwascat onnos Bryngwynem, Hafat, Tandrec. Llyndu, Chwmygoret, Scubordynemreis. Hendrefwynein, Wernosdet, Pennant, Morgenen. Pennant crwnn cum Llem ex utraque parte Llem Chwmerth ex utráque parte Erth, Chwmdelif ex utraque parte delif, kemen trinemt, & gwryt, kei ex utraque parte Degymm, per videlicet terminos subscriptos. Ascendendo de Abercolwyn prout descendit in ferlas per medium Colwyn usque blaencolwyn prout descendit de bwlch chwmllem. Hinc per crepidinem rupium usque ad caput Wedduavaur. Hinc usque ad capud Grybgoch. Hinc usque ad capud Wregyssant. Hinc per altitudinem rupium usque ad sedem peris. Hinc usque ad capud Moel-berned. Hinc directe usque ad illum locum in quo fluvius Member incipit sicut torrens precipitanter descendere. Hinc per medium aque Member usque Eranongoch. Hinc ascendendo per illam aquam usque Lle-gat-Erych. Hinc usque ad altitudinem Cerric-eryylch. Hinc usque Lleth-edcar. Hinc usque bankarw. Hinc per cacumen rupium Bancaru usque bleau-teyrw. Hinc per fluvium Teyru usque ad petram quæ descendit in Teyru juxta Ryt Teyru superiorem. Hinc per parvos colles petrosos a latere Gerrynt usque Llethwedgwelvau. Hinc ducta linea indirecte usque ad monticulum qui in similitudinem castelli apparet a dextera parte Llethwedgwellvau. Hinc per altitudinem usque ad capud carrecereryr. Hinc per summitatem rupium usque ad Gorssed Ressygynt prout pendet desuper vallem. Hinc divertendo versus Llyndinas per Longitudinem cujusdam brachii petrosi desuper vallem apparentis usque ad capud claud mein. Hinc per medium illius claud usque ad fluvium ferlas, & deinde per medium ferlas usque ad Abercolwyn prout descendit in Llynekemer.

Dedi eciam & confirmavi eisdem monachis Arden & Derlas, per hos scilicet terminos : ascendendo de Aberpwlledarlas per medium aque usque ad stagnum Cawlwyd. Hinc per medium illius stagni usque ad paludem quæ est supra capud stagni & per illam directe paludem usque ad Vygynforthant. Hinc per altitudinem rupium usque ad capud Llithretewrath. Hinc per altitudinem illius montis versus occidentem usque Bwlcherylvarthant. Hinc descendendo per illam vallem, & per illum rivulum descendentem per illam vallem qui dicitur frwt-du qui est directe subtus Carrecgwennolyod & descendit in fluvium Eygyen & per fluvium Eygyen usque ad stagnum Eygyen & per illud stagnum & per fluvium descendentem de stagno usque ad flumen Conwy & per medium Conwy usque ad Aberpwlledarlas.

Concessi insuper eisdem monachis quod liberi sint imperpetuum & quieti ab omnibus pastibus & poturis hominum equorum, canum, & avium & non compellantur ad pascendum

* "Quondam" should probably be "quodam."

me aut ministros meos aut alios quoscunque seculares sub obtentu consuetudinis, & quod circa electiones despositiones seu resignationes abbatum tempore vacationis aut alio tempore ego nullatenus intromittam, seu ministri mei aut alii seculares minime intromittant ; set omnia in dicto monasterio facienda per religiosos ordinentur regulariter & tractentur.

Concessi eciam eisdem ut uti & gaudere possint naufragio in omnibus terris suis & litoribus meliori modo quo in terris meis ego utor, videlicet quecumq : bona seu res per submersionem aut fractionem seu per aliud infortunium ad terras suas seu ad litora terris suis conjuncta de mari evenerint, ipsa bona totaliter & integre sint ipsorum monachorum similiter si naves aut scaphæ aut bona ipsorum monachorum infra dominium meum per procellam maris aut naufragium aut per aliud infortunium fracta aut submersa fuerint, ipsa vasa & bona sint ipsorum monachorum.

Concessi eciam eisdem monachis quod ipsi & omnes servientes sui cum omnibus bonis suis quieti sint ab omni theoloneo, passagio, paagio, & pontagio in omnibus terris meis. Et quod ipsi & omnes servientes sui ac omnia bona sua libere sine quocunque precio paratum transitum habeant per Meney, Conwy, Abermaw & Dyui, & in omnibus passagiis per omnem potestatem meam non obstante quacunque lege aut consuetudine.

Concessi eciam eisdem quod si animalia sua aut alia quæcumque bona furata rapta seu ablata vel ad tempus perdita fuerint, tam cito iidem monachi illa bona probaverint esse sua ipsis sine dilatione pacifice liberentur. Similiter prohibeo ne aliqua persona secularis aut religiosa de dominio meo preter dictos monachos utatur illo signeo ferreo quo ipsi signare solent animalia sua & jumenta, & si animalia quarumcumque inventa fuerint signo ipso signata ipsi monachis liberentur.

Concessi insuper eisdem monachis imperpetuum quod pro quacumque causa dicto aut facto seu forisfacto in curiis meis aut in quacunque curia laicali nullatenus judicentur amercientur seu puniantur, set in capitulis suis secundum ordinem suum corrigantur.

Concessi etiam eisdem monachis ut nullus hominum extorqueat ab eis vicinitatem aut partem de pasturis silvis aut molendinis suis, set ipsi monachi contra omnes custodiant & possideant fines & terminos suos in hac carta contentos, & intra eosdem terminos araturas, ædificia, culturas, & alios quoscumque labores pro libito suo faciant sine contradictione cujuscumque.

Concessi eciam eisdem monachis quod nullus hominum possit super ipsos calumpniam seu actionem facere propter receptionem aliquarum personarum ad habitum suum cujuscunque conditionis sint, postquam ipsi recepti in dicto monasterio profiteantur ; set si qui tales personas ad religionem de seculo fugientes super aliquibus calumpniaverint, durante anno probationis, & non post professionem factam actionem suam ostendant.

Concessi etiam eisdem monachis ut si qui professorum dicti monasterii sine licentia & consensu abbatis sui pecuniam aut alia bona a creditoribus incaute mutuo acceperint aut secularibus fidejussionibus se immiscuerint, monasteriam prædictum pro talibus mutuis & fidejussionibus minime satisfaciat.

Concessi insuper eisdem quod licite possint super aquas currentes inter terras meas seu hominum meorum ex una parte & terras ipsorum ex altera levare & ædificare molendina, & etiam easdem aquas de canalibus suis ad terras suas vertere &declinarie sine impedimento cujuscumque. Concessi eciam eisdem quod licite possint recipere ad habitum suum & ad famulatum suum & servicia liberos meos spadarios & homines de advocatione mea, atque omnes primam tonsuram habentes cujuscunque conditionis extiterint, sine molestia & calumpnia cujuscunque. Et quia pium est ut omnibus, qui sæculi vanitates & mundanas divitias derelinquunt & ad regis regum obsequia voluntarie convertuntur, principum assint presidium & tutela, volo pro me & hæredibus ac successoribus meis quod iidem monachi tam præsentes quam futuri habeant & possideant omnes terras prædictas per limites & fines ac terminos prænominatos. In silvis & campis, cultis & incultis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, piscariis, stagnis, vivariis, aquis, molendinis, viis, semitis, moris, glebariis, lapidibus, metallis, avibus, omniumque avium nidis, litoribus, portubus, naufragiis, thesauris, omnibusque rebus tam super terras suas quam sub terris suis inventis, bene & in pace, libere quiete, integre, plenarie, honorifice, firmiter & inconcusse in liberam puram & perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum, solutas & liberas ab omni terreno servicio & exactione secularie.

Volo eciam ut iidem monachi tam præsentes quam futuri omnibus prædictis libertatibus quietanciis & aliis liberis consuetudinibus per omnes terras meas & per totum principitatum meum imperpetuum gaudeant & utantur ; Et prohibeo sub periculo indignationis meæ ut nullus hominum eisdem monachis aut servientibus suis contra hanc cartam meam prejudicium faciat aut gravamen. Quoniam ipsos & omnes res ac possessiones suas sub protectione mea suscepi. Et ut hæc mea donatio atque confirmatio imperpetuum firma & inconcussa permaneat, ne aliqua contentionis aut perturbationis occasio contra prædictos monachos possit imposterum suboriri, eam præsenti cartæ munimine & sigilli mei impressione roboravi.

Testibus hiis Yorwerthgam, gwynn filio Ednewein-ydon capellano meo, & Madoco filio Cadur. Dat. apud Aberconwy anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo, septimo idus Januarii, & principatus mei anno decimo.

TRANSLATION.

THE ABBEY OF ABERCONWY IN THE LAND OF CARNARVON, FOUNDED IN THE YEAR 1198.

Be it known to all the sons of Holy Mother Church, both present and future, that I, Llywelyn, son of Gervase, Prince of all North Wales, by the intention of divine piety, for the safety of my soul, and of the souls of all my predecessors and heirs and of my successors, have given and granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed, for me and my heirs and successors, in frank-almoigne for ever, to God and the Blessed Mary, and the Monks of Aberconwey, bound to serve God after the manner of regulars, this very place in which the same Monastery has been founded by these boundaries, (that is to say) Ascending from the River Conway to Abergyffin, from thence along the whole river Gyffin to a certain "claud" near Gweridros, hence turning to the right by that "claud" marked with stones, to the stream Perhey, hence ascending by that stream to a certain "claud" near Coetmaur, hence by that "claud" to a certain rock near, hence by the height of the rocky hills to the mouth of the Christiani, hence descending to the sea, and from thence by the river Conwy to Abergyffin. Also I have given and granted and confirmed to the same Monks, these lands at Creuddyn, by these bounds (that is to say): ascending from Conwy to a certain small spring, rising in the further part of the arable land of the Monks at Hemiron, hence by the upper part of the land tilled by the same, to the great stones existing in Erw-voruran, thence to the public road, hence by the course of the road to a "claud" above Erwedus, hence to the top of Carrec-Wyber, hence by the upper part of Ryvoryn and the Monks' arable land, to the furthest side of Gwernegof, hence by a channel under Gwernegof to the land of Crocuryn, hence by the stones set up on the boundary, to the rivulet next Eglwys Rhos, hence by the course of the stream to a water channel which is in the extreme part of the Monks meadow under Crocuryn, hence by the course of a water channel to the descent of a stream which is between Bodysgallen and Brongoch, and descends into the said water channel. Hence to a certain spring, hence by the nearest rock hanging overhead, to a stone which they call "squared," hence to a rock in which there is a cave, hence to Carrecereu, hence to the second rock beyond Carrecwalch, hence by the upper part of the Monks' cultivated land to a "claud" between Trefwarth and Callaurwerth, and so by the course of that "claud" to a Marsh of Iarddur, the son of Kenddelu, hence by a "claud" to the head of that "claud," thence by the bank of the Marsh between the arable land and the Marsh to Argaevelin, hence by the course of the water to Conwy. Also I have granted to the same Monks all the water of Conwy, and transit of the same water, and the fishery from Abergyffin unto Aberconwy. Moreover I have granted and confirmed to the same Monks Frywlwyd by these bounds (that is to say): ascending from the sea by the centre of a certain ditch made on the boundary to the River Karroc, hence through the centre of the Karroc to the stream Chwilogen, hence through the centre of Chwilogen to Blaen-chwilogen, hence ascending by a marsh to Pwllberwr, hence by the channel of a marsh to Gwern-y-bleiddiau, hence through the centre of Gwern-y-bleiddiau to Wennbanc, hence through the middle of Wennbanc, descending by a certain stream flowing, through a certain small valley, to the river Dwyuech, and so descending the whole water of Dwyuech, and the Mill and Fishery wholly and entirely to the river Dwyuaur, from thence through the centre of the water of Dwyuaur, with a moiety of the fishery, to the sea, and from thence by the shore to the ditch first mentioned.

Also I have granted and confirmed to the same Monks, Kwin (by these bounds that is to say): ascending from Hensarngwin next Pentyrch, by a certain water channel, to the river Keiloc, hence through the centre of Keiloc to a certain brook flowing from Sichnant, hence by that brook to the "claud-seri," hence descending by the water

flowing from the claud-seri to Blaen, of the brook Efelanc, hence by the middle of the brook Efelanc to Rytefalanc, hence ascending by a certain watercourse to Rytnerthvoessen, hence by the furthest channel beyond Bryn-brych and Enys-las, to the river Karroc, and from thence ascending by a certain channel to Hensarngwin. Also I have given and confirmed to the same Redenocuelen, by these bounds, namely from the place from which the River Karroc flows next a certain spring rising near Llanwnda, to a certain water channel which is between Gefenys-vechan and Enys-Keubren towards Gerthic, hence turning to the right by a certain water channel beyond Enys-Keubren to Werndofyn, hence through the centre of Werndofyn descending to the river Gwyleyt, hence through the centre of the river Gwyleyt, to Aberkarroc, next Morva-Dwillen, and so ascending through the centre of the water of Karroc towards Llanwnda, to the said place next the aforesaid spring. Also I have granted and confirmed to the same, Nankall, by these bounds, that is to say: ascending from Aberkall by the river Kall to Brieth-du, hence to the height of Llwytmaur, hence by the top of the mountain Llwytmaur to Blaengwennyd Gwyneon. Hence to Blaen-Meyc, hence descending through the centre of Meyc to Dwyuech; and from thence through the water Dwyuech to Aberkall. Moreover I have granted and confirmed to the same, Kellhineoc, by these bounds, that is to say: ascending from Meney by the river Breint to Aber-Pwllewyrran, hence through the centre of the water of Pwllewyrran to Sarnigerd, hence by a certain "claud" marked with stones, to a certain pool, next Trefarthen, hence through the centre of that pool to Clauderadwy, hence by that "claud" to the shore, hence straight to the water channel of Meney, and so through the centre of the water of Meney to Aber-Breint. Also I have granted and confirmed to the same, the mill of Talebont with the appurtenances; also the water and ditch of Sarn y Velen to Carreg Elgar, and the common way at every time from Kellhineoc to the aforesaid mill, without impediment of any one soever. Also I have given and confirmed to the same, Bodgedwyd by these bounds, namely: ascending from a certain small island, being in Llyn-coron, through the centre of the "claud" Yago to Carnedd Iorwerth. Hence turning towards Aberfraw, by a certain "claud," marked with stones, to Wenn-wenn, hence by a certain "claud" marked with stones to Murdynen-kefnerth. Hence straight towards Henllys to Korsenllys, hence turning to the right by the middle of the water-channel to Rytdu, hence through the centre of that water channel to Abergoner garanen, as it falls into Korscallellyn, hence ascending by Goner garanen, next a certain "claud," marked with stones, to Wenn-las, hence through the centre of Wenn-las to Wenn-vawr. Hence ascending by a water channel to Ffynnon-y-Meyirch. Hence by a certain "claud" marked with stones to the side of Bodwrdyn; hence by a course of stones to Cerric-poethion, hence by a certain "claud" turning towards Trefdraeth to the side of Trefdraeth. Hence through the centre of a water channel, rising in the confines of Trefdraeth, through the centre of Korsygirvran to Pylleu-Haloc, and from hence by a water channel to the aforesaid island. Also I have given and confirmed to the same, the place of Lamnaes, by its boundaries with all its appurtenances.

Also I have given and confirmed to the same Monks, Voelas-Keirnauc and Llanveir-Ryt-castell by these bounds (namely): ascending from Abergwrysgauc by the river Gwrysgauc up to a certain broad ford in Blaengwrysgauc. Hence by the channel unto Maenysartyr, hence to Cerrig-Llwynogod, hence to Carnedrun. Hence to the stream under Moel-seissauc, hence to the summit of Moel-seissauc. Hence to Blaen Gwenn Eneas. Hence descending by the channel to Henrytbeli, hence by the river Kaletwyn to Blaen-Kaletwyn under Kors-garanen. Hence directly by the line leading unto Esgynvaen-gwgann, hence to Llyn-alwen. Hence by the middle of Llyn-alwen and the middle of the river Alwen unto Rytgwynn. Hence by Nant-heilynsets unto a certain little valley turning to the left, and by that little valley ascending unto the head of a certain

deep channel under Brondengyn-llwyn. Hence leaving Brondengyn-llwyn to the right between the boundaries of the Monks by the valley unto Blaen-Llaethauc. Hence by the middle of Llaethauc unto the river Nuc. Hence by the middle of the Nuc to the river Conwy and by the middle of the water of Conwy unto Aber-gwriscauc.

I have also granted and confirmed to the same, Llynkemer by these boundaries (that is to say), ascending by Llynkemer by the river Alwen to Aber Drywes, hence by the middle of the water of Drywes, unto Bonerelic-bras, hence unto Nant Ringhylleyt. Hence to the river Breint and by the middle of Breint to Llynkemer. I have granted also and confirmed to the same. Llethwed-krynllwyn by these boundaries (that is to say) from Pwlle nearer Taldinas-Dindunant against Alwen, unto the place where the stream falls into the Alwen from Bwlchdinewyt, thence against the same stream to Bwlchdinewyt, thence by the fall of the stream on the other part of the mountain towards Cerrig-y-drudion up to Enyserheid. Hence from the upper part of the same Enys by the marsh unto the further stream flowing from a certain spring. From thence by the length of a certain little valley unto the head of the great marsh towards the east. Hence by the length of that marsh unto the stream running from the further spring towards the east over against Alwen and from the same spring, unto the "claud" below under the road. From thence by the length of the same "claud" to Helicl wynen at Blaen-nant, which descends towards the Alwen. From thence to Cerrigydrudion towards the south to the ridge of a certain hill. Hence unto the point over Blaen, the valley which descends towards Dinas Dundunant. Hence by the length of the same valley unto the above mentioned Pwlle near Tal of the same Dinas.

Moreover I have granted and confirmed to the same monks, those lands at Nanhoenem, that is to say Gwascat onnos Bryngwynnem, Hafat, Tandrec, Llyndu, Chwmygoret, Scubordynemreis, Hendrefwynein, Wernosdet, Pennant, Morgenen, Pennant crwnn, with Llem on each side Llem, Chwmerth on each side Erth, Chwmdelif on each side delif, kemen trinemt, and gwrit, kei on each side of Degymm, that is to say by the bounds underwritten. Ascending from Abercolwyn, as it descends into Ferlas, through the centre of the Colwyn to Blaen Colwyn, as it descends from Bwlch chwmllem. Hence by the brow of the rocks to the head of Weddvavaur. Hence to the head of Gribgoch, hence to the head Wregyssant. Hence by the height of the rocks to the seat of Peris. Hence to the head of Moel Berned. Hence straight to that place in which the river Member begins as a torrent to descend headlong, hence through the centre of the water of Member to Erauongoch. Hence ascending by that water to Llegat-Erych. Hence to the height of Cerric-ergylch, hence to Lleth-edcar, hence to Banakru, Hence by the ridge of the rocks of Bancaru to Bleau-teyrw. Hence by the river Teyrw to the rock, which descends to Teyrw next Ryt Teyrw, hence by the little stony hills at the side of Gerrynt to Llechwedd gwelvau. Hence leading by an indirect line to a hillock which appears like a castle, on the right side of Llechwedd gwelvau. Hence by the height to the head of carrecereryr [Hence by the summit of the rocks to top of Moel dienewyt, hence to Bylchen Ternyn], hence to the top of the rocks to Gorssed Ressygynt, as it hangs over the valley. Hence turning towards Llyndinas along a certain rocky arm, appearing over the valley to the head of the Claud mein. Hence through the centre of that "claud" to the river Ferlas, and from thence through the centre of the Ferlas to Abercolwyn as it descends into Llynekemer. Also I have given and confirmed unto the same monks Arden and Darlas, by these bounds (that is to say): ascending from Aberpwlledarlas, through the centre of the water to the lake Cawlyd. Hence through the centre of that lake to a marsh which is above the head of the lake, and straight through that marsh to Vygynforthant. Hence by the height of the rocks to the head of Llithretewrath. Hence by the height of that mountain, towards the west to Bwlcherylvarthant. Hence

descending by that valley, and by that stream descending through that valley, which is called Frwt-du, which is directly under Carrec-gwenolyod, and descends into the river Eigiau, and by the river Eigiau to the lake Eigiau, and by that lake and by the river descending from the lake to the river Conwy, and through the centre of the Conwy to Aber-pwlledarlas.

Moreover I have granted to the same monks that they may be free for ever and quit from all the feedings and drinkings of men, of horses, of dogs and of birds, and be not compelled by prevalence of custom to feed me, or my ministers, or other secular persons whomsoever, and that about the elections, depositions, or resignations, of the abbots at the time of vacancy, or at any other time, I will in no wise intromit myself nor may my ministers or other secular persons in the slightest degree intromit; but all things to be done in the said Monastery shall be regularly ordained and treated by the "religious." I have also granted unto them that they may use and enjoy any wreck in all their land and shores, in a better manner than I use in my lands (that is to say), whatsoever goods or things, by submersion or breaking, or by any other misfortune, shall come from the sea to their lands, or to the shore joined to their lands, these very goods, altogether and entirely, shall belong to the monks themselves; likewise, if ships or boats, or the goods of the same monks, within my lordship, by storm of the sea or shipwreck or by any other misfortune shall have been broken, or sunk, the same vessels and goods shall belong to the monks themselves.

I have granted also to the same monks that they and all their servants with all their goods be quit from all toll, passage, payage, and pontage in all my lands [and that they, and all their servants in their lands, may freely buy and sell animals, meat, drink and other goods whatsoever]. And likewise that they themselves and their servants, and all their goods may have ready passage, freely and without any price, by Meney, Conwy, Abermaw and Dyvi, and in all passages through all my dominion notwithstanding any law or custom whatsoever. And I have granted to the same, that of their animals, or other goods whatsoever, shall have been stolen, taken, or carried away, or for the time lost, so soon as the same monks shall prove the same goods to be theirs, without delay they shall be peacefully delivered to them. Likewise I prohibit any secular or religious person of my Lordship, except the said monks, from using that iron mark with which they themselves are accustomed to brand their animals and herds, and if the animals of any persons whatsoever, shall have been found branded with the mark itself, they shall be delivered to the monks. Moreover, I have granted to the same monks for ever, that for any cause whatsoever, word, or deed, or forfeiture, in my courts, or in any lay court whatsoever, they be in no wise judged, amerced, or punished, but in their chapters, according to their order they may be corrected.

Also I have granted to the same monks, that no man extort from them vicinage, or part of their pastures, woods, or mills, but that the monks themselves, against all men may guard and possess their limits and boundaries in this charter contained, and within the same boundaries at their pleasure may make without the contradiction of any one whomsoever, ploughing, buildings, arable fields and other labours whatsoever.

Also I have granted to the same monks, that no man may be able upon them to make challenge or action on account of the receiving to their habit of any persons of whatsoever condition they may be, after they who have been received into the said monastery have made profession, but if they shall have challenged on any matters, such persons fleeing from the world to religion, they may bring forward their action during the year of probation, and not after profession made. I have granted also to the same monks, that, if any of the professors of the said monastery, without the license or consent of his Abbot, shall incautiously have borrowed money

or other goods from creditors, or shall have interfered with secular suretyships, the monastery aforesaid shall in the least degree give satisfaction for such debts and suretyships. Moreover, I have granted to the same Monks that they may lawfully raise and build mills over the running waters, between the lands of me and of my men on the one part, and their lands on the other part, and also turn and divert the same waters from their own canals to their own lands without the impediment of anyone whomsoever.

I have granted also to the same Monks, that they may lawfully receive to their habit and to their attendance and service, my free esquires and the men of my patronage, and all men having the first tonsure, of whatsoever condition they shall have been, without the molestation and challenge of any person whomsoever. And because it is a sign of piety that all who relinquish the vanities and worldly riches of life, and voluntarily serve the service of the King of Kings, may have the protection and defence of princes, I will for me and my heirs and successors, that the same Monks, as well present as to come, may have and possess all the lands aforesaid, by the metes, limits and boundaries before mentioned, in woods and fields, cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, feedings, pastures, piscaries, pools, vivaries, waters, mills, ways, paths, moors, glebes, stones, metals, birds, and the nests of all birds, shores, ports, wrecks, treasures, and all things found as well upon their lands as under their lands, well and in peace, freely, quietly, entirely, fully, honourably and firmly, and unshaken, in frank-almoigne for ever, discharged, and free from all worldly service and secular exaction.

Also, I will that the same Monks, both present and future, may enjoy and use all the aforesaid immunities, quittances, and other free customs, throughout all my lands and all my principality for ever. And I prohibit, upon peril of my displeasure, any of my men from doing prejudice or hurt to the same Monks or their servants, against this my charter. Since I have taken them and all their things and possessions under my protection, and that this my donation and confirmation may remain for ever firm and unshaken, lest any occasion of contention or disturbance against the Monks aforesaid may hereafter arise, I have strengthened it by the protection of the present charter, and with the impression of my seal.

These being witnesses, Yorwerthgam, Gwynn son of Ednewein-ydon, my chaplain, and Madoc the son of Cadur.

Given at Aberconwy, in the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1198, the 7th of the Ides of January and in the tenth year of my Princeship.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE REGISTER AND CHRONICLE OF THE ABBEY OF ABERCONWAY.

After Charles Cadvan reigned in Britain, and after Cadvan, Cadwallon. But in the time of Cadwallon, there were such scarcity and pestilences, and so great hunger was prevalent that the great people, mutually embracing one another, plunged into the waters ; And it was told him by word of mouth by an angel that his son would expel him from the kingdom, and that he was to die at Rome, and that he ought to be reckoned in the company of the Saints. The king, moreover, asked him the cause of so great an evil in his kingdom, and in reply to him the angel said in reply :—The negligence of the Clergy ; the plundering of the powerful ; the greediness of the Judges ; deplorable luxury ; rashness in swearing ; the inordinate hankering after vestments.

After Cadwallon, reigned his son Cadwaladr. This Cadwaladr, surnamed The Blessed, reigned a short time, but, both on account of an epidemic which almost decimated his people, and also on account of sundry persecutions which he continually endured at the hands of the barbarous Saxons, relinquished his kingdom. He sought Lesser Britain, and there, after an interval of time, he collected a great army, in order that he might return and expel the foreign nations from his kingdom. And it was announced to him by the angel that he should retire from his own kingdom. For God was unwilling that the Britons should rule in the island of Britain any longer, before the time had come which Merlin had prophesied to Arthur. He advised him also to go to Rome, to the Pope Sergius, and there, after having performed penance, to be reckoned among the blessed. He said also that the people of Britain, as a reward for his faith, should, in the future, gain possession of the whole island. Then Cadwaladr, laying aside all earthly things, on account of his trust in God, came to Rome, and was there confirmed by the Pope Sergius, was corrected in deepest sorrow, and, on the 10th of April, in the year of Our Lord 689, was freed from contact with the flesh. For the Cambrian bards firmly held this belief, that, when the bones of Cadwaladr should be raised on the earth, the Britons should be restored, according to the promise of the angel, to their former dominion which they held.

After Cadwaladr the remnant of the Britons lost their name and kingdom. They are not now called Britons, but Welsh. They endured such disquietude at the hands of the barbarous Saxons, that they could not resist them any longer, and thus, owing to their weakness, sought out Cambria (now Wales), and there during many generations were ruled by Princes of their own race, for all were ruled by one Prince only up to the time of Rhodri Fawr (Roderick the Great). This Roderick the Great in his time ruled the whole of Wales, and after his death his three sons, namely, Mervyn, Anarawd, and Cadell, divided among them the whole of Wales into three parts—Mervyn, the principality of Gwynedd (*i.e.*, North Wales); Anarawd, the principality of Powis; Cadell, the principality of Henparth (*i.e.*, South Wales); each one of these with their posterity ruled his own part as Prince for many years.

And after many years had elapsed, these two parts, namely, Powis and South Wales, lost the name of their Prince and of their Principality.

But the Prince of North Wales reassumed the entire name of the whole Principality of Wales, in which he and his posterity gloried down to the time of Llywelyn ap Griffith ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Droyndon, after whose death they had thus far no Prince of his race, as will be clearly shown by what follows. In the year of Our Lord 1170, Owen ap Griffith, Prince of Powis, lord of Cyveiliog, founded the Monastery of Strata Marcella, of the Cistercian Order, in which he himself also now lies buried near the high altar, on the northern side, and this is his epitaph:—

"Here alas lies the Greater Owen, the Founder of the Church,
a terror to its enemies, whom Griffith himself begat."

In the same year, Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 29th of December, stricken by the sword at the altar, departed to the Lord.

In the year of the reign of King Henry the Second, after the Conquest of England, these verses thus declare—

"In the year 1170, Thomas was the first
To fall by the sword of the English."

In the year of Our Lord 1186, on the 24th of July, the Monastery of Aberconway, of the Cistercian Order, was founded in the Diocese of Bangor, when Henry, the son of the Empress Matilda, was ruling as Lord over England in the 32nd year* of his reign.

* The text is evidently corrupt here.

Be it known to all sons of Holy Mother Church, both present and future, that I, [Llywelyn ap]* Cynan, Prince of North Wales, in consideration of divine piety, for the salvation of my soul and those of my predecessors, gave and granted in Frank-Almoigne to God, to the Blessed Mary, and to the Monks of Aberconway serving God under the Cistercian Order, Kellinioc with all its appurtenances, Rudgaer with all its bounds, Stawenan with its bounds and all its appurtenances, and the mill of Talebont. And I wish that the same Monks, both present and future, may possess in Frank-Almoigne all the above-named lands with all that appertains to them, prosperously and quietly, in freedom, peace and plenty, wholly and honourably, in copse and in cultivated ground, in meadows and pastures, in waters and mills, with all the usual liberties, and free from every Servage on the land and secular Exactions. But in order that this gift and concession of mine may remain for ever on a sure footing, I have strengthened it by the protection of my writing in person, and by an impression of my seal. These are the witnesses: Owen ap Ednywan, Teg ap Robert, Cadwen son of Iorwerth, Howel the son of Idris, and many others. Given at Porthaethwy in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 11... in the month of June.

After Griffith ap Cynan, Owen Gwynedd ap Griffith, his son, ruled the Principality of North Wales. Then David ap Owen ap Griffith.†

In Insula de Anglesia Cowrnoylis	xiij*li.* ij*s.*
Item Bobgedwid	xij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*
Kellyuiok	x*li.* xvj*s.* viij*d.*
Penmynyd	iiij*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item Molendinum aquaticum in Manerio de Cowrnylis	x*s.*
Item unum ten' iuxta Bellum Moriscum	v*s.*
Item y kae mawr...	xl*s.*
Item Nan'hoynayn	xxj*li.* xviij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item Come	vl*i.*
Item Naukall	xl*s.*
Item Redinoc velyn	xxvj*s.* viij*d.*
Item Arthe mynethe	xiij*li.*
Item Maynan	ix*li.*
Item Creuthyn	xxxiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item ten' in Bangor	vj*s.* viij*d.*
Item in Cestr'	vj*s.* viij*d.*
Item ten' in Conway.	
Item Molendinum ventriticum.	
Item al' Molendinum aquaticum juxta Monasterium.	
Item Ecclesia de Vagh	xij. marc.
Item Ecclesia Sancti Patricij	v. marc.
Item Ecclesia de Rose	x. marc.
Item Ecclesia de Conway	iij*li.*
Item Capella de y gyvichy	xl*s.*
In Comot. Mevenith	xx*li*
Item in Comot' Pennarth	xx*li.* xx*d.* exc'.
Item in Cu'wstwith	viij*li.*
Item in Blaen ayron	vj*li.*
Item in Havodwen	vj*li.*
Item in Ruhrniok	vl*i.*
Item in Nantvay	viij*li.*
Item in Comottewthur	vj*li,*
It' Aberdehonwy cum Ken	vj*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item Dywarthen	xxxiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item Morua Vichan	iiij*li,* xiij*s.*
Item Aber Mywl'	x*li.* iiij*d.*

* Here is an erasure. "Lewelinus ap" is in the margin of the MS., but of course some generations intervened between Llywelyn and Cynan.

† The MS. has Lewelinus, which is obviously incorrect; it evidently should be Gruffydd,

Item Ecclesia de llangirak	xx*li*.
Item Ecclesia de Pencarrek	x*li*.
Pennarth	xxviij troc'.
Mevenith	lxxxxij troc'.
Blaen Ayron	lxxxviij troc'.
Havodwen	CCxxxij troc'.
Hanhvniok	xlviij. troc'.
Morva Mawr	Clxxxxij troc'.
Morva Vychan	xij troc'.
Y dewarchen	quinque nobl'.
Commot' devddor	vj*li*.

In the year of our Lord 1190, in the reign of Richard, called Cœur de Lion, King of England, on the first day of January, that is, on the day of the Circumcision of Our Lord, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Droyndon suffocated and killed at Aber David ap Owen, his Prince, and thus took upon himself the whole of the Principality of North Wales, and he also added diverse possessions to the Abbot and Monks of the Monastery of Aberconway with their subscribed liberties. John, the son of Henry II., the illustrious King of England, which John indeed had been crowned as King of England in the year of our Lord 1199, at Westminster, led a large army into Wales against Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Droyndon, as far as Snowdon, where Llywelyn himself made peace with the aforesaid King of England, and, having paid homage to him, and having given hostages and many lands, together with 10,000 cattle, the King planted more castles there, and returned to England.

John, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, and Count of Anjou, to the Justiciaries, Sheriffs, and all his Bailiffs of England and Wales, and of all his land and of the harbours of the sea, greeting.

Know ye that we have taken under our hand and protection our Abbey of Aberconway and the Monks of the Cistercian Order, serving God there, and all their property and possessions. And on this account we decree that ye guard and maintain as our own that Abbey and the Monks serving in the same, and all their goods and possessions, and all things that appertain unto them, that no one may cause any annoyance or injury or trouble to them for anything. And that they may have secure peace, and be quit from toll and passage and paage and pontage, and every custom which appertains to us throughout our whole land and have such quittance concerning everything, which they themselves or their attendants and their servants can secure, to be their own, just as is the case with the other Monks of the Cistercian Order. And we prohibit anyone from daring to inflict veracio or any injury or trouble on them over and above our forfeiture* as the charter of King Henry our father reasonably testifies. Witness Peter de Pratellis, Engelranus de Pratellis, Peter de Stokys. Given by the hand of the Archdeacon of Wells at Mountford, on the first day of April in the third year of our reign.

In the year of our Lord 1206, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Droyndon, Prince of North Wales, took to wife the Lady Isabella, daughter of John, the illustrious King of England.

This Llywelyn was buried in the Monastery of Aberconway, of the Cistercian Order, in front of the high altar; and he gave to it extensive immunities and ample possessions.

In the year of our Lord 1230, Llywelyn, Prince of North Wales, harassed greatly the whole of Wales outside his boundaries, but he spared the churches. And Henry, King of England, marched against him with a great army and

* The Latin of this sentence is somewhat ambiguous.

strengthened the camp at Mand [Maud];* however, he left there many, both soldiers and servants, to guard it, and set on fire all the neighbouring districts that he could.

In the year of our Lord 1241, Henry III., King of England, entered by conquest the Marches, with his own army against David ap Llywelyn, but David retreated into the hinterland. And the King of England followed him with a great army towards Snowdon. And David, seeing this, submitted himself and all his possessions to the King of England, and gave up to him, as a hostage, Griffith ap Llywelyn his brother, whom the King imprisoned in London, but Griffith in a few days broke his neck in the Tower of London.

In the year of our Lord 1277, arose a war between Lord Edward, King of England (named, after the subdual of England, Longshanks), and the people of Wales. And in this war indeed the King took the island of Anglesey. And Llywelyn ap Griffith ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Droyndon, Prince of North Wales, at length humbly made peace with the King, and afterwards came to the Parliament of the said King at London, and did homage to the King, and held there a very great banquet [see Convivium].

In the year of our Lord 1278, Llywelyn ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales, in the presence of the Lord Edward, called Longshanks, King of England, and of his Queen, and moreover in the presence of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, and many other magnates of the Kingdom of England, took to wife Eleanor, the daughter of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and a cousin of the said King, at Worcester. In the same year also, in the summer-time, namely, on the feast of St. Peter, which is called "ad vincula," the statutes of Gloucester were made in the Castle of the same town.

In the year of our Lord 1279, an unexpected war arose in Wales. For David ap Griffith, brother of Llywelyn Prince of Wales, on the 22nd day of March,† which was Palm Sunday, took Roger Clifford and killed many besides, and besieged Flint Castle and Rhuddlan. This David was specially favoured by his Lord King Edward before this deed.

In the year of our Lord 1282, Lord Edward, Longshanks, King of England, led an army into Wales, and courageously conducted it against the besiegers of the camp of Flint, and for some time remained there himself with his men.

In the year of our Lord 1282, on the 11th of September, Llywelyn ap Griffith ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Droyndon, Prince of North Wales, through treachery, was captured by night and killed by Edmund Mortimer, and was beheaded near Builth. His head was sent to London, and fixed up above the Tower.‡ The Welsh were therefore terrified and troubled beyond measure at the death of the aforesaid Prince, and restored to the Lord Edward, King of England, all the Castles of North Wales, together with a small portion of the true Cross of Our Lord, but in Cambria called Croes Enych, with many other famous relics.

They gave up also the crown of the most famous Arthur, sometime King of Britain, and thus the glory of Wales, and of the Welsh, was given over to the kings and magnates of England.

* "Castrum Mand" is "Castrum Maud," another name for Painsworth, in S. Radnorshire. "Maud ubratium" is a clumsy attempt at extending "Mand."—Caesar B.C., v. 20.

† The real date was March 22nd, 1282.

‡ According to Walter de Hemingburgh, Historia Edward I. (Arch. Camb., January, 1911, p. 29), "Edward ordered the head [of Llywelyn ap Griffith] to be sent to London, carried through West-Chepe, with a silver Crown, and placed on a lance-head on the Tower, to be seen by all passers-by. . . . Thus was fulfilled the devil-prompted oracle on which Llywelyn had placed his hopes, which foretold that he should ride crowned, through the middle of West-Chepe, London. . . . What the devil did not fulfil in life, he supplemented in death."

In the following year, viz., in the year of our Lord 1283, David ap Griffith, brother of the same Prince Llywelyn, was taken prisoner, about the time of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and was led to Rhuddlan, where he was detained by a guard in prison, up to the Feast of the Blessed Michael the Archangel. And so from Rhuddlan he was led to Amoythie, *i e.*, Shrewsbury, and there, by the judgment of the Barons of England, he was dragged to the gallows by horses, secondly hanged, thirdly beheaded, because he despised the peace of the King, fourthly was disembowelled and his bowels burnt because he was the enemy of the Catholic Faith, and of the Church, and slayer of the Just, fifthly his body was divided into four parts and was suspended in the four divisions of the Kingdom of England, because he was a disturber of the peace of the Kingdom, sixthly his head was sent to London, and fixed above the Tower, alongside the head of his brother Llywelyn, in order that other traitors might be terrified by his example, and as a sign that the King is just, and the exterminator of traitors. This judgment was pronounced on the 4th of October, and on the same day fully carried out.* Moreover, Edward, called Longshanks, King of England, especially wishing to establish Wales, removed the Abbey of Aberconway of the Cistercian Order, founded near the entrance to Snowdon, and built a Castle and a Town there. But he gave to the Monks another site, namely, Maynan, and large contributions to the new buildings, and granted to them in perpetuity all the possessions which they had before and which they might be able to acquire, and granted unheard-of immunities to them and their successors.

In the same year also, the before-named King built the Castle at Carnarvon.

Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France, Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine, &c.

Know ye that, for the safety of our soul and for the souls of our ancestors, and of our heirs of the Kingdom of England, we have granted, on behalf of ourselves and of our heirs, to our beloved in Christ the Abbot and Convent of Maynan, the ancient Church of Aberconway, which they formerly had and held as conventual, to have and to hold from henceforth as parochial to themselves and their successors, for their own proper use, in perpetuity, with the tithes and offerings and other things appertaining to that Church, according to parochial law, on the condition that they may have for the same Church, by means of a vicarship and other suitable ministers of the Church, an honest Welsh chaplain, on account of the diversity of idioms.

Wherefore we wish and firmly decree, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, that the aforesaid Abbot and Convent and their successors may have and hold in perpetuity the aforesaid Church of Aberconway, which they before had and held as conventual, that they may from henceforth have and hold as much as is in us lies for their own use, as parochial, together with every right of patronage, for themselves and their successors, in Frank-Almoigne, together with all rights and possessions, and other things relating to the aforesaid parochial Church, under whatever description they are reckoned, both inside the walls and outside, together with all the tithings of all the land and sea on each side of the Conway, belonging to the aforesaid Church of Aberconway from olden times. On the condition that, etc.

These being the witnesses, the Venerable Father Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; etc.

Given at Carnarvon on the 16th day of July in the year of our reign.†

* Dafydd ap Owain Gwynedd was dispossessed by Llywelyn, but NOT killed by him. According to "Brut y Tywysogion," he died in exile in England in 1203. Other evidence shows that he was dead before May in that year. He left a son, Owain, who succeeded him as Lord of Halesowen, in Worcestershire.

† Here a page is missing in the MS.

Edward by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, to all whom these present letters reach, greeting.

Know ye that, when the Venerable Father Anian, Bishop of St. Asaph, on behalf of himself and his successors, shall have given and granted at our instance to our beloved in Christ the Abbot, Convent, and Monastery of Aberconway, and to their successors, which Monastery indeed is now situated at Maynan, the advowson of the Church of Eglwysfach, which belonged to the aforesaid Bishop, according as it is more fully set forth in the said writings of the Abbot and Convent. We, wishing to compensate the said Bishop for this gift, have given and granted to the same, the advowson of the Church of Rhuddlan, to be held by himself and his successors in perpetuity, free from any claim of us, or our heirs or successors whomsoever, conditionally that, if it shall happen that we or our heirs or our successors soever shall withdraw by any chance the advowson of the aforesaid Church of Rhuddlan from the Bishop himself or his successors, it is permitted the aforesaid Bishop and his successors to entirely revoke the advowson of the aforesaid Church of Eglwysfach from the aforesaid Abbot and Convent.

In witness of which we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

Myself as witness at Aberconway on the 10th day of October in the 12th year of our reign.

Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, etc.

Know ye that, as a recompense for a messuage and a portion of land in Penlassok, which Tudor ap Garwette has quietly given back into our possession, from himself and his heirs in perpetuity, and which we have bestowed in Frank-Almoigne on our beloved in Christ the Abbot and Convent of Aberconway, whose Monastery we founded at Maynan, we have given and granted to the aforesaid Tudor, ten solidata* of land with that which appertains to it in Creuddyn, to have and to hold for themselves and their heirs, from us and our heirs, in perpetuity, all due and customary services to be performed.

In witness of which thing, etc.

The Abbot and Convent were summoned (founded)† to answer before the Lord Prince of Wales on a plea by what warrant they claim to have sok and sak, thol and theam, infangenethef and utfangenethef,‡ hamsoken, grynthbruch, blodwyte, leirwyth, ffyttewyte, fferewyth, hongewith, fflemenfrith, and to be quit of murder, robbery, forstall, horedel, horest, within time and without, in all places, and in all causes, which are or can be, and from all amercements. And that they themselves, and all their men, may be free from all toll, passage, paage, pontage, scott, and gild, and from all aids of Kings, Sheriffs, and all their servants, and from hidage, carucage, danegeld, hornegeld and reliefs, scutages, tallages, lastages, stallages, shires, assizes, and assarts, from waste of woods, carrying timber, carrying arms, carrying treasures, chacea (hunting), establia, scotall of Kings, encroachment (purprestura), hundredpeny, wapentake, pleas and plaints, ward, wardepeny, and from works on castles, parks, bridges, and concerning inclosures, and from all carriages, summagies, arrears, passages, murages, building of the houses of the Princes, and from every kind of work, and from this that their woods may be taken for the aforesaid works or any other, or that their blades, or those of their men, may be taken for fortifying castles, and even that all their tenements, both in wood and plain, may be disafforested and outside all power of forest law.

And that the same Abbot and Monks, their men and their servants, are free and quit from every toll in every market and in all fairs, and in every pas-

* i.e. land which was worth 10s. a year, and also see Glossary.

† "Fundati" in text, "Summoniti" in Footnote.

‡ The spelling of these words varies in different passages.

sage of harbours and seas, and through every sovereignty of the sea, and through all lands, in which the Lord Edward, King of England, on the 23rd day of October, in the twelfth year of his reign, could give them freedom, and in all lands of the Lord Prince.

And that all their merchandise, and that of their men, may similarly, in the aforesaid places, be quit from every toll, and that the ships of the same Abbot and Monks may have a free passage through all the aforesaid sovereignty, and be free from every exaction and custom.

And that the same Abbot and Monks may be free and quit from all pastures and pontures of men, horses, dogs and birds, and may not be compelled to feed the Lord Prince himself, or his servants, or other lay persons whomsoever, except of their own free will, and that, with regard to elections, depositions, or resignation of Abbots, at the time of vacancy, or at any other time, neither the Prince, nor his Ministers, nor other lay persons, may intermeddle in anything, but that all things in the said Abbey may be regularly arranged and managed by the Monks.

And that the same Abbot and Monks may have all chattels of all their men forfeited for any offence or felony, and, in like manner, may have all amercements of all their men in any action against their Lord Prince, or his Ministers, in which they may have been amerced, for any cause soever or offence.

And that they shall have wreckage of the sea on all their lands, and on all the same shores adjacent to their lands, and all vessels and other goods endangered, broken, or submerged through a storm of the sea or other mishap, and that may have been found in their lands, and that they themselves, their men, and their servants, and all their goods, may have a passage provided free and without any cost whatever, through Menai, Conway, Abermaw, and the Dee, and in all passage through the whole Principality and sovereignty of the Lord Prince, any law or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that if their animals, or any other goods whatsoever, shall have been stolen, seized or removed, or lost for a time, so soon as the same Abbot and Monks shall have proved them to be their own, and if the animals of these shall have been found branded with the mark of the Abbot and Monks themselves, they shall be delivered up to the Monks themselves, and that, for any cause whatsoever, deed or word, or forfeiture in the Court of the Lord Prince, or in any secular Court soever, they themselves shall by no means be judged, punished, or amerced.

And that lawfully they may be able to raise and build mills over water running between lands of the Lord Prince, or of his men, on the one part, and lands of their own on the other part, and to turn and bend the same waters from their own canals to the land of the Abbot and Monks themselves.

And that they themselves may be freely able to receive into their rank, and into their service and household, the free esquires and feudatory tenants of the advowson of the Lord Prince, and all having the first tonsure, of whatever condition they may be, without molestation and challenge from anyone whomsoever.

And that no minister of the Lord Prince, for any cause whatsoever, shall enter the lands of the Abbot and Monks themselves, to perform any business in the same, and that no one . . . their goods or [servants].

[The next sentence—as a separate leaf—begins :]

To the Convent, whose Monastery the same King Edward, grandfather of the Lord Prince, founded at Maynan, in honour of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Mary, and of all saints, and for the salvation of his soul, and of the souls of all his predecessors and of his heirs, and gave in perpetuity the afore-

said township of Maynan, with all that appertains unto it, together with all its liberties, to have and to hold unto the aforesaid Abbot and his successors, and to his Church.

[The Latin of the following Charter is almost identical with the Latin in Appendix Xb.].

Edward, by the grace of God, to the Archbishops, etc., greeting.

We have inspected the charter of the Lord Edward, formerly King of England, our grandfather, into these words, Edward by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers, and all Bailiffs, and their lieges, whom the present letters have reached, greeting,

Know ye, that, in recompense for the site of the former Abbey of Aberconway, and of the adjacent lands, and of the Grange of Crethyn [*i.e.* Creuddyn], with the belongings of those things which appertain to the same Abbey, which the Abbot and Convent of the same place have surrendered into our hands, we have given and granted, and confirmed by this our Charter,—to the aforesaid Abbot and Convent of the Cistercian Order, whose Monastery henceforth we have founded anew at Maynan, in honour of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Mary, and of All Saints, for the salvation of our soul, and of the souls of all our predecessors, and heirs [*heredum*], or of other our successors,—the aforesaid township of Maynan, with its belongings, which together with certain other lands we formerly gave to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and his heirs, and which the same Earl himself henceforth has restored as a quiet possession into our hands on behalf of himself and his heirs. And also 117 solidata* and 8 denariata* of land, which Meredieck Grach and Gornonen his brother, and 15 solidata of land which Roger Borun, and 10 solidata of land which Tudor ap Carweit held, in the same township of Maynan, and which they have in a similar manner and quietly restored into our hands, to have and to hold to the aforesaid Abbot and Convent, and their successors, in the same Monastery, serving God and the Blessed Mary, with all their belongings in Frank-Almoigne.

We have granted also to the same Abbot and Convent, all reasonable gifts of lands, churches, men, and alms for them, by whomsoever collected, and, in future, to be collected or acquired. Wherefore we will and firmly decree, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, that the aforesaid Abbot and Monks, and their successors, may have and hold the township, lands, and aforesaid rents, with all immunities and free customs appertaining to them, as in woods, meadows, fattening fields, pastures, mills, marshes, fisheries, roads, waters, footpaths, and reed-beds, by the underwritten metes and bounds, viz., by ascending from Conway towards the mountains of Abercambwll, where the stream which is called Cynnogau descends into the river Conway. And by ascending by that river of Cynnogau up to the spring of Tangwre, and from that spring by a high road direct to Rytyllwydieirth, and thence by a small rivulet up to the river of Gwydenging, and so ascending by that river to the small rivulet which descends from Derwlwyn and thence up to Craflwyn Chwydwant, and so direct to Pwll in the middle of Gwenn Bennarwan, and thence as far as Pwll in the middle of Gwenn Bycheyn, and so to Arnon-yr-Heol, and from thence to the moor Kaekeirth ; thence up to Clawdd close by the houses of the smiths, then up to the head of Erw-y-ranallen, from thence up to the river Erethlyn, then up to Wenn Powys, and so along the side of Wenn Powys as far as Pwll-budyr, and thence to Nantiwrach, and thence by descending towards the moor which is called Gwenyco, and thence to the Bwlch-Coch, and thence up to the moor which is between Gwernnelanc and Garthgynanel, and then up to the water which is called Blaenllechan, and so by that water up to the long ford, thence to the moor

* See Glossary.

which is called Gwernvaenan, and so by a certain rivulet up to Pwll-y-don, up to Conway and the bed of the stream of the Conway to Abercambwll. And that they may have all reasonable gifts of lands, Churches, men, and alms, to those by whomsoever collected, and in future to be collected or acquired, rightly and peaceably, freely and quietly, wholly, fully, and honourably, with sok and sak, tol and team, infangenetheof and outfangenetheof, hamesok, gridbruigh, Bolwyk, ffythwyth, fferewyth, hengwith, leirwyth, fflemfrid, murder, robbery, fforstal, hordel, and horest, within time and without time, and in all places, and with all causes which are and can be. We grant also that the aforesaid Abbot and Monks shall be quit in perpetuity, from all amercements, and that they themselves and all their feudatory tenant, and tenants may be free both from all scot and geld, and from all aids of the King, of Sheriffs, and of all their ministers, and from hidage, carucage, danegeld, hornegeld, and scutages, tallages, lastages, stallages, shires, and assizes, and assarts, from waste of woods, from carrying of timber, from conveying arms, from conveying treasure from chases, stables, Scotals, from forfeiture of hundreds, from wapentakes, pleas and plants, ward and wardpeny, averpeny, hundredespeny, borthalpeny, Frithingpeny, of the works of castles, parks, bridges and of inclosures and all carriage, sumage, navage, passage, murage, and the building of kingly dwellings, and of every kind of work. And we forbid their woods being taken for the aforesaid works, or any other, and, in a similar manner, their corn, or the corn of their men, from being taken for the provisioning of castles. We grant also that all their holdings, both in wood and plain, may be disafforested and outside all the authority of foresters. We decree also, that the aforesaid Abbot and Monks, both their feudatory tenants, and their tenants, may be free and quit from all toll in every market, and in all fairs, and in every transit of bridges, roads, and of the sea, and through all our sovereignty, and all our lands, in which we can give them immunity, and that all their markets, and those of their own men, may in like manner, in the aforesaid places, be free from every toll. And that the vessels of the same Abbot and Monks, may have a passage through all our sovereignty, without any exaction and custom.

We grant also, and confirm to the same Abbot and Monks, that, if any of their men for their crime shall be compelled to lose his life, or limbs, or had fled, shall have been unwilling to stand his trial, or shall have done any wrong for which he ought to lose his chattels, the chattels themselves shall become the property of the aforesaid Abbot and Monks; in a similar way, if any of their men may be amerced against us, or our Bailiffs, for any cause soever, or wrong or forfeiture, the amercements shall be restored to the said Abbot and Monks, saving only to the Royal power judgment in cases of death and loss of limbs. All these aforesaid things, and all other quittances, liberties, and free customs, which are comprised in this writing, and more freely those things which can be referred to any religious house, we grant to the aforesaid Abbot and Monks, for the love of God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and for the salvation of our soul, and of that of our predecessors and heirs, in Frank-Almoigne, in perpetuity.

And we forbid, besides our forfeiture, anyone from making a forfeiture against the same Abbot and Monks, or their men, in contravention of this our charter, under a penalty of twenty pounds, because we have taken themselves, and all their goods, and possessions, and those of their men, under our safe-keeping and protection. And we forbid the Abbot himself, and the Monks, from being put in plea over any of their holdings, except in the presence of us, or of our heirs.

These being witnesses: the Venerable Father Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, our Chancellor, etc.

Given by our hand at Carnarvon, on the 23rd day of the month of October, in the 12th year of our reign.

We have inspected also the Charter of Llywelyn, the son of Gervase,

formerly Prince of North Wales, into these words. Be it known to all sons of Holy Mother Church, both present and future, that I, Llywelyn the son of Gervase, Prince of the whole of North Wales, in consideration of divine piety, for the salvation of my soul, and of all the souls of my predecessors, heirs, and successors, have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed, on behalf of myself and my heirs and successors, in Frank-almoigne, for ever, to God and the Holy Mary, and to the Monks of Aberconway, serving God in a regular manner, this very place, in which the same Monastery has been founded by these boundaries, etc.

I have granted, moreover, to the same Monks, that they may be free for ever, and undisturbed from all pasturages and waterings, of men, horses, dogs and birds, and that they be not compelled to feed me, or my ministers, and any other secular persons, under the pretext of a custom. And that about elections, depositions, or resignations of Abbots, at any time of vacancy, or at any other time, I will in no wise interfere, nor shall my ministers, nor other secular person, in any wise interfere, but all things, which are to be done in the said Monastery, shall be regularly ordered and arranged, by the "religious."

I have granted also to the same that they may be able to use and enjoy in the case of wreckage on all their lands and shores in a better way than how I enjoy wreckage in my lands, that is, that whatsoever goods, or things, may happen to have been thrown up from the sea on to their lands or the shores of their lands, either by submersion, or breaking, or any other accident, these very goods shall belong wholly and entirely to the Abbot and Monks themselves.

In a similar manner, if any ships, or boats, or goods of these very Monks be broken or submerged by a storm of the sea, or by shipwreck, or by any other misfortune, within my dominion, these very vessels and goods shall be the property of the Monks themselves.

I have granted also to the same Monks that they themselves and all their villeins in gross with all their goods, shall be free from every toll, passage, pavage, and pontage, in all my lands, and that they themselves, and all their villeins in gross shall be able, in their lands, freely to buy and sell animals, food, and drink, and all other goods whatsoever. And in a similar manner, both they themselves and their servants and all their goods, may have a passage prepared, freely and without any cost soever, through the Menai, and the Conway, and [Abermaw], and the Dee, and all passages, through all my sovereignty, any law or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

I have granted also to the same Monks, that no man may take by force from them any neighbouring portion, or any part of their pastures, woods, or mills; but that the Monks themselves, may guard and possess, against all, their territories and boundaries contained in this charter, and, within the same boundaries, they may make ploughings, buildings, mills, cultivated lands, and any other holdings whatsoever.

[The Latin of the above Register and Chronicle forms part of the Harleian MS., 3725].

APPENDIX IX.

TAXATIO ECCLESIASTICA OF POPE NICHOLAS IV., CIRCA 1291.

Bona Abbatis de Conewey.	£	s.	d.
Abbas habet Villam de Maurnant [Maenan] redditus cum molendinis* et perquisitis* cum duabis carrucis*	6	1	8

* See Glossary.

	£	s.	d.
Item Hirhadok et vaccariam de Trebedewe, tres carucas cum aliis commoditatibus	1	5	0
Item Grangiam de Karennok, Voylas, Demoequestu, Kenekennea, Lewis' et Kylwen, quinque carucas cum aliis commoditatibus	2	5	0
Item Herligaret et Lauwueiri et Henkesche duas carucas cum pastura	1	4	8

EXITUS ANIMALIUM.

Abbas habet centum et sex vaccas ; exitus	6	6	0
Item habet quinque centum et sexaginta oves ; exitus	8	5	0
Item habet quindecim equas ; exitus	0	15	0
Summa bonorum Abbatis de Conewey...	26	2	4
Summa decimæ	2	12	3

BONA TEMPORALIA ABBATIS DE CONEWEY, ASSAVENS. DIOC EXISTENTIA IN DIOCESI BANGORIENSI.

Abbas habet grangiam de Frithlwyd (Fryleyt) duas carucatas* terræ cum commoditatibus	1	0	0
Item habet grangiam de Cora (Corano) unam carucatam terræ cum commoditatibus	0	10	0
Item habet grangiam de Namal (Nancall) unam carucatam cum commoditatibus	0	10	0
Item habet grangiam de Reddenant [Bodnant] et Hauoclyv' [Havailyn] cum molendino fullonico* et aliis commoditatibus	1	0	8
Item habet Manerium de Coruoles [Corwylys] tres carucatas terræ, cum redditu et molendino* et aliis commoditatibus ...	15	10	0
Item habet grangiam de Keneloc [Kelliniok] septem carucatas terræ cum commoditatibus	12	0	0
Item habet grangiam de Bodgedewer [Bodgedwyadhes] tres carucatas terræ cum aliis commoditatibus...	1	10	0
Item abbas habet medietatem villæ de Pennenuz unam carucatam terræ cum redditu et molendino	4	10	0
Item habet grangiam de Herduw [Herdudwy] unam carucatam terræ cum Nanthlyn, cum commoditatibus...	0	15	0
Summa bonorum temporalium abbatis de Coneweye	37	6	8
Summa decimæ	3	14	8

APPENDIX Xa.

RESPECTING THE TRANSLATION OF THE ABBEY TO MAENAN.

Rex archiepiscopis, &c. salutem. Sciatis nos pro salute animæ nostræ & animarum antecessorum & hæredum nostrorum dedisse concessisse & hac carta nostra confirmasse dilectis nobis in Christo abbati & conventui de Aberconewey quorum situm transferri volumus usque Maynan, de assensu eorundem abbatis & conventus & coabbatum suorum ordinis Cisterciensis per quos locum illum fecimus visitari, quod totam ecclesiam de Aberconewey quam prius conventualem habuerunt & tenuerunt de cætero habeant & teneant quantum in nobis est in proprios usus parochialem cum omni jure patronatus & proprietatis sibi & successoribus suis, & in puram & perpetuam elemosinam cum omnibus juribus possessionibus & rebus aliis ad prædictam ecclesiam parochialem spectantibus quocunque nomine censeantur infra muros quam extra, cum omnibus decimationibus omnium terrarum & maris ex utraque parte de Conewey ad præfatam ecclesiam de Aberconewey spectantium ab antiquo. Ita tamen quod eidem ecclesiæ deservire faciant per duos capellanos anglicos & idoneos, &

* See Glossary.

honestos, quorum unus sit perpetuus vicarius in eadem, & per ipsos abbatem & conventum in singulis vocationibus ipsius vicariæ loci diocesano præsentetur, & per unum tertium capellanum Walensem honestum, propter idiomatis diversitatem. Quare volumus, &c. Dat. per manum nostram, apud Karnarvan, xvj. die Julii,

Et memorandum quod hæc carta irrotulatur in rotulo Walliæ de hoc anno.

APPENDIX Xb.

RESPECTING THE SAME.

Rex archiepiscopis, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod in recompensationem situs quondam abbacie de Aberconewey & terrarum adjacentium, & grangiæ de Creuthyn cum pertinentiis ad eandem abbaciam tunc spectantium, quas abbas & conventus loci ejusdem in manus nostras reddiderunt, dedimus & concessimus & hac carta nostra confirmavimus prædictis abbati & conventui ordinis Cisterciensis, quorum monasterium postmodum de novo apud Maynan in honore omnipotentis Dei, & beatæ Mariæ & omnium Sanctorum, pro salute animæ nostræ & animarum omnium antecessorum & hæredum seu aliorum nostrorum successorum fundavimus, prædictam villam de Maynan cum pertinentiis, quam una cum quibusdam aliis terris Henrico de Lacy comiti Lincolniæ & hæredibus suis & quam idem comes postmodum quietam de se & hæredibus suis in manus nostras reddidit. Et etiam centum decem & septem solidatas, & octo denaratas terræ quas Mereducus Grath, & Gorgonen frater ejus, & quindecim solidatas terræ quas Tuderius ab Karwet tenuerunt in eadem villa de Maynan & quas in manus nostras quiete similiter reddiderunt. Habendas & tenendas præfatis abbati & conventui & eorum successoribus in eodem monasterio Deo & beatæ Mariæ servituris, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, in liberam puram & perpetuam elemosinam inperpetuum. Concessimus eisdem abbati & conventui & confirmavimus omnes rationabiles donationes terrarum ecclesiarum hominum & elemosinarum eis a quibuscunque jam collatas & imposterum conferendas vel adquirendas. Quare volumus &c. quod prædicti abbas & monachi & eorum successores habeant & teneant villam terras & redditus prædictos cum omnibus libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus ad eos spectantibus ut in boscis pratis &c. per metas & bundas subscriptas; videlicet ascendendo de Conewey versus montes de Abercamwl; ubi descendit fluvius qui appellatur Cynnogan in flumine de Conewey; & sic ascendendo per illum fluvium de Cynnogan usque ad fontem de Tangwre; & de fonte illo per viam magnam directe usque ad Rytyllwydieirche; & exinde per rivulum parvum usque ad fluvium de Gwydenging; & sic ascendendo per illum fluvium usque ad rivulum parvum qui descendit de Dewlwyn & deinde usque Graflwyn-chwydauc; & sic directe usque Pwll in medio Gwenn-Benarwann; & deinde usque Pwll in medio Ywemud Bycheyn & sic usque Arnon yr Heol, deinde usque moram Ykaekeirth; deinde usque Clawd juxta domos fabrorum; deinde usque ad capud Erw Yranallen; exinde usque flumen Erethlin, deinde usque Gwen-Bowys; & sic juxta latus Gwen-Bowys usque Pwll-Budyr & exinde usque Nantiwrach; & deinde descendendo usque ad moram quæ dicitur Gwennyco; & deinde usque Y bwlch-coch, deinde usqus ad moram quæ est inter Gwernnelauc, & Garthgynannel; & iude usque ad aquam quæ appellatur Ballenllethauc, & sic per illam aquam usque longum vadum, deinde usque ad moram quæ appellatur Gwernnvaenan et sic per quendam rivulum usque Pwll-ydon et per aquam Pwllydon, usque Conewey; et sic per filum aque Conewey usque ad Aberycambwll. Et quod habeant omnes rationabiles donationes terrarum ecclesiarum hominum et elemosinarum eis a quibuscumque jam collatas et imposterum conferendas vel adquirendas bene & in pace libere, quiete, integre, plenarie, et honorifice, cum sok et sak, tol et theam, infangenethef, et utfangenethef, hamesock, gridbrich, bolwyk, fichwych, Ferwych, hengwych, leirwych, flemmefirid, murdro, latrocinio, forstal, hordel, & horest infra tempus & extra tempus, et in omnibus locis et cum omnibus causis quæ sunt et esse possunt.

Concessimus etiam quod prædicti abbas et monachi quieti sint imperpetuum de omnibus misericordiis, et quod ipsi et omnes homines sui liberi sint et ab omni scoto et geldo et omnibus auxiliis regum vice-comitum et omnium ministerialium eorum et de hidagio, carucagio, danegeld, hornegelde, et exercitibus, scutagiis, tallagiis, lestagiis, stallagiis, siris, et assises, et assartis, de vasto nemorum, de maeremio cariando, de armis portandis, de thesauro portando, de chaciis, estabiliis, scotallis Regalibus, de purprestura, hundredis, wapentachiis, placitis et querelis warda et wardepeny, averpeny, hundredespeny, hortnalpeny, trythingpeny, et de operibus castellorum parcorum pontium, et de clausuris et omni carragio summagio navagio passagio muragio et domuum regalium edificatione et omnimoda operatione. Et prohibemus ne bosci eorum ad prædicta opera vel ad aliqua alia capiantur et similiter ne blada illorum vel hominum suorum ad castella munienda capiantur.

Concedimus eciam quod omnia tenementa eorum tam in bosco quam in plano sint

deaforestata & extra omnem potestatem forestariorum, Præcipimus eciam quod prædicti abbas & monachi & homines sui liberi sint & quieti ab omni theolonio in omni foro & in omnibus mundinis & in omni transitu pontium viarum & maris per omnem potestatem nostram, & per omnes terras nostras in quibus eis libertatem dare possumus et omnia mercata sua et hominum suorum sint similiter in prædictis locis ab omni theolonio quieta ; et quod naves eorundem abbatis et monachorum liberum transitum per omnem potestatem nostram habeant absque omni exactione et consuetudine.

Concedimus eciam & confirmavimus eisdem abbati et monachis, quod si aliquis hominum suorum pro delicto suo vitam vel membra debeat amittere vel fugerit et judicio stare noluerit vel aliud delictum fecerit pro quo catalla sua debeat perdere, ipsa catalla sint prædictorum abbatis et monachorum. Similiter si aliquis hominum suorum sit amerciatus erga nos vel ballivos nostros pro quacumque causa vel delicto seu forisfacto amerciamenta prædicta dictis abbati et monachis reddantur, servata regiæ potestati justitia mortis et membrorum. Hæc omnia prædicta et omnes alias quietancias libertates et liberas consuetudines quæ in hoc scripto non comprehenduntur et liberiores alicui domui religiosæ conferri possunt, concedimus prædictis abbati et monachis pro Dei amore et gloriosæ virginis Mariæ et pro salute animae nostrae et omnium antecessorum et haeredum nostrorum in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum. Et prohibemus super forisfacturam nostram quod nullus eisdem abbati et monachis vel hominibus suis contra hanc cartam nostram forisfaciat sub paena viginti librarum, quia ipsos et omnes res et possessiones suas et hominum suorum in custodiam et protectionem nostram recepimus. Et prohibemus ne iidem abbas et omnachi ponantur in placitum de aliquo tenemento suo nisi coram nobismet ipsis vel haeredibus nostris. Hiis testibus venerabili patre Roberto Bathonensi et Wellensi episcopo cancellario nostro, etc. Dat. per manum nostram, Apud Kaernarvan xxiij die Octobris,

[No translation of the above has been thought necessary, as, with slight variations, it appears in the translation of the Register and Chronicle, p. 456].

APPENDIX Xc.

THE BULL OF POPE NICHOLAS FOR THE TRANSLATION OF THE ABBEY.

(From Steven's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon. Appendix 301),

Nicholaus Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbati & conventui Monasterii de Aberconewete in Wallia, Cestertiensis Ordinis, Bangorensis Diocesis, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem.

Ex parte carissimi in Christo filii nostri Edwardi Regis angliæ illustris, fuit propositum coram nobis, quod felicis recordationis Honorius Papa, Predecessor noster, ante consecrationem et Benedictionem suam intellecto, quod monasterium vestrum ob certas causas rationabiles, in loco, ubi tunc erat, non poterat commode remanere, Prefatus Predecessor, nondum benedictus et consecratus, ad devotam ipsius Regis supplicationis instantiam, transferendi prefatum monasterium de præmisso loco ad locum, in quo nunc situm esse dinoscitur, per litteras suas, bullatas bulla sua, quæ nomen suum nondum exprimebat, vobis concessit liberam facultatem ; sicque vos litterarum ipsarum auctoritate, sicut asseritis, de priori loco præfatum monasterium transtulistis.

Licet igitur quoad hujusmodi actum, seu gratiam, eædem litteræ, sic bullatæ, plenam, immo plenissimam in se habeant potestatem, maxime cum sedes Apostolica, ante consecrationem et benedictionem Electi in summum Pontificem, cum defectiva Bulla, Electi nomen nullatenus exprimente, bullare litteras suas consueverit ab antiquo :

Ut tamen de mentibus rudium error omnis totaliter evellatur, vestris et ipsius Regis devotis supplicationibus inclinati, quod per easdem litteras super hoc factum est ratum & firmum habentes, id prout tenemur, auctoritate apostolica approbamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus.

Nihilominus declarantes, seu decernentes hujusmodi translationem dicti monasterii eandem vim, eundemque vigorem habere, ac si per litteras dicti Predecessoris, integra bulla bullata, alias tamen legitime facta esset.

Nulli ergo &c.

Dat. Reatæ 12 Kalendas Septembris, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Sub filis sericis flavi rubeique coloris.

TRANSLATION.

Nicholas, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to the beloved sons of the Abbey and Convent of the Monastery of Aberconwy in Wales, of the Cistercian Order, of the Diocese of Bangor, greeting and Apostolic benediction.

On the part of our dearest son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious King of England, it was reported in our presence that the Pope Honorius our predecessor, of blessed memory, before his consecration and benediction, it being understood, that your Monastery for many reasonable causes could not remain conveniently in the place where it then was, our aforesaid predecessor, not yet blessed and consecrated, at the impassioned importunity of the supplication of the King himself, granted to you a free faculty of transferring the aforesaid Monastery from the place before mentioned, to the place in which it is now known to be situated, by his letters, sealed with his seal, which did not yet express his name, and thus you by the authority of these very letters, as you assert, have transferred the aforesaid Monastery from its former place.

Although, therefore, in respect of an act of favour of this kind, these same letters, thus sealed may have in themselves a full, in fact, the fullest power, especially when the apostolic seat, before the consecration and blessing of him elected into the position of the highest Priest, has been accustomed from of old to seal his letters with an incomplete seal, in no wise expressing the name of the elect; in order that, however, every error may be entirely removed from the minds of the ignorant, we influenced by your impassioned supplications, and by those of the King himself, approve by our apostolic authority, and strenghten by the present writing, that, which has heretofore been done by the same letters, holding it as ratified, and confirmed, just as we are held.

Nevertheless, declaring or decreeing that this translation of the said Monastery has the same force and the same power, as if it had been made by the letters of the said Predecessor, sealed with a complete seal, in all other respects however legitimately.

To no one therefore, etc.

Given at Reata on the 22nd of August, in the second year of our Pontificate.

Under silken threads of a yellow and red colour.

APPENDIX Xd.

WARRANT TO FARMERS TO PAY THEIR RENTS TO GRIFFIN GOCH DURING THE CONTROVERSY OF DAVID WINCHCOMBE AND DAVID LLOYD. Harleian MS., 433, F 175.

Richard etc. (Richard III). To all the farmers and tenants of the manors, lordships, lands, and livelihoods, belonging to the monastery of

Conway in North Wales, these letters for to see or hear greeting. Whereas we understand that our trusty and right well-beloved in God, the Abbot of Stratford and Woburn, Reformators of that Religion within this our Realm, have committed the administration, guiding and disposition of all the said lands and livelihood and of the rents and revenues coming and growing of the same, unto Dominus Griffith Goch, Prior of the said place, and other during the variance and controversy betwixt Dominus David Winchcombe and Dominus David Lloyd for the Right and Title of the office of the Abbotship there. We therefore will and straightly charge you all and every of you, that, unto the said Prior, or unto such officers as by him shall be appointed, and assigned, and to none other ye truly pay and content your farms, rents and other duties, after the rate of your tenures, from time to time among you used and accustomed, unto such time, as, by the said Reformators, it shall be determined and provided, who shall otherwise have the Rule and be Abbot there. Charging only this almoigne our officers and subjects of those properties that unto him that so by them shall be provided there to be assisting, favouring and helping in all things as shall appertain as they desire, to please us.

Given etc., at Pontefract, the last day of May, the first year of our reign (1484).

APPENDIX Xe.

ROLLS RELATING TO ABBEY OF CONWAY.

CHARTER ROLLS.

12 Edward I., No. 2. Charter for the Abbey of Aberconwey.

6 Edward III., No. 36. Charter for the Abbey of Aberconwey.

PATENT ROLLS.

31 Henry III., m. 4. Grant of liberties to the Abbey of Aberconway.

23 Edward I., m. 10. Grant to the Abbot of Aberconwey.

2 Richard II., pt. 2, m. 9. A very ample confirmation of manors, lands, tenements and liberties, for the Abbot of Aberconwey: "in which are the bounds of the premises, and divers grants of Llywelyn, Prince of the whole of North Wales."

10 Richard II., pt. 1, m. 13. For the Abbot of Conway.

27 Henry VI., pt. 1, m. 11. The Abbey of Conway burnt

5 Elizabeth, p. 7, 15th August. Grant to Elizeus Wynne and his heirs of the site or house of the late monastery of Conwaye (Maenan) in the tenure of Hugh Puleston, Esq.

33 Elizabeth, p. 9. Tipper and Dawe, lands in Maynan of the Monastery.

Ancient Deeds, B727. The Abbot of Aberconu acts as arbitrator.

6 James I., p. 30. Grant to Johnson & Grimsdish of the Rectory and advowson of Conwey, Rent £6. (Lately belonging to the Abbey).

CLOSE ROLL.

9 Edward II., m. 21d. A servant of the King's is sent to the Abbey of Mynan, near Conewey, to be maintained there.

WELSH ROLLS CHANCERY.

12 Edward I., m. 5. Grant to the Abbot & Convent of Meynen of the old church of Aberconewey. 28th June.

12 Edward I., m. 6. The bishop of St. Asaph to be saved harmless from the building of the King's Castle at Aberconewey, at a place called Meynan. 23rd June.

12 Edward I., m. 5. The Abbot and Convent of Aberconewey to have the church there, which was formerly conventual, as a parish church with the patronage. 16th July.

12 Edward I., m. 2. The Bishop of St. Asaph had given an advowson to the Abbot and Convent of Aberconewey. 10th October.

Ibid Griffin ap Yereward had given land to the same Abbot and Convent.

Ibid Others had given land and rent in Meynan to the same. Other land in Penlassok.

Ibid Moneys assigned by the King for the works of the Monastery.

12 Edward I., m. 2. Grant to the Abbot and Convent of Abercoenwey of the manor Kaurnurlys, with hamlets, etc. 22nd and 23rd October.

13 Edward I., m. 2. Letters of acquittance for the same Abbot and Convent from [the service] of finding—for the servants of the Prince of Wales for lands in Frywilwych, 27th May.

RECOGNISANCE ROLLS OF CHESTER.

6 and 7 Henry IV., m. 5d. (8), The Abbot of Conway, a rebel.

Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV. (about 1291). Possessions of the Abbey of Conway.

Valor Ecclesiasticus (1535) IV. 441, Possessions of the abbey described, including the rectory of Conway and fishery in the water of Conway.

MINISTERS ACCOUNTS.

Henry VIII, etc. These probably show the profits derived from the Abbey lands after the dissolution of the Monasteries.

Particulars of grants, Philip & Mary Davies, Elizabeth Cloughe, Hayward, Wynne (grantees), possessions of Conway Abbey.

Papal Letters (Vatican) 1198-1304, contain a few references to the Abbot and Convent of Aberconway, foundation of the King's Monastery at Maenan, etc.

Other references to Conway Abbey are to be found in Harleian MS. 696 fo. 89; "Narr Placiti de quo Warranto super libertatibus Abbatis de Conwey," temp. Ed. III.

Harleian MS., 6068, fo. 11 (referred to in Powys Fadog VI. 300).

ORIGINALIA ROLLS.

5 Henry VII., m. 74. David Lloyd, Abbot of Conway, gives 26s. 8d. into the Hanaper, for confirmation of the letters patent of Richard III.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, 26 HENRY VIII. (1535).

(Record Commission Edition, 1802. Vol. I., p. 441).

In this valuation there are the following particulars regarding the estates and property of the Abbey of Conway. The spelling of the Welsh words is given as it occurs in the text, and where possible the spelling of the Latin words has been completed. The meaning of special words, marked with a * is given in the Glossary.

MONASTERIUM SIVE ABBATIA DE CONWEY.

VALET IN TEMPORALIBUS. COMITATUS CAERNARVON.

	£	s.	d.
Villata de Maynan, Valet in—			
Redditus* custumariorum tenentium ibidem per annum ...	10	12	8
Firma* piscariæ* in aqua de Conwey	0	4	0

* See Glossary.

	£	s.	d.
Firma terræ d'nicalin ibidem per annum	0	13	4
Firma molendini ibidem per annum	1	6	8
Perquisitis* curiæ in Comitatu Carnarvon communibus annis...	0	13	4
Villata de Arthey, valet in	15	16	0
Villata de Bryned, valet in	3	1	0
Villata de Nanhoynen, valet in	21	18	4
Villata de Coine, valet in	5	0	0
Villata de Narnall	2	0	0
Villa de Redenok Velyn			
Custuma vocata Comortha, valet in	1	6	8
Quolibet quarto anno xls., videlicet per annum juxta rationem	0	10	0
Exennia* vocata Auregion, valent clare quolibet anno ...	0	13	4
DOMINIO DE DYNBIGH.			
Villata de Wararthog	22	15	6
Exennia vocata Auregion	0	6	8
COMITATUS ANGLESEY.			
Villata de Kellyneok	13	7	2
Villata de Bodgedwith	3	6	8
Villata de Penmynith	5	3	5
Villata de Cowrney	9	14	7
Hameletta de Ucheldre	2	5	2
Hameletta de Llanydusant	1	14	2
Custuma vocata Comortha, quolibet juxta rationem	0	6	8
Exennia vocata Auregion	0	6	8
	£123	2	0
INDE REPRISA* VIDELICET DE TEMPORALIBUS, *viz.*:—			
Feodum* Johannis ap Hillyn ballivi villæ de Maynan per annum	1	0	0
Feodum Jevan ap Grono ballivi villæ de Arthey per annum ...	0	10	0
Feodum Johannis Wyn ap Meredydd, seneschalli terræ dictæ abbatiæ in comitatu Caernarvon	2	13	4
Feodum ejusdem Johannis Wyn receptum easdem terras ...	0	16	8
Feodum Hugonis ap Meredydd ballivi curiæ in prædicto comitatu Caernarvon, &c.	0	10	0
Feodum Moris Gethin seneschalli terræ prædictæ abbatiæ infra domanium* de Dynbigh	3	6	8
Feodum Cadwalader ap Moris ballivi curiae infra eundem domanium de Dynbigh	0	10	0
Feodum Meredith ap Thomas seneschalli terræ praedictæ Abbatiæ infra comitatum Anglesey	3	6	8
Feodum Jevan Geffrey ibidem	0	13	4
Total (Temporales)	£13	6	8

SPIRITUALIBUS.

DECANATA DE ISSAPH.

Rectoria de Conway valet in Claro per annum et sic dimittitur Hugoni Hollande clerico* ad firmam*	6	0	0

* See Glossary.

	£	s.	d.
DECANATA DE UCHAF.			
Rectoria de Eywlchi, valet in Claro per annum et sic dicitur ad firmam Edmondo ap Res ap Robert	4	0	0
DECANATA DE CRUTHYN.			
Rectoria de Eglos Iros (Eglwys Rhos), valet in In grosso communibus annis per scrutinam et examinationem commission	18	0	0
DECANATA DE ROS.			
Rectoria de Vach	13	5	8
DECANATA DE TALLEBOLION.			
Rectoria de Llanpatrik	15	2	2
Procuratio* annualis episcopo soluta de prædicta rectoria de Llanpatrick xis. viiid., rectoria de Vach xs., and Eglos Iros prædicti vs.	1	6	8
Portiones* extra prædictam rectoriam de Vach antiquitus solutæ, viz., ecclesia Abergelle xs., et rectoriæ de Llandrillo vis. viiid.	0	16	8
Lactuales antiquitus praedicto episcopo solutae ex praedicta rectoria de Vach xis. viiid., Iros 4s. 2d.	0	15	10
Procuratio visitationis praedicto episcopo soluta quolibet tertio anno de praedicta rectoria de Vach iiis. ivd., et Eglos Iros xxd., juxta rationem* xvs. tempore visitationis	0	5	0
Libera capella Beatæ Mariæ de Penryn	1	0	0
Pro decima parte domino Regi debita	0	2	0

APPENDIX XIIa.

LETTER OF CHARLES I. TO ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS.

From OXFORD, AUGUST 1, 1643.

"CHARLES R.

"Most Reverend Father in God, &c. We are informed by our servant Orlando Bridgman, not only of the good encouragement and assistance you have given him in our service, but also of your own personal and earnest endeavours to promote it. And though we have had long experience of your fidelity, readiness, and zeal in what concerns us, yet it cannot but be most acceptable unto us that you still give unto us fresh occasions to remember it. And we pray you to continue to give all possible assistance to our said servant. And whereas you are now resident at our town of Aberconway, where there is a castle, heretofore belonging to our Crown, and now to the Lord Conway, which with some charge is easily made defensible; but the Lord Conway being imprisoned by some of our rebellious subjects, and not able to furnish it, as is requisite for our service and the defence of those parts, you having begun at your own charge to put the same in repair, We do heartily desire you to go on in that work, assuring you that whatsoever moneys you shall lay out upon the fortification of the said castle shall be repay'd unto you, before the custody thereof shall be put into any other hand than your own, or such as you shall recommend."

On the back of this letter, in accordance with the King's promise, the Archbishop has written :—

* See Glossary.

"I, Jo. Archbishop of York, have assign'd my Nephew, Mr. Wil. Hooks, Esq., Alderman of Conway, to have the custody of this Castle, mentioned in his Majesty's Letter under his Signet, until I shall be repay'd the moneys, and money-worth disbursed by me in the repair thereof, by virtue of this Warrant. And in case of Mortality, I do assign my Nephew Gryffith Williams to the same effect. Jan. 2, 1643."*

APPENDIX XIIB.

REMONSTRANCE OF ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS TO KING CHARLES I.

1. "Upon the ninth of May, 1645, Sir J. Owen, governour of Conway, about seven of the clock in the evening, before the night-guard was sent into the Castle, the possession whereof was placed by the king in the Archbishop of York, and his assigns, upon great and valuable considerations by his gracious Letters, and under his Majesty's Hand and Signet, bearing date at OXFORD, AUGUST, 1, 1643, did, with bars of iron and armed men, break the Locks and Doors, and enter into the said Castle and seize upon the Place, the Victuals, Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, laid in by the said Archbishop at his own charge, without the least contribution from the king or the country, for the defence of the place, and the service of the king and the said country.

2. "That being demanded by the said Archbishop to suffer two of the said Archbishop's men to be there with his rabble of grooms and beggarly people, to see the goods of the country preserved from filching, and the victuals and ammunition from wasting and purloyning, Sir John in a furious manner utterly refused it, though all the company cried upon him to do so for his own discharge, yet he would not listen to any reason, but promised the next day to suffer all things to be inventoried, and the Lord Archbishop to take away what he would, Sir John acknowledging all the goods and ammunition to be his.

3. "The next day he receded again from all this, would not permit at the entreaty of the bishop of St. Asaph, his own Cousin-German, any of the Archbishop's men to go and look to the goods, nor suffer his servants to fetch forth for his Grace's use (who hath lingered long under a great sickness and weakness) either a little wine, to make him some cawdles, or so much as a little of his own stale beer, to make him possets, which all the country conceive to be very barbarous.

4. "The said Sir Jno. continueth rambling from place to place, and detaineth still all the goods of the country, laid up in this Castle, as conceived to be owned by the Archbishop, who was like to be responsible for them; and had duly returned them in other years; and threatens to seize the plate, and all things else of value to his own use. Than which no rebel or enemy could deal more outrageously.

5. "The Archbishop desires his Majesty would repossess him of the right of this Castle, according to his Majesty's grant made upon valuable consideration. And that if his Majesty's pleasure be that Sir Jo. Owen (or any other man of more moderation and less precipitancy) should be there, he come under the Archbishop his assignment, as right requires, and as Colonel Ellis and Mr. Chichely were content to do, and did. To the which, the Archbishop (as Colonel Ellis and Sir Will. Legg can witness) was ever willing to give way.

6. "That howsoever, the Archbishop may have all his goods and chattels, all his cannon, arms, ammunition, powder, provision in beef, beer, wine, cheese, butter, oatmeal and corn presently restored to him. And what is wasted and made away may be answer'd to him by Sir John: as also that all the inhabi-

* Phillips "Life of Williams," p. 288.

tants of this and the neighbouring countries may have their goods presently out of the Castle, before they be pilfered and imbezeled.

7. "Or otherwise, that his Majesty and Prince Rupert his lieutenant, will graciously permit and suffer, with their gracious favour, the said Archbishop and inhabitants of the country, to repair with their complaints to the assembly at Oxford, and the Committee there, against these, and many other outrages and concussions of the said Sir Jo. Owen, under colour of being Governor and Sheriff of this town, not warranted by any of his commissions." *

APPENDIX XI.

PEDIGREE OF THE KYFFINS OF MAENAN.

Alis, dau. of John Wynn of Melai (2)=MAURICE KYFFIN, ob. 1603, son of Sir David Kyffin.=(1) Margaret, dau. of Thos. Mostyn of Mostyn.

Edward Kyffin, 1623.

Richard Kyffin, born 1610.

William Kyffin, born 1637.

Richard Kyffin=Jane, d. of Thos. Price, and sister to Baron Price, ob. 1684.
ob. 1675.

Elin, ob. Dec. 22, 1688.

Ellen=Thomas Kyffin, ob. June 20, 1765, age 67, Attorney General, buried at Llanddoget.
d. of Owen Roberts of Caery, Esq., ob. Nov. 20, 1739, age 65.

Thomas Kyffin=Elizabeth, ob. 1784, age 43.

Sir Thomas Kyffin, Knt=Elizabeth, d. & heiress of Hugh Hughes, of Coed-y-Brain, co. Flint.

W. J. Lenthall=Elizabeth, heiress.
High Sheriff of Carnarvon, 1796

J. W. Lenthall, of Maenan and Besselsleigh, ob. 1870.

..... Lenthall

Edmund Kyffin Lenthall, ob. 1907.

Walter Ellison Lenthall, ob. 1908.

Edmund Henry Lenthall, ob. 1909.

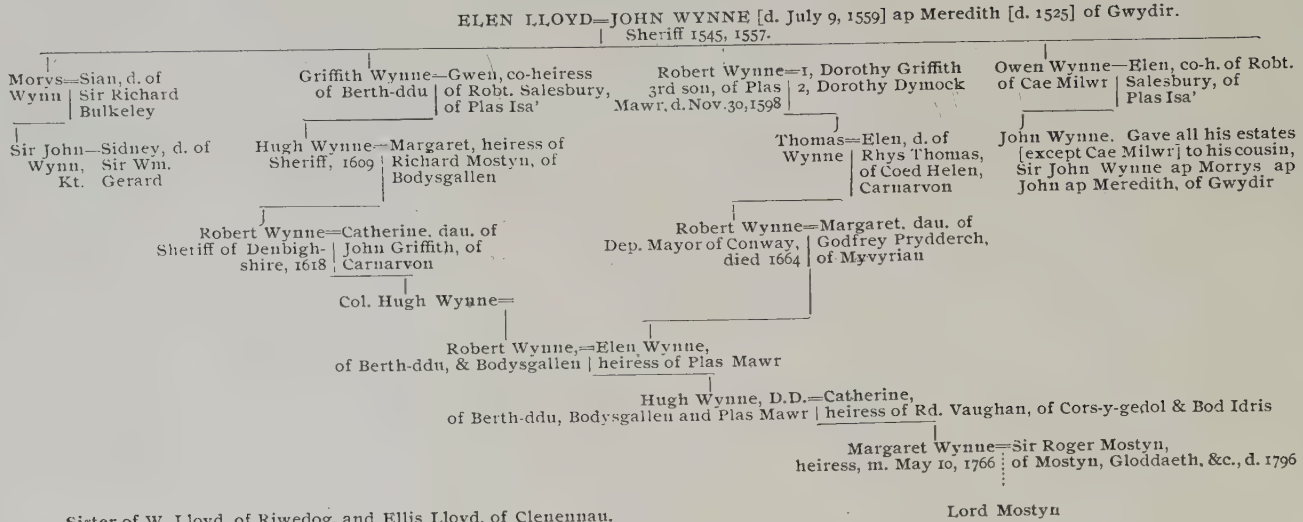
Catherine Owen Lenthall

Other Daughters

* Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, p. 219.

APPENDIX XIB.

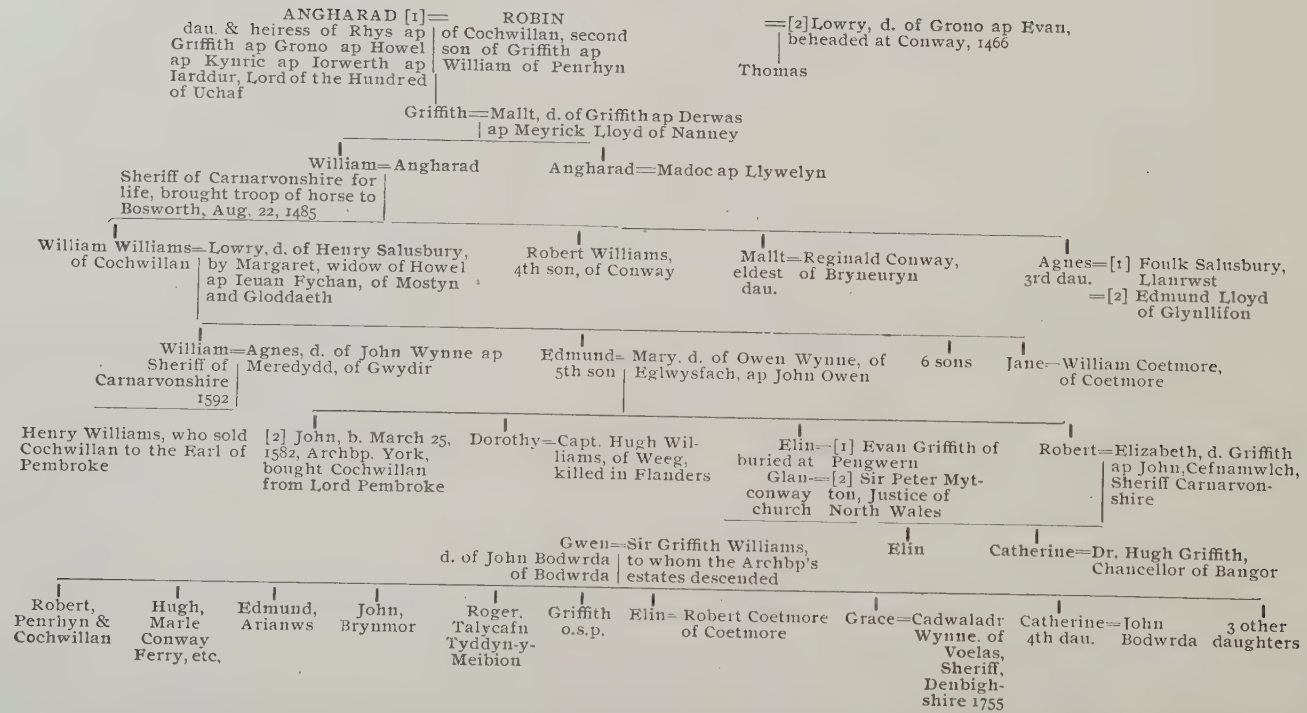
THE WYNNES OF PLAS MAWR.


ELEN LLOYD=JOHN WYNNE [d. July 9, 1559] ap Meredith [d. 1525] of Gwydir.
Sheriff 1545, 1557.
Morys Wynn=Sian, d. of Sir Richard Bulkeley
Griffith Wynne of Berth-ddu=Gwen, co-heiress of Robt. Salesbury, of Plas Isa'
Robert Wynne=1, Dorothy Griffith 2, Dorothy Dymock
3rd son, of Plas Mawr, d. Nov. 30, 1598
Owen Wynne of Cae Milwr=Elen, co-h. of Robt. Salesbury, of Plas Isa'
Sir John Wynn, Kt.—Sidney, d. of Sir Wm. Gerard
Hugh Wynne Sheriff, 1609=Margaret, heiress of Richard Mostyn, of Bodysgallen
Thomas Wynne=Elen, d. of Rhys Thomas, of Coed Helen, Carnarvon
John Wynne. Gave all his estates [except Cae Milwr] to his cousin, Sir John Wynne ap Morrys ap John ap Meredith, of Gwydir
Robert Wynne Sheriff of Denbighshire, 1618=Catherine, dau. of John Griffith, of Carnarvon
Robert Wynne Dep. Mayor of Conway, died 1664=Margaret, dau. of Godfrey Prydderch, of Myvyrian
Col. Hugh Wynne=
Robert Wynne, of Berth-ddu, & Bodysgallen=Elen Wynne, heiress of Plas Mawr
Hugh Wynne, D.D., of Berth-ddu, Bodysgallen and Plas Mawr=Catherine, heiress of Rd. Vaughan, of Cors-y-gedol & Bod Idris
Margaret Wynne heiress, m. May 10, 1766=Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn, Gloddaeth, &c., d. 1796
Sister of W. Lloyd, of Riwedog, and Ellis Lloyd, of Clenennau.
Lord Mostyn

John Wynne ap Meredith of Gwydir, who died 1559, was the son of Meredith ap Ievan ap Robert ap Meredith ap Howel ap Dafydd ap Griffith ap Caradog ap Thomas ap Rodri (Lord of Anglesey). This Rodri, or Roderick, married Agnes, daughter of Lord Rhys ap Griffith ap Rhys ap Tudor Fawr (Prince of South Wales), and was a younger son of Prince Owen Gwynedd (died 1169), by his second marriage with his cousin Christiana, daughter of Grono ap Owen ap Edwyn (Lord of Englefield).

APPENDIX XIIF.

COCHWILLAN.


ANGHARAD [1]= dau. & heiress of Rhys ap Griffith ap Grono ap Howel ap Kynric ap Iorwerth ap Iarddur, Lord of the Hundred of Uchaf
ROBIN of Cochwillan, second son of Griffith ap William of Penrhyn
=[2]Lowry, d. of Grono ap Evan, beheaded at Conway, 1466
Thomas
Griffith=Mallt, d. of Griffith ap Derwas ap Meyrick Lloyd of Nanney
William=Angharad Sheriff of Carnarvonshire for life, brought troop of horse to Bosworth, Aug. 22, 1485
Angharad=Madoc ap Llywelyn
William Williams=Lowry, d. of Henry Salusbury, of Cochwillan by Margaret, widow of Howel ap Ieuan Fychan, of Mostyn and Gloddaeth
Robert Williams, 4th son, of Conway
Mallt=Reginald Conway, eldest dau. of Bryneuryn
Agnes=[1] Foulk Salusbury, 3rd dau. Llanrwst
=[2] Edmund Lloyd of Glynllifon
William=Agnes, d. of John Wynne ap Sheriff of Meredydd, of Gwydir Carnarvonshire 1592
Edmund= 5th son
Mary, d. of Owen Wynne, of Eglwysfach, ap John Owen
6 sons
Jane=William Coetmore, of Coetmore
Henry Williams, who sold Cochwillan to the Earl of Pembroke
[2] John, b. March 25, 1582, Archbp. York, bought Cochwillan from Lord Pembroke
Dorothy=Capt. Hugh Williams, of Weeg, killed in Flanders
Elin=[1] Evan Griffith of Pengwern buried at Glan-=[2] Sir Peter Mytton, Justice of North Wales conway church
Robert=Elizabeth, d. Griffith ap John, Cefnamwlch, Sheriff Carnarvonshire
Gwen=Sir Griffith Williams, d. of John Bodwrda of Bodwrda to whom the Archbp's estates descended
Elin
Catherine=Dr. Hugh Griffith, Chancellor of Bangor
Robert, Penrhyn & Cochwillan
Hugh, Marle Conway Ferry, etc,
Edmund, Arianws
John, Brynmor
Roger, Talycafn Tyddyn-y-Meibion
Griffith o.s.p.
Elin= Robert Coetmore of Coetmore
Grace=Cadwaladr Wynne, of Voelas, Sheriff, Denbighshire 1755
Catherine=John Bodwrda 4th dau.
3 other daughters

APPENDIX XIIc.

THE OWENS OF BODSILIN AND CLENENNAU.

OWEN=ANGHARAD [co-heiress] ap David ap William of Cochwillan.

Lowry Coetmor=Robert Owen* of Bodsilin

William Bold=Alice
Sheriff of Anglesey 1644, 1649, 1655

By female lines were descended the second Lord Stanley of Alderley, and the late Dr. K. H. Bold Williams, J.P., of Llandudno.

Sir Owen Owen=

John, Bishop of St. Asaph, 1629 : b. 1580, d. 1651

Sir Wm. Owen, Person Hen Eglwys

John Owen=Elen, sole heiress of Sir Wm. Morris of Clenennau, Kt., by Margaret, heiress of Llanddyn, Porkington, &c.

Col. Sir John Owen=Janet Vaughan of Corsygedol
of Clenennau

Sir Robert Owen=Margaret, h. of Owen Wynn
of Porkington, M.P. 1690, Carnarvon Bor. of Glyn, Ardudwy

William Owen= . . . . sister and sole heiress-at-law of
of Porkington, d. 1762 the last Lord Godolphin of Helston

Margaret Owen=Owen Ormsby
d. 1806 of Willowbank, Sligo

Mary J. Ormsby=William Gore,
heiress afterwards Ormsby-Gore

John R. Ormsby-Gore,=Sarah, dau. of
created 1876 1st Baron Harlech Sir J.T.Tyrell

Rev. T. M. Bulkeley-Owen [2]=Hon. F. M. Katherine=[1]Hon. Lloyd Kenyon
heiress

Lloyd, 4th Lord Kenyon

W. G. Ormsby-Gore,=Lady E.C. Seymour
2nd Baron Harlech, d.1904

G. R. C. Ormsby-Gore=Lady M. E. Gordon
3rd Lord Harlech
Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P.,
Denbigh Boroughs

* Robert Owen of Bodsilin was the son of Owen ap Robert ap John ap Meurig ap Llywelyn ap Hwlcin . . . . of Presaddfed . . . . Hwfa ap Cynddelw. Llewelyn ap Hwlcin married Mali, dau. of Jeem Lloyd.

APPENDIX XIId.

THE HOLLAND FAMILY OF CONWAY.

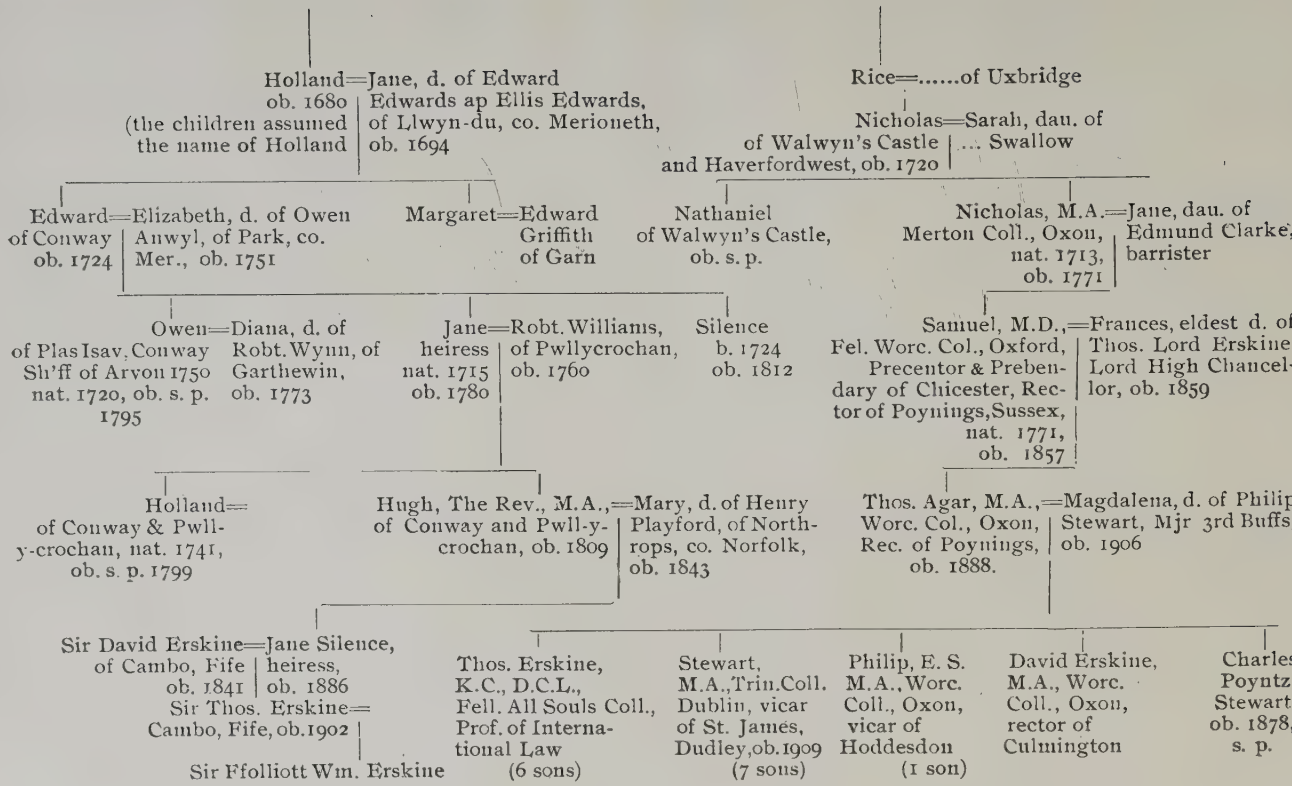
Arms of Holland of Conway

They quartered the Arms of Sutton, Travers, and Norris. The motto is "Fiat Pax, Floreat Justitia."

PETER HOLLAND
(Of the Household of King Henry IV., a younger son of the Lancashire Family)
|
William of Conway
|
Thomas of Conway=Isabella
|
William of Conway — Catherine=J. Atherton
|
Humphrey of Conway=Grace, d. of Thomas Conway of Bodryddan
ob. 1528
|
Hugh of Conway=Ellen, d. & heiress of Jenkin, son of Sir Rich. Bulkeley
|
Hugh of Conway=1543, Jane, d. of Hugh Conway, of Bryneuryn, and of Ellen, d. of Sir Wm Griffith of Penrhyn
ob. 1584

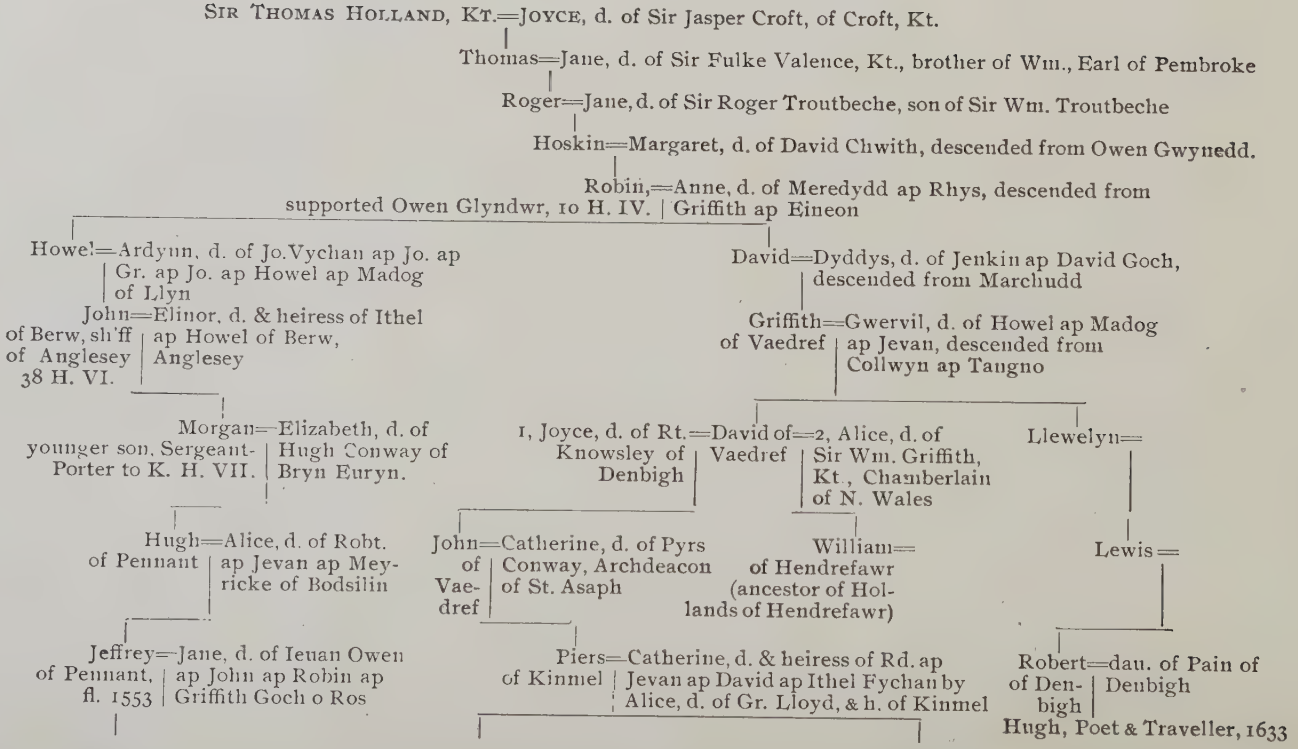
Edward of Conway=Judith, d. of Richard Johnson, of Beaumaris
Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, ob. 1601
|
William=Catherine, d. of William Glyn, of Liar
of Marle and Conway
|
Margaret, heiress, ob. 1641 — 1=Wm. Williams=2, ob. 1673

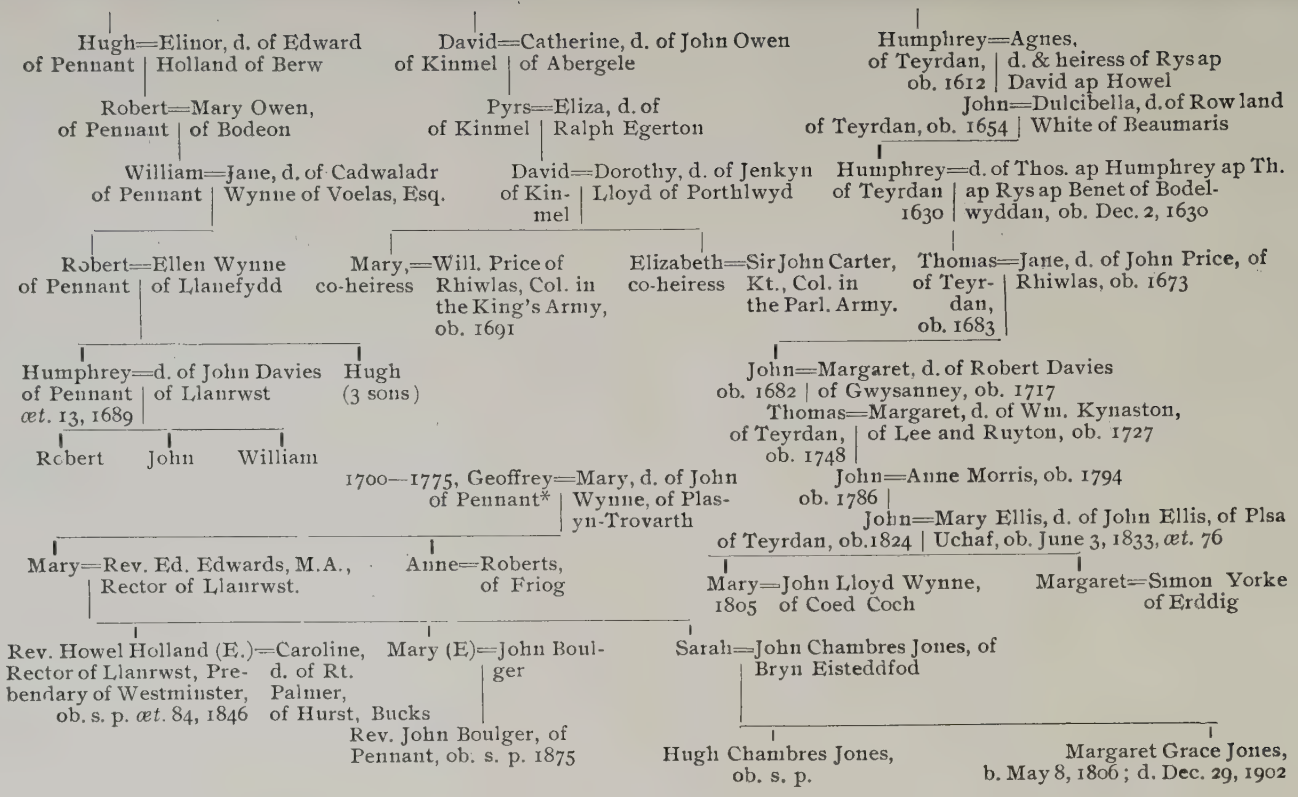
Robert,=Joan, only dau. of Robert Meylir, of Haverfordwest, by Catherine, heiress of Howel ap Rees Vawr of Cardiganshire
M.A., Jesus Coll. Camb., Rec. of Prendergast & of Walwyn's Castle, co. Pem., author of the *Holie Historie* (ob. 1622)
|
Nicholas,= Vicar of Marloes in Roos, 1618. Of Walwyn's Castle, 1635, ob. 1666
|
Catherine, d. of Rt. Coytmore — Nicholas=Dorothy, dau. of John Laugharne, of Sudbury, co. Pemb.
of Walwyn's Castle & Haverfordwest, ob. 1718, at great age


Holland ob. 1680 (the children assumed the name of Holland)
Jane, d. of Edward Edwards ap Ellis Edwards, of Llwyn-du, co. Merioneth, ob. 1694
Rice=.....of Uxbridge
Nicholas of Walwyn's Castle and Haverfordwest, ob. 1720
Sarah, dau. of ... Swallow
Edward of Conway ob. 1724
Elizabeth, d. of Owen Anwyl, of Park, co. Mer., ob. 1751
Margaret
Edward Griffith of Garn
Nathaniel of Walwyn's Castle, ob. s. p.
Nicholas, M.A. Merton Coll., Oxon, nat. 1713, ob. 1771
Jane, dau. of Edmund Clarke, barrister
Owen of Plas Isav, Conway Sh'ff of Arvon 1750 nat. 1720, ob. s. p. 1795
Diana, d. of Robt. Wynn, of Garthewin, ob. 1773
Jane heiress nat. 1715 ob. 1780
Robt. Williams, of Pwllycrochan, ob. 1760
Silence b. 1724 ob. 1812
Samuel, M.D., Fel. Worc. Col., Oxford, Precentor & Prebendary of Chicester, Rector of Poynings, Sussex, nat. 1771, ob. 1857
Frances, eldest d. of Thos. Lord Erskine, Lord High Chancellor, ob. 1859
Holland of Conway & Pwll-y-crochan, nat. 1741, ob. s. p. 1799
Hugh, The Rev., M.A., of Conway and Pwll-y-crochan, ob. 1809
Mary, d. of Henry Playford, of Northrops, co. Norfolk, ob. 1843
Thos. Agar, M.A., Worc. Col., Oxon, Rec. of Poynings, ob. 1888.
Magdalena, d. of Philip Stewart, Mjr 3rd Buffs, ob. 1906
Sir David Erskine of Cambo, Fife ob. 1841
Jane Silence, heiress, ob. 1886
Sir Thos. Erskine Cambo, Fife, ob. 1902
Sir Ffolliott Wm. Erskine
Thos. Erskine, K.C., D.C.L., Fell. All Souls Coll., Prof. of International Law (6 sons)
Stewart, M.A., Trin. Coll. Dublin, vicar of St. James, Dudley, ob. 1909 (7 sons)
Philip, E. S. M.A., Worc. Coll., Oxon, vicar of Hoddesdon (1 son)
David Erskine, M.A., Worc. Coll., Oxon, rector of Culmington
Charles Poyntz Stewart, ob. 1878, s. p.

APPENDIX XIIE.

THE HOLLANDS OF DENBIGHSHIRE.


Sir Thomas Holland, Kt.=Joyce, d. of Sir Jasper Croft, of Croft, Kt.
Thomas=Jane, d. of Sir Fulke Valence, Kt., brother of Wm., Earl of Pembroke
Roger=Jane, d. of Sir Roger Troutbeche, son of Sir Wm. Troutbeche
Hoskin=Margaret, d. of David Chwith, descended from Owen Gwynedd.
Robin,=Anne, d. of Meredydd ap Rhys, descended from
supported Owen Glyndwr, 10 H. IV. | Griffith ap Eineon
Howel=Ardynn, d. of Jo.Vychan ap Jo. ap
Gr. ap Jo. ap Howel ap Madog
of Llyn
John=Elinor, d. & heiress of Ithel
of Berw, sh'ff ap Howel of Berw,
of Anglesey Anglesey
38 H. VI.
David=Dyddys, d. of Jenkin ap David Goch,
descended from Marchudd
Griffith=Gwervil, d. of Howel ap Madog
of Vaedref ap Jevan, descended from
Collwyn ap Tangno
Morgan=Elizabeth, d. of
younger son, Sergeant- Hugh Conway of
Porter to K. H. VII. Bryn Euryn.
1, Joyce, d. of Rt.=David of=2, Alice, d. of
Knowsley of Vaedref Sir Wm. Griffith,
Denbigh Kt., Chamberlain
of N. Wales
Llewelyn=
Hugh=Alice, d. of Robt.
of Pennant ap Jevan ap Mey-
ricke of Bodsilin
John=Catherine, d. of Pyrs
of Conway, Archdeacon
Vae- of St. Asaph
dref
William=
of Hendrefawr
(ancestor of Hol-
lands of Hendrefawr)
Lewis=
Jeffrey=Jane, d. of Ieuan Owen
of Pennant, ap John ap Robin ap
fl. 1553 Griffith Goch o Ros
Piers=Catherine, d. & heiress of Rd. ap
of Kinmel Jevan ap David ap Ithel Fychan by
Alice, d. of Gr. Lloyd, & h. of Kinmel
Robert=dau. of Pain of
of Den- Denbigh
bigh
Hugh, Poet & Traveller, 1633


Hugh=Elinor, d. of Edward
of Pennant | Holland of Berw
Robert=Mary Owen,
of Pennant | of Bodeon
William=Jane, d. of Cadwaladr
of Pennant | Wynne of Voelas, Esq.
Robert=Ellen Wynne
of Pennant | of Llanefydd
Humphrey=d. of John Davies
of Pennant | of Llanrwst
æt. 13, 1689
Robert
John
William
Hugh
(3 sons)
David=Catherine, d. of John Owen
of Kinmel | of Abergele
Pyrs=Eliza, d. of
of Kinmel | Ralph Egerton
David=Dorothy, d. of Jenkyn
of Kin- | Lloyd of Porthlwyd
mel
Mary,=Will. Price of
co-heiress Rhiwlas, Col. in
the King's Army,
ob. 1691
Elizabeth=Sir John Carter,
co-heiress Kt., Col. in
the Parl. Army.
1700—1775, Geoffrey=Mary, d. of John
of Pennant* | Wynne, of Plas-
yn-Trovarth
Mary=Rev. Ed. Edwards, M.A.,
| Rector of Llanrwst.
Anne=Roberts,
of Friog
Rev. Howel Holland (E.)=Caroline,
Rector of Llanrwst, Pre- d. of Rt.
bendary of Westminster, Palmer,
ob. s. p. æt. 84, 1846 of Hurst, Bucks
Mary (E)=John Boul-
| ger
Rev. John Boulger, of
Pennant, ob. s. p. 1875
Humphrey=Agnes,
of Teyrdan, | d. & heiress of Rys ap
ob. 1612 | David ap Howel
John=Dulcibella, d. of Rowland
of Teyrdan, ob. 1654 | White of Beaumaris
Humphrey=d. of Thos. ap Humphrey ap Th.
of Teyrdan | ap Rys ap Benet of Bodel-
1630 | wyddan, ob. Dec. 2, 1630
Thomas=Jane, d. of John Price, of
of Teyr- | Rhiwlas, ob. 1673
dan,
ob. 1683
John=Margaret, d. of Robert Davies
ob. 1682 | of Gwysanney, ob. 1717
Thomas=Margaret, d. of Wm. Kynaston,
of Teyrdan, | of Lee and Ruyton, ob. 1727
ob. 1748
John=Anne Morris, ob. 1794
ob. 1786 |
John=Mary Ellis, d. of John Ellis, of Plsa
of Teyrdan, ob. 1824 | Uchaf, ob. June 3, 1833, æt. 76
Mary=John Lloyd Wynne,
1805 of Coed Coch
Margaret=Simon Yorke
of Erddig
Sarah=John Chambres Jones, of
| Bryn Eisteddfod
Hugh Chambres Jones,
ob. s. p.
Margaret Grace Jones,
b. May 8, 1806; d. Dec. 29, 1902

(Pennant). * See p. 478. (Vaedref and Kinmel). (Teyrdan).

APPENDIX XIIG.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT TO CONWAY, 1852.

[From the Conway Borough Archives].

At a special court of the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the said borough, held at the Guild Hall, in the said Borough of Conway, on Monday, October 11th, 1852, to take into consideration the most proper steps to be taken to testify their loyalty and respect on Her Majesty's contemplated visit to the Principality,

Ordered,—

That an Address be presented to Her Majesty, and that the one now prepared by the Rev. M. Morgan, M.A., Vicar of the Parish, be adopted and inserted among the records of the Corporation.

That a copy of the "History of Aberconwy," "The Tourist Guide to the Antiquities of Conway Castle," and "Tourist Guide to Llandudno," be handsomely bound for presentation with the Address.

That a communication be made to Col. Phipps, as to the proper mode of presenting the same.

That a Committee be formed to conduct the proceedings to welcome Her Majesty's arrival at Conway.

That the Committee consist of the following officers and members of the Corporation, namely: Bailiffs, Jno. Williams, Esq., Peter Webster, Esq.; The Recorder, Henry Jones, Esq.; The Churchwardens, Messrs. Edward Jones and Robert Davies; Two other Burgesses, Mr. William Bridge and Mr. Richard Thomas.

That the sum of £100 be left to the disposal of the Committee to carry out the arrangements.

Copy of the Address.

We, the Mayor, Bailiffs, and free Burgesses of the Borough of Conway, approach your Majesty with feelings of ardent Loyalty, and dutiful attachment, and beg, with all humility, to welcome your Majesty and your royal Consort within the walls of this ancient Town.

The day when your Majesty appeared among us as Princess, still remains one of the brighest in our annals; We now approach you as our Sovereign and behold the virtues, which were then dawning, fully expanded, and shedding their benignant influence over a mighty empire. We also feel the effect of these virtues, they penetrate into the remotest valleys of the Principality, and bind the loyal hearts of Welshmen with cords far stronger than the Forts and Castles which your royal ancestor erected King Edward stood upon these Towers, looking down upon a vanquished People; he came to view these frowning castles, which were to hold our forefathers in subjection.

Your Majesty appears among us to inspect these wondrous works of art, which spring from peace and unity. Your Majesty enters within our walls, whilest we vie with each other in testifying our warm attachment; and with joy and gratitude we hail this day, which permits us to express the feelings we so long have cherished, and to contrast the times, when a sovereign rules by love, with those stern and gloomy days, when fear held the land in woe.

Our gratitude to your Majesty for honouring us with your presence, is enhanced by the joy kindled within us at the sight of our Prince, of Him, whom, as Prince of Wales, we regard as our own -convinced as we are, that, even in this most exalted station, it is the Mother's part to call forth and

cherish the higher and nobler faculties both of the mind and heart; may we not justly expect that the Principles which your Majesty, with so much care, instils into our Prince, and the example, which you and your August Consort uniformly exhibit to him, will under the Divine Blessing, in due time, produce the richest fruit.

Our most Fervent prayer to Almighty God is, that long, very long, may he remain our Prince and your Majesty the Sovereign of a happy and united people.

Signed by me, Mayor of the Borough, in the name and by appointment of the Bailiffs and free Burgesses in special court assembled, in testimony whereof the seal of the said Borough is hereunto affixed the 13th day of October, 1852.

(Signed) On behalf of the Hon. T. P. LLOYD (LS),
Constable of the Castle and Mayor,
JOHN WILLIAMS,
Deputy.

P. WEBSTER,
JOHN WILLIAMS, } Bailiffs.

HENRY JONES, Recorder.

EDWARD JONES,
ROBERT DAVIES, } Churchwardens.

M. MORGAN.
WILLIAM BRIDGE.
WILLIAM DAVIES.
WILLIAM OWEN.
THOMAS ROBERTS.
T. A. ROBERTS.
I. LLOYD JONES.

SPECIAL COURT, 13th October, 1852.

ORDERED.—That the following communication be made to Col. C. B. Phipps, by Electric Telegraph, to be delivered to him immediately on the arrival of Her Majesty's Train at Chester.

TO THE ABOVE COL., THE HON. PHIPPS, AT CHESTER, WITH HER MAJESTY'S TRAIN.

An Address having been prepared for presentation to Her Majesty on her arrival at Conway, the Corporation beg the favour of Col. Phipps to inform them, whether, as this being the only Royal Corporate Town between Chester and Bangor, Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to allow the same to be presented, and, if so, how, when, and where.

JOHN WILLIAMS,
On behalf of the Mayor.

At a Special Meeting on 14th October, 1852, the following communication from Col. C. B. Phipps and Mr. H. S. Walpole, Her Majesty's Secretary of State-in-Waiting, was read:—

Col. Phipps presents his compliments to the Members of the Corporation of Conway, and begs to inform them, that he received their Telegraphic Message just as he was leaving Chester.

Col. Phipps handed the message to Mr. Walpole, ... and he understands that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent to stop at

Conway, in order to receive the Address of the Corporation. This Address should be handed to Her Majesty at the window of the carriage, and not read.

Her Majesty's train will stop under the Old Wall before entering the Bridge, and will probably arrive at Conway at about ten minutes past eleven o'clock.

BANGOR, October 13th, 1852.

Gentlemen,—

Having just heard from Col. Phipps that the Corporation of Conway are desirous of presenting an Address to Her Majesty, I am directed to inform you that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive the same on her way to Windsor Castle to-morrow.

I have the Honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your Obedt. Servant,
H. S. WALPOLE.

The Corporate Officers and Burgesses in a body then proceeded to meet Her Majesty, and arranged themselves under the Castle wall near the entrance to the Bridge, when, on Her Majesty's arrival, the Address, together with the Books, were presented, in the unavoidable absence of the then T. Pryce Lloyd, Constable of the Castle and Mayor, by John Williams, Esq., his Deputy, who made the following brief observation:—

May it please your Majesty,—

I have the honour to present this Address on behalf of the Corporation of Conway, and also these volumes containing the history of the Town and neighbourhood, and to express the deep obligation of the Corporation to your Majesty for having in so gracious a manner permitted the presentation.

Her Majesty replied,—"I thank you and am very much pleased with this mark of your attention," and, pointing to the old Castle, added, "Now we will move slowly on to view the beautiful Castle, with which also I am highly pleased."

* See page 475. According to a MS. of Canon Howel Holland Edwards (in the possession of Mrs. Alan Gough, of Gelliwig, Pwllheli), Geoffrey Holland, of Pennant (1700-1775) was the son of Robert Holland, by his marriage with Mary Edwards, of Nanhoron; possibly this Robert may prove to be one of the three sons of Hugh, brother of the Humphrey who was æt. 13, 1689.

NOTE.—For convenience of pagination, transposition of some of the Pedigrees was found necessary.

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